A GENERAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

VOLUME I.

Containing an Account of the first Inhabitants of the Country, and the Transactions in it, from the earliest Times to the Death of King JOHN, A.D. MCCXVI.

MUSEUM

By *THOMAS CARTE*, an ENGLISHMAN.

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BY THOMAS CARTE, M.A.

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VOLUME I.

ENGLAND

OR

HISTORY

GENERAL

To his GRACE the

DUKE of BEAUFORT

PRESIDENT,

AND TO THE

Society of Noblemen and Gentlemen;

THE

CHANCELLOR, MASTERS, and SCHOLARS

OF THE

UNIVERSITY of OXFORD,

With the SOCIETIES of

New, *Magdalen*, *Brazen-nose*, *Lincoln*, and *Trinity*

COLLEGES;

THE

LORD MAYOR, ALDERMEN, and COMMON COUNCIL

OF THE

CITY of LONDON,

And the Worſhipful COMPANIES of

GROCERS, GOLDSMITHS, and VINTNERS;

BY WHOSE

GENEROUS ENCOURAGEMENT

This Work hath been undertaken,

This FIRST VOLUME of a

General Hiſtory of *ENGLAND*

IS HUMBLY INSCRIBED BY

Their moſt obliged

and devoted Servant,

THOMAS CARTE.

THOMAS CARTE.

PREFACE.

THIS volume brings the *History of England* down to the time, when the two famous charters of *English* liberties were granted, and authentick copies of the moſt conſiderable acts of our kings, in the courſe of their government, began to be enrolled and kept on record. It is chiefly by authorities drawn from theſe laſt, that we muſt be guided in our judgment of the diſputes that aroſe afterwards, as well about ſeveral articles of the former, as in relation to various branches of our conſtitution, the prerogative of the crown, and the liberties of the ſubject, which came on occaſion to be controverted. As ſuch occaſions point out the proper places for diſſertations on each ſubject; and as the lower we deſcend in time, the more lights offer themſelves for clearing up the points in queſtion, diſcourſes on thoſe controverted matters muſt neceſſarily be reſerved for the ſucceeding volumes of this hiſtory. Several diſſertations indeed appear in this firſt: but they are only upon ſubjects, of ſo remote antiquity, or ſo fully ſupported by coæval evidence, that they either could not derive, or did not need, any further light from later authorities.

IT would have been prepoſterous to have begun a general hiſtory of a country, without ſome previous account of its *antiquities*: and my firſt book, ſerving for an introduction to the hiſtorical part of this work, is employed in tracing out thoſe of the *Britains*, the original planters of theſe *weſtern iſles*; which took from them their denomination, when they came to be known to the *Phœnicians*; who diſcovering the country, corrupted likewiſe the religion of its inhabitants. This enquiry was the more difficult, by reaſon of the ſudden deſtruction of the *Druïdes*, ſoon after the *Romans* began their conqueſts in *Britain*, and of the utter ignorance of the *Old Britains*, as to the uſe of letters. Some writers indeed, on a preſumption, that they knew as much as the people of *Gaule*, with whom they held a continual correſpondence, and that theſe laſt were acquainted with the *Greek* language, are willing to think them not illiterate: but the reaſons I have urged to ſhew, as well that the one knew nothing of letters, as that the other might poſſibly uſe the *Greek* characters for figures in accompts, though they did not underſtand them at all, when employed for the formation of words, will (I imagine) ſupport me in both thoſe notions. As for other points of knowledge, the deſcendants of the ancient *Britains* will have no reaſon to complain of that early progreſs in various ſciences, and of thoſe fundamental principles of religion, which I aſcribe to ſuch of their anceſtors, as had the benefit of a *Druïdical* education; from whom the learned *Greeks* borrowed the beſt of their religious doctrines, and the firſt knowledge of thoſe ſciences, in which they became afterwards ſo eminent. The accounts, given by *Hecatæus*, *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, of the ſituation of the country of the *Hyperborei*, ſo famous in *Greece* for ſending their ſacred embaſſies to *Delos* in times more ancient than the *Phœnicians* voyages to this country, when it came firſt to be known in the world by the name of *Britain*,

naturally ſuggeſted to me, that they were the inhabitants of theſe *Britiſh* iſlands. What is ſaid of them by all the other ancient *Greek* authors that I have had an opportunity of examining, and my own repeated reflections on the ſubject, have only ſerved to confirm me in this notion; which I flatter myſelf, new as it is, will yet be adopted by men of learning and judgment, when they conſider that the *Greeks*, in thoſe early ages, could not well ſpeak of ſo remote and unknown a people, but under a name taken from their ſituation, and that the points of knowledge, derived from thoſe *Hyperborei*, cannot poſſibly be aſcribed to any other northern nation, or to any ſet of men therein, but only to the *Britiſh Druides*.

By ſome quotations I have ſeen out of *Olaus Rudbeck's Atlantica*, it appears, he was deſirous to do his *Goths*, or *Scandinavians*, the honour of being the *Hyperborei* in queſtion; and I would fain have examined what he ſays on the ſubject: but neither the library of *Sion* college, nor any other to which I had acceſs in this place, could ſupply me with that book. I am ſorry to obſerve on this occaſion, that there is ſcarce a great city in thoſe parts of *Europe*, where learning is at all regarded, which is ſo deſtitute of a good publick library, as *London*: and we now ſee a moſt expenſive ſtructure erecting for the *Manſion Houſe* of its chief magiſtrate, without any proviſion to remedy a defect, which is ſcarce to be found in the private houſes of any ſimple magiſtrate abroad, to whom there is any reſort on account of publick buſineſs. There is not a day in the week, but there is ſome well-furniſhed library open at *Paris*, for the inquiſitive world to repair thither and peruſe the authors they have occaſion to conſult: and for the moſt opulent city upon earth, the metropolis of a great and learned nation, to labour under a defect of this kind, looks as if learning, the friend and the ſupport of liberty, met here with little encouragement from the publick, however it may be cultivated by private perſons, in deſpight of all difficulties. As I had no means of conſidering that writer's arguments in favour of his opinion (which however I find generally rejected by thoſe who mention it) I have contented myſelf with obſerving, that the *Goths* ſeated on the *Baltick* had no knowledge of any ſcience whatever, till the time of *Sylla*: and have in my diſcourſe on the ſubject, thrown in ſome occaſional remarks to ſhew, that what is ſaid of the ſciences, and religious doctrines, or rites of the *Hyperborei*, is incompatible with the beſt accounts we have of all other *Scythian* nations. Had I been maſter of the *Celtick* or *Britiſh* tongue, I might perhaps have been able to point out other names of perſons and places, made uſe of by the *Greeks* in their deſcriptions of a future ſtate, and the rewards or puniſhments of another life, that are, like thoſe of *Rhadamanthus*, *Tantalus*, and *Cocytus*, evidently borrowed from that language, which was ſpoken by the perſons who firſt inſtructed them in thoſe doctrines.

The three firſt books of this *Hiſtory* treat of tranſactions happening in the times, which afforded matter for *Geffrey* of *Monmouth's* pen: but I have made no uſe of his hiſtory or romance; it being ſo manifeſtly fabulous in the main, that there is no depending upon his relations, even in points which carry with them an air of probability. The copy of the *Britiſh* original, from whence he pretends to have tranſlated it, is ſaid to be preſerved in the library of *Jeſus* college *Oxon*; it is much worn, eſpecially on the edges of the leaves: but the hand doth not ſeem ſo ancient as the time of *Geffrey*. There is another copy thereof in the handwriting

(as I am told by thoſe who take upon them to know it well) of the famous poet *Guttyn Owen*, preſerved in the curious library of Mr. *Davies* of *Llanerk* in *Denbighſhire*: it is entitled *Brut-y-Brenhined*, i. e. the *Hiſtory of the kings of Britain*; and is aſcribed to *Tyſſillio*, ſon of *Brockmael Yſcythroc*, prince of *Powis*, by a miſtaken conjecture founded on a current tradition of this prince's having wrote an *Hiſtory of Britain*; for, as the author of the *Archæologia Britannica* (who laments the loſs of it about fifty years before he wrote) aſſures us, that work was purely eccleſiaſtical. It ſeems to me to have been compoſed by a *Corniſh* or *Armorican Britain*; thoſe people, in ancient times, intermarrying, and maintaining a correſpondence with one another, and the former going generally for education or inſtruction to *Armorica*, a country notorious for giving birth to an infinite number of legends and romances. I examined it carefully, with the aſſiſtance of ſeveral gentlemen of *North* and *South-Wales*, ſkilled in the dialects of thoſe countries: and found a great many words in the manuſcript, which none of them could underſtand; perhaps becauſe they were either *Corniſh* or *Armoric*. A perſon verſed in theſe dialects may eaſily aſcertain the verity of this conjecture; which I found only on an obſervation obvious to every reader, that it is calculated throughout, to do honour to *Cornwall* and *Armorica*, and to repreſent the mighty figure thoſe two countries made in ancient times, and the vaſt influence their princes had upon all the affairs of *Great Britain*.

USHER and other learned men have already obſerved, from ſeveral paſſages in it borrowed from other writers, that it was compoſed, after the *Acts of S. Lucius*, the *Legend of S. Urſula*, and *Bede's* works were known in the world: and the author's ſpeaking of the *twelve peers of France* being ſummoned, and attending at *Arthur's* coronation at *Caerleon*; may ſerve to ſhew, that he wrote it after the falſe *Turpin* (a writer, unknown in the time of *Flodoard of Reims*, whoſe chronicle comes down to *A. D.* 966, and the firſt that mentions thoſe twelve peers) had publiſhed his *Hiſtory of Charlemagne* and *Roland*. The ceremony of four princes bearing as many naked ſwords before *Arthur* in the proceſſion from his palace to the church at that ſolemnity; the turnament or mock fight on horſeback among other decorations then exhibited, the title of legate of the apoſtolick ſee given to *Dubricius*, as primate of *Britain*, conſpire to ſuggeſt it could not be written till the eleventh century; and probably not till the latter end of it, or a very little time before it was tranſlated by *Geffrey*. The paſſage, in which *Hengiſt* is ſaid to have been buried, not after the *Pagan* faſhion (as *Geffrey* tranſlates the words of the original) but *after the manner of the Soldans*, affords reaſon to think it made its firſt appearance in that age of romances, when the expeditions to the *Holy Land* had introduced a *goût* for ſtories of giants, and for every fabulous relation that had in it any thing marvellous; and after the pilgrims engaged therein had brought into theſe weſtern parts of *Europe* ſome accounts of the *Soldans* of *Babylon*, *Egypt*, and *Iconium*. It was this hiſtory that ſerved for the foundation of *Geffrey's* performance; all his relations being taken from thence, though embelliſhed with ſome of his decorations on occaſion, particularly in his account of battles, and enlarged by moſt of the letters and ſpeeches which appear in his work, and were entirely his own compoſition, as well as by the addition of *Merlin's* prophecies.

SOME

SOME modern writers however are inclinable to think, that there was an *Hiſtoria Britonum* more ancient than this of *Geffrey*, becauſe *Alured*, treaſurer of the church of *Beverley*, ſpeaks of ſuch an hiſtory, without mentioning its author; and that *Geffrey's* relations are not a little confirmed by what is ſaid of the *Britiſh* kings in *Sigebert's* chronicle: but they are evidently miſtaken in both theſe notions. The laſt of thoſe writers died *A. D.* 1112, having brought down his chronicle to the year 1100: and in the edition publiſhed by *Miræus*, *A. D.* 1608, from the author's original manuſcript preſerved in his monaſtery of *Gembloux*, there is not a word ſaid of any *Britiſh* king, except *Aurelius Ambroſius*. *Robert*, called *de Thorigny*, from the place of his birth, as long as he continued a ſimple monk in the convent of *Bec*, but after he came to be abbot of *Mont S. Michel* in *Normandie*, generally termed *Robert de Monte*, undertook to continue that chronicle from the year at which *Sigebert* ended, to *A. D.* 1150: and in the preface to his new edition of it, ſays expreſsly, that he added to it an account of the kings of *Britain* (becauſe *Sigebert* had mentioned none but *Ambroſius*) and took that account from the *Hiſtoria Britorum*, lately tranſlated out of *Britiſh* into *Latin*. This deſcription of that hiſtory plainly points out *Geffrey's* work, who began his tranſlation ſoon after the death of *Henry* I, as appears from his dedication of it to that prince's ſon *Robert* earl of *Glouceſter*, and publiſhed it probably *A. D.* 1138. This appears evidently from the epiſtle of *Henry* of *Huntingdon*, *ad Warinum Britonem*, *De ſerie Regum Britannorum ex Galfrido Arthuro*, which Sir *Henry Savil* ſays, he had ſeen in various manuſcripts annexed to that writer's hiſtory; who, in *January A. D.* 1139, attending *Theobald* archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with ſome other *Engliſh* biſhops, in their journey to *Rome*, and ſtaying in their way thither a day or two at the monaſtery of *Bec* (of which *Theobald* had been formerly abbot) was there ſhewn by *Robert de Thorigny*, the *Hiſtoria Britonum*, tranſlated into *Latin* by *Geffrey Arthur*, which, though he had ſought for it with great diligence, he had never been able to get a ſight of before. This circumſtance ſhews it had been very lately publiſhed, and was in very few hands, ſince ſo curious a ſearcher after all hiſtorical works as *Huntingdon* was, had not been able to meet with it before that time; when he had finiſhed, and dedicated to *Alexander* biſhop of *Lincoln*, then in great power, the firſt ſeven books of his hiſtory, in which what he relates of the antiquities of the *Britains* is borrowed from *Nennius*. *Robert* did not begin his ſupplement to *Sigebert*, or the continuation of his chronicle (which he carried down to *A. D.* 1183) till after *A. D.* 1150: but whether he began it, whilſt a monk of *Bec*, or after he became abbot of *Mont S. Michel* (to which dignity the author of *Neuſtria Pia* ſhews he was elected on *Thurſday*, *May* 27, *A. D.* 1154) is not very material, ſince it is evident, he did not begin it till ſeveral years after *Geffrey's* hiſtory was publiſhed; and whoever compares what he ſays of the *Britiſh* kings (particularly at *A. D.* 470) with *Geffrey's* work, will ſee clearly that all his accounts of them are taken thence *verbatim*, and may obſerve likewiſe the diffidence with which *Robert* quoted thoſe relations.

As to *Alured* of *Beverley*, his annals go down to the latter end of *A. D.* 1129, when *Henry* of *Blois* was made biſhop of *Wincheſter*: but he did not meet with the *Hiſtoria Britonum*, out of which he ſays, he made thoſe deflorations, which are mentioned among his works under the title of *Defloratione Galfridi*, till *A. D.* 1148, nor begin the writing of his annals, till after he had made thoſe extracts.

tracts. It must be observed, that under *Stephen's* lawless government, there was no respect paid to the clergy: they were maltreated in all places, abused in their persons, plundered in their goods, and many of them turned out of their possessions. To remedy this grievance, the council of *London*, [1] *A. D.* 1143, made a canon, denouncing an excommunication against all persons guilty of those practices; a sentence which an infinite number of persons incurred in those times of confusion. There happened, about the same time, a dispute in relation to the see of *York*; *William*, his sister's son, being either nominated by *Stephen*, or chosen by his influence: and his election being for that reason, after a controversy of five years, set aside by *Eugenius* III, in the council of *Reims*, on *Midlent Sunday*, *March* 30, *A. D.* 1147. Archbishop *Theobald* had gone to that council [2], in contempt of *Stephen's* orders to the contrary: and this prince having, on that account, banished him the realm, and seized the possessions of his see, *Theobald* put all parts of *England*, that acknowledged *Stephen's* authority, under an interdict, the first sentence of that kind that was ever published in this nation. It lasted [3] from *September* 12, *A. D.* 1147, to *February* 1, *A. D.* 1148; and in that interval, *viz.* on *December* 7, 1147, *Henry Murdac*, abbot of *Fontaines*, had been at *Treves* consecrated archbishop of *York* by the Pope, with whom he had been bred up under *S. Bernard*, in the monastery of *Clairvaux* [4]. *Henry* coming the year following into *England* to take possession of his see, was opposed by *Stephen*, and not received into *York* by the citizens: who proceeded with so much violence against the clergy that acknowledged *Henry*, that some had their livings and prebends taken away, and were otherwise cruelly treated; the canons and archdeacons of the church suffering among others, and all of them banished; which brought all concerned in those unjust severities under the excommunication denounced by the council of *London*. *Murdac* hereupon laid an interdict on the city: and passing his censures on all that adhered to his rival, retired to *David* king of *Scotland* for safety. *Stephen* and his son *Eustace* coming into *Yorkshire* in the summer of the year following, laid heavy exactions on all that stood by *Henry*, and caused divine service to be said, notwithstanding the interdict, which involved still more persons in the sentence of excommunication [5]. The church of *Beverley* sided with *Henry*, and suffered on this occasion from *Stephen's* oppression: and nothing but his fear of the patron saint of the place, hindered him from erecting a castle there, to keep them in a more absolute subjection. These troubles, in which the clergy of that place, and of the province of *York*, were harassed by the royal authority, and officers on one hand, and by the archbishop supported by the papal power on the other, lasted from the beginning of *A. D.* 1148, to the latter end of *A. D.* 1150.

It was in this interval, that *Alured* met with the *Historia Britonum*, which was then come to be the subject of all conversations, and from whence, having nothing else to do, and being unable to pay the charge of a transcript, he made the extracts, that served for the principal materials of the three or four first books of his annals. He says in his preface, that it was a time, when an infinite number of persons were excommunicated, in consequence of the decree of a council of *London*; when royal exactions and oppressions made people weary of their lives; when ecclesiasticks in high stations were driven from their seats and dignities; when he could not say his canonical hours, and there was a cessation of divine offices, by reason

[1] *Concil. M. Brit.* i. 421, 422. [2] *Gervas. Cant.* col. 1363, 1666. [3] *Ib.* col. 1364. [4] *Gul. Neubrig.* i. c. 17. [5] *Joh. Hagulstad.* col. 278.

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of an interdict; circumſtances which agree to no years near *Alured's* time, but thoſe which paſſed from *A. D.* 1147, to *A. D.* 1150. Thoſe who imagine he died *A. D.* 1126, or 1128, or in the year that his annals end, are undoubtedly miſtaken, ſince in the latter end of his ſixth book, when he reckons up the eighteen biſhopricks then in *England*, he makes *Carliſle* (which was not founded till *A. D.* 1133, or perhaps the year following) one of the number, though he ſpeaks of it as lately erected. There is therefore no reaſon to doubt of what is obvious to every reader, that *Alured* took his accounts of the *Britiſh* kings from *Geffrey's Hiſtoria Britonum:* and he delivers them in *Geffrey's* own words in abundance of places. To mention only one, which is ſufficient to put this matter out of diſpute; *Alured*[1], giving an account of *Arthur's* keeping *Whitſontide* at *Caerleon*, ſays, that the *Hiſtoria Britonum* enumerates all the kings and princes that came thither upon his invitation: and then adds, *præter hos non remanſit princeps alicujus pretii citra Hiſpaniam, qui ad iſtud edictum non venerit.* Theſe are the very words of *Geffrey* in his *Britiſh Hiſtory*, and ſo peculiarly his own, that they are one of his additions to the original *Britiſh*, from which he tranſlated his work; as any one, ſkilled in that language, may ſee by examining Mr. *Davies's* manuſcript. It appears upon the whole, that the *Britiſh Hiſtory*, which encouraged *Alured* to write his annals, was no other than *Geffrey* of *Monmouth's*.

In defect of any light from *Geffrey's* relations, it was neceſſary to derive from the *Roman* writers, and the monuments of their empire preſerved in different parts of *Great Britain*, the accounts given, in the ſecond book of this hiſtory, of tranſactions in this country, whilſt it was under their dominion. The annals of *Wales*, the learned Mr. *Robert Vaughan* of *Hengwrt's* critick upon them, and a multitude of paſſages in the works of the moſt ancient *Britiſh* poets, and in the lives of the *Britiſh Saints*, have contributed much to ſet the account of the progreſs of the *Saxon* conqueſts, and the decline of the *Britiſh* power in this iſland, in the light wherein it appears in the third book of this hiſtory. The *Saxon* chronicle, the regiſters of churches and abbeys, the charters of *Saxon* kings, the lives of *Saxon* ſaints, with ſome *Old Engliſh* hiſtorians and chronicles have furniſhed moſt of the materials of the fourth book: and the two laſt have been chiefly taken from our own writers, coæval with the facts they relate, compared with foreign hiſtorians, and with what records of the ſame times there are in being. I have been careful to examine each fact, before I allowed it a place in the body of this work; and always quote the deciſive authority upon which I relate it; ſeldom mentioning others of leſs weight, or later in time, unleſs for the ſake of ſome circumſtance in the relation omitted by the principal author. I have however examined all others that treat of the ſame ſubject; though I have thought it a very impertinent way of ſwelling a volume, and a very unfair treatment of a reader, to charge the notes with accounts I have been forced to reject, and put him upon the dry and tedious work of going through the traſh of writers unworthy of credit, and of forming a judgment upon ſcraps and fragments, as they appear in the quotations of ſuch as have taken that method.

I am not fond of mentioning the name of a perſon, capable of ſinking for ſelfiſh ends into the loweſt dregs of ſcurrility, and who hath ſo wrong a turn in his head as to object in the way of reproach to another the extraordinary manner of his encouragement to a work, which doth him the greateſt honour, and would, in the

[1] *Ed. Hearne*, p. 63.

caſe

caſe of any other man, be deemed by all the world an illuſtrious teſtimony of acknowledged merit. It ſhews either a wonderful genius, or a very uncommon ſhare of preſumption, for a perſon to fancy himſelf maſter of all points of antiquity, and qualified to write an hiſtory of *England*, the moment that he hath peruſed a *Brady*, or (one that borrows the beſt of his materials from him) a *Tyrrel*, and is able to make uſe of their tranſlations from originals; the phraſeology whereof requiring ſome previous knowledge of ancient uſages to underſtand, might elſe have proved too myſterious for his capacity to comprehend. I have paſſed many years in the ſtudy of the antiquities of this nation; and if I have taken time for the publiſhing of this volume, containing the tranſactions of ancient times, every particular whereof was to undergo a ſtrict examination, it was my indiſpenſable duty to do ſo, in order to the compoſing of a work that might not be unworthy of the patronage of a noble ſociety, nor unfit to anſwer their view of doing ſervice to their country. The world is rarely edified by books wrote *extempore*, and publiſhed in an hurry: and I have the ſatisfaction of knowing that I have not loſt a moment I could poſſibly ſave, nor hath the preſs ever waited an hour for me; but volumes of ſo large a ſize are not printed with ſuch expedition as people expect. I have thought it my buſineſs to explain every uſage, and clear every occurrence as it happens in the courſe of the hiſtory; it appearing to me very ridiculous (however neceſſary for their profit others may find it) for the writer of the hiſtory of a nation, to poſtpone either a diſcourſe of its antiquities, or the explaining of revolutions which come in the order of time to be related, matters of the greateſt difficulty or curioſity, to diſſertations which are to appear ſome time or other after his work is finiſhed, diſperſed, and purchaſed. I have always looked upon airs of confidence, a pompous pronouncing of a man's own opinion in matters which he doth not ſtate or clear, and an unintelligible jargon of big ſounding words, which men of the beſt judgment can't underſtand, nor the author himſelf perhaps explain, to be a wretched cover for ignorance: I have therefore endeavoured to clear every ſubject, of which I have had occaſion to treat, that the reader may judge of it as well as myſelf, and I hope I have done it to his ſatisfaction; at leaſt, I am ſure, he will be at no loſs to underſtand my meaning.

I HAVE been ſurprized to ſee my accounts, in the general tenour of the *Engliſh* hiſtory before the conqueſt, and in an infinite number of paſſages throughout this volume, to differ ſo widely from thoſe given by other writers who have preceded me. I can impute it to nothing but my taking pains to examine what they took for granted, or were perhaps incapable of forming a judgment upon, for want of a ſufficient knowledge of antiquity, chronology, and geography. I have not mentioned thoſe from whom I differ, becauſe a formal refutation of them would have ſwelled this work to no other purpoſe than to render it tedious: but have contented myſelf with fixing ſuch chronological marks to events, as are ſufficient to ſhew their miſtake in what they have related on the ſame ſubject. It may be too much to aſk of the reader to compare our accounts together: but whoever does ſo, will eaſily ſee who hath ſtudied the ſubject moſt, or hath explained it beſt. It hath been a work of more pains than is eaſy to be conceived, to ſettle the chronological order of events paſſed in the remote ages of antiquity: but I have gone through it with the utmoſt care, and to the beſt of my judgment. The chronological diſquiſitions are generally put in the notes: but the leſſer chronological marks, of days in the week or month, appear in the body of the hiſtory, as taking up a very ſmall ſpace,

and

and being neceſſary to ſhew the miſtakes of other writers. Our old hiſtorians commencing the year at different times, makes it neceſſary to obſerve, that I always begin it at *New Year's day*.

THE barrenneſs of events, and their incident circumſtances in ancient times, generally produceth a dryneſs in the narration: I have done what I could to avoid that inconvenience, not by inſerting amuſing tales without any foundation in fact to ſupport them, but by the manner of my relation thereof, that it might not appear tedious to the reader, who will judge whether my endeavours have anſwered my intention. I have ſpared no labour in the ſearch of truth in all caſes: and I relate it, as it hath appeared to me upon the reſult of my enquiries; having judged and wrote of ancient ages, as if I lived only in them, without any application to later times, except in two or three very material inſtances, where it could not well be avoided. I am conſcious of no biaſs on my mind, nor can I imagine where the moſt prejudiced perſons can ſuſpect me of any; unleſs perhaps in my character of *Stephen*, ſo different from what others ſay of him, but yet verified in every particular by the conſtant tenour of his actions. If I appear ſevere to *John's* memory, it is owing only to his conduct: and I have not ſaid that it was his fixed reſolution to murder his nephew *Arthur* from the moment he had him in his power, and that he would have executed it ſooner than he did, if he had not been deterred by the dread of his mother *Eleanor*; though I am apt to think every reader will be of that opinion, when he conſiders, that in two days after her death, perhaps the moment after ſhe was laid in the grave, he murdered that young prince with his own hand; as I have ſhewn by proving from two undoubted records in 5 *Johannis* (one for reducing the fees of the great ſeal to what they were in the reign of *Henry* II, the other for ſettling queen *Iſabel's* jointure, which is printed in *Rymer*) that *Eleanor* died in the week before *Eaſter*, *A. D.* 1203, contrary to the ſtream of all our hiſtorians, even of the laſt pretender to that character, who place her death in the year following. I have however, to do juſtice to truth, taken as much care to vindicate *John* from the horrible calumny charging him with the treacherous maſſacre of three hundred *French* of the garriſon of *Evreux*, firſt advanced by the *French* writers, and afterwards adopted by the *Engliſh*, to the very laſt of them, as I have to clear *Henry* II from the ſcandalous falſhood of his having a love affair with *Adelais*, the ſiſter of *Philip Auguſt*.

I HAVE avoided a parade of reflections, which thoſe, who uſe them moſt, make equally upon true or falſe facts, and inſtruct the leaſt by them, at the ſame time that they ſeem to preclude the reader from making his own: and have only uſed them upon the moſt important occaſions. In other caſes I have choſen to couch them in ſome ſhort touches, ſuggeſted naturally by the fact, and interwoven in the courſe of the narration. If the reader doth not complain of my too great exactneſs, I ſhall not doubt his opinion of my impartiality; which none are ſo apt to ſuſpect, as thoſe who have the leaſt of it themſelves, or are the moſt ignorant on the ſubject; men prepoſſeſſed with notions of things they never examined, too haſtily condemning every thing that claſhes with their own received opinions. Inſtruction is the end I have aimed at, and truth hath been my guide in all this work; never ſatisfied in any point, till I had made uſe of all means in my power for diſcovering it: and without any pompous or hypocritial appeal to heaven to warrant it, yet in a juſt confidence of my own integrity in relating it, I now commit my book to the judgment of the publick.

Dean's Yard, Weſtminſter,
Nov. 9, 1747.

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Wallingford (John).
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Walſingham *Ypodigma Neuſtriæ*
Ware (Jac.) *Antiquitates Hiberniæ*
Wharton *Anglia Sacra*
——— *De epiſcopis Aſſavenſibus*
——— *& Decanis Londinenſ.*
Whelock
Wilkins *(Biſhop)*
Witikind *De geſtis Saxonum*

Y

Year-book of Henry VII.
Yvo Carnotenſis *Epiſtolæ*

Z

Zonaras *Annales*
Zoſimus

ERRATA.

Page	Line	
11.	23.	*for* Chomarians *read* Comarians
—	Not. 7	ſhould be placed at note 3 in the next page.
19.	9.	*for* Allobriges *read* Allobroges
—	12.	*for* glorified *read* gloried
31.	14.	*dele* as well
33.	33.	*for* lent *read* excellent
54.	4.	*read* the Pleiades
79.	18.	*read* Arverni.
90.	6.	*read* Portus
93.	21.	*for* other *read* old
—	22.	*for* old *read* other
97.	33.	*read* Cheruſci
107.	14.	*read* Chicheſter
108.	in notes l. 8.	*read* Jed
115.	9.	*for* make *read* made
135.	33.	*read* all theſe caſes
138.	35.	*read* diligence
140.	41.	*for* 129 *read* 196
141.	8.	*for* 20 *read* 207
170.	15.	*read* Marcus
—	30.	*read* Bagaudæ
190.	2.	*read* cantred
195.	38.	et ſeq. *read* Oëla
196.	19.	*read* made war in both quarters.
199.	22.	*read* A. D. 501
210.	*penult.*	*for* royal *read* loyal
212.	11.	*read* Rydderch
220.	44.	*read* theſe lived upon the ſame earth
230.	12.	*read* one of the
234.	12.	*for* that *read* than
237.	in notes l. 2.	*for* Winton *read* Wiremuth.
240.	21.	*read* thoſe
245.	*ult.*	*read* abbatial
250.	l. 14.	*read* employing his
258.	45.	*read* Egfrid's
261.	36.	*read* thoſe
265.	1.	*read* Sicga
301.	5.	*for* ſeeking *read* ſetting
348.	31.	*for* hath *read* had
349.	14.	*for* of *read* for
352.	14.	*for* Edward *read* Edwin
366.	40.	*read* in an age
375.	in note l.	*antepen. read* ſaiſivit
———	l. 6. col. 2.	*read* fecit
383.	12.	*dele* not
385.	28.	*read* that of St
398.	33.	*read* but in the caſe
477.	36.	*read* Freſnay
488.	41.	*for* ſix *read* ſixty
494.	24.	*for* of *read* for
495.	32.	*dele* ſame
520.	3.	*dele* Robert earl of Surrey,
—	15.	*dele* of
539.	4.	*read* recovered
540.	35.	*for* this *read* his
—	44.	*read* nobleman openly on
544.	40.	*read* a monaſtery. *Ibid. dele* manner of
547.	17.	*for* by *read* having made a
575.	27.	*read* kind
578.	12.	*for* an *read* no
—	13.	*read* England
581.	45.	*for* dah *read* had
603.	in note l. 7. col. 2.	*read* 744
605.	in note l. 1.	*read* Cadouanus
608.	34.	*read* count of Flanders.
610.	34.	*add in the margin* A. D. 1169, *and alſo at top of margin* p. 611. *read* 1169
621.	*ult.*	*for* at *read* to
640.	26, 33.	*read* Montmorency
641.	27.	*read* Ferns
660.	15.	*dele* ſame
—	19.	*read* but by a
666.	15.	*read* interceſſion
672.	notes l. 18. col. 2.	*dele* but
673.	23.	*read* ſaving his
678.	27.	*read* warders
705.	8.	*read* Clairvaux
717.	38.	*read* in remonſtrating againſt
732.	18.	*for* payed *read* pay
737.	26.	*for* of *read* by
739.	31.	*for* then *read* them. *for* efforts *read* effects.
742.	10.	*read* Ralf de Glanville
747.	15.	*read* whence
757.	5.	*read* about it
761.	26.	*read* palace
763.	40.	*read* Quintaine
766.	43.	*read* by the laſt in thoſe diverſions
764.	44.	*read* ſervice
765.	27.	*read* he returned
771.	10.	*after* 500 *add* pounds
773.	33.	*read* Andely
774.	2.	*read* marches
780.	*ult.*	*for* Saladine *read* Saphadin
786.	23.	*read* ſame time

A GENERAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK I.

Giving an account of the Cuſtoms, Manners, and Government of the firſt Inhabitants of GREAT BRITAIN, and of the condition of the Country at the time of the Roman invaſion.

THE work, which I have undertaken, naturally obligeth me to enquire into the true original of the ancient inhabitants of GREAT BRITAIN; to trace them from their firſt appearance upon earth, through their various changes of abode and tranſmigrations of countries, to their final ſettlement in theſe weſtern parts of the world; and to repreſent as much, as can be learn'd at this diſtance of time, of their manners, cuſtoms, and religion, the condition of their private life, the nature of their public conſtitution and government; with the revolutions to which, by a fate incident to human affairs, and common to all other nations, they have from time to time been ſubject. To do this, with regard not only to the original inhabitants; but to ſuch likewiſe, as have come over ſince the firſt plantation, either with hopes of refuge, or views of conqueſts, or perhaps invited by the natives to their ſuccour, or elſe tempted by the richneſs of the ſoil, the goodneſs of the climate, and the plenty of the country to ſettle here and mix with them, on various occaſions and in different ages: To relate the fate of theſe different people through a long ſucceſsion of time; through ages remote, ignorant, obſcure, of which we have very ſmall remains, and thoſe uncertain as to their authority, imperfect in their matter, and confuſed in their narration of the few occurrences they were intended to convey down to poſterity; without any order of time, and with very few particulars of place, date, or chronological marks to ſerve for a guide and help to form a judgment; even in points of the greateſt importance; as well as through others, which indeed afford a multitude of writers, but generally Monks, confin'd to a cloiſter, unexperienc'd in affairs, unacquainted with the

world, equally fond of perpetuating trifling and material events; and who, being often misinformed themselves, are much fitter to mislead than instruct us in such cases, ever varying in their accounts of transactions, and frequently contradicting each other, in the substance as well as circumstances of facts; so that there is no admitting them for evidence, till they have stood the test of a strict examination: To do this as it ought to be done, is a work which requires a great impartiality of mind, and coolness of reflection, with a continual attention and exercise of the judgment, in order to clear up what such writers have perplexed; to separate what they have improperly jumbled; to distinguish what is true from what is false; and what may be received as certain from what is barely probable or mere conjecture. But whatever labour may be necessary for this purpose, or however disagreeable it may be, to go through heaps of rubbish to select a few materials; an historian cannot, with justice to himself or the world, abate the least of this care and caution till he comes to the age of public records; when all the civil acts of government were enrolled and committed to writing in a regular and authentic manner, and most of the military and political transactions of the same times may be verified in a great degree by those unerring authorities.

This however is no more than the importance of the subject deserves, and is absolutely necessary to answer the ends of History: which, with the knowledge of past transactions, conveys to us the experience of former ages, the examples of our ancestors, and the just characters of persons, who have deserved either well or ill of their country. It treats of the secrets of state; the actions of princes; the conduct of ministers; the condition and behaviour of the people; the forms of their *police*, customs, and constitution; the wisdom of their laws; the methods and rules of their justice; the maxims of their politics; the arts or mistakes of statesmen; the causes of the grandeur of a nation in some ages, and of its decline in others; the virtues which raise it at one time to the height of glory, and the vices which at another sink it into contempt, and pave the way to its ruin. In a word, it lays before our eyes the vicissitude of all human affairs, the fate of kingdoms and states, the variations of religion and government, the occasions and causes of revolutions, with the pretences made use of by such as have projected, and the ends proposed by such as have favoured them; the means whereby they have been brought about, and the effects which they have been found to produce.

To relate these with a proper choice of their important circumstances, and accompanied with just reflections, without favour or prejudice to parties or persons; and without any bias but what is the necessary result of a due esteem for virtue, and of an honest zeal for the public good; to relate them, purged of the defects and faults, that have, in the barbarity of past ages, crept into our old chronicles; in the natural order of events; and with a clearness of narration, proper for instruction, as well as necessary for their being rightly understood; not with the pomp of sounding words, the flourishes of an orator, or the paintings of a poet, which history rejects as unworthy of her dignity, and which are certainly an improper language to come out of the mouth of truth; but still with a force, and elegance, and (as occasions require) a life of expression; in an easy flow of style; such as, without veiling any of the native charms of Truth, may yet give her ornaments agreeable to her modesty, and make her appear amiable in the eyes of those, who might be shocked to see her in a dress either forbidding or negligent; is the proper business of an historian. This is the task in which I am ingaged, and these are the subjects of the following work; in which they shall be treated with that becoming freedom, which the laws of history demand, and which, after an unwearied diligence in searching for the truth in all cases, a consciousness of writing it justly

warrants: And they ſhall be deſcribed with all the exactneſs, which their importance deſerves, as well as with all the impartiality, which the pureſt love of truth can inſpire.

I. BRITAIN, reputed by the *Greeks* and *Romans* the largeſt iſland of the habitable world, is ſeated in the north weſt part of *Europe*; ſurrounded by a number of leſſer iſles, which, however diſtinguiſhed from each other by particular denominations, paſſed among the antients by the general name of the *Britiſh Iſlands*. It is divided from the continent on the eaſt and ſouth by two branches, the one of the *German*, the other of the Weſtern Ocean; which extend themſelves into the *Engliſh* channel, and grow gradually more ſhallow, as well as more narrow, till they meet in the ſtreight between *Dover* and *Calais*. It was probably this laſt circumſtance, and the ſmall diſtance between the *French* and the *Engliſh* coaſts in that ſtreight; and perhaps ſome old tradition; which have occaſioned abundance of writers, both ancient and modern, to imagine, that this iſland was originally joined to the continent, and ſevered afterwards from it, either at the time of the univerſal deluge, or by ſome accident, which hath happened ſince the general alteration made in the outward face of the earth by that inundation. [1] *Verſtegan* ſupports the latter opinion, by arguments drawn from the appellation of *Cliffs* given to the rocks near *Dover*, and on the oppoſite ſhore, preſerving, as it were, a memorial of their having been once joined and afterwards cleft aſunder; from their being both of the ſame chalky and flinty ſubſtance, their ſides towards the ſea appearing plainly to be broken off from more of the ſame matter to which they had been ſome time by nature faſtened; from the length of thoſe Cliffs along the ſea-ſhore, anſwering on one ſide exactly to the length of thoſe on the other, both running for about ſix miles till they terminate in a ſandy ſhore; (as that of *Calais* is on the *French* coaſt, and *Sandwich* on the *Engliſh*) and not above twenty four miles diſtant from one another; from the face or appearance of thoſe Cliffs, which ſeem cut off ſteep or ſtrait down from top to bottom, not ſloaping as inland hills generally are in their deſcent to the valleys adjoining, but broken off by force towards the ſea with a ſurprizing evenneſs, each ſide ſtill correſponding to the other in this reſpect: and from the alterations evidently appearing in the neighbouring countries, particularly in *Holland*, *Zeland*, and the low parts of *Flanders*, once covered by the ſea, and ſtill ſubject to inundations, but drained (as he ſuppoſeth) upon the waters finding a paſſage through the narrow iſthmus, which till then afforded a land paſſage from the continent to *Britain*.

Of the ſituation and name of BRITAIN.

THE obſervations made by Dr. *Wallis*, Mr. *Somner*, and others of the like alterations in maritime and low grounds in *Kent*, *Eſſex*, *Lincolnſhire*, and other parts of *England*, with the impoſſibility of an iſthmus ſo very narrow, when continually beaten on both ſides, being able to hold out for thouſands of years againſt the fury of two ſeas conſpiring to undermine it, renewing their attacks every tide, and their natural force augmented from time to time by the violence of ſtorms, have inclined them alſo to adopt the ſame ſentiment. To theſe may be added the ſetting of the tides (in the manner they muſt neceſſarily flow before the iſthmus was broken) of the *German* ſea from north to ſouth, whilſt thoſe from the weſtern ocean ſet from ſouth to north, till they meet in a point about the *Doggar ſands*; The ridge of rock at the bottom of the ſea running from one ſide of the ſtreights to the other; and the name of the headland on the *French* ſide lying oppoſite to the *South Foreland*, which is now called *Blackneſs*, and was anciently known by the name of *Promontorium Icium*, as *Ptolemy* writes it, or *Itium*, according to

[1] Reſtitution of decay'd intelligence, p. 97, et ſeq. See Philoſophical Tranſactions, N°. 275, 276.

Strabo

Strabo, a name probably derived from the Celtic word *Guith*, ſignifying *a ſeparation* [2].

In an event ſuppoſed to have happened many ages before *Britain* was ſo much as known to the learned part of the world, there is no expecting any teſtimonies from authors to decide the queſtion. *Servius*, who flouriſhed about A. D. 400, being the moſt ancient that (in his commentary upon a paſſage of *Virgil* which hints it) directly aſſerts this ſeparation of *Britain* from the continent; and I only touch upon the reaſons, which ſeem to favour that conjecture; not caring to dwell longer on a ſubject of not ſo much uſe as curioſity.

The firſt ſtep to the knowledge of a country, and the firſt point of enquiry about it, is the name by which it is diſtinguiſhed: and this hath in all ages been generally taken, either from the name of the inhabitants, from the nature of its ſituation, or from ſome particular circumſtance or quality, as well of the land as the people. The names *Albion* and *Britannia*, by which this iſland ſeems to be firſt known in the world, and which are taken notice of by *Ariſtotle* [3], are naturally enough accounted for in this manner: For as the mountains which ſeparate *France* and *Italy*, being always covered with ſnow, and appearing white, were for that reaſon (as *Feſtus Pompeius* ſays) called *Alpes* [4]; ſo this iſland, when it firſt preſented itſelf with its chalky cliffs and ſoil to the eyes of thoſe who viewed it from the Gallic ſhore, could not be more properly denominated than by the name of *Albion*; agreeable to that which uſed to be given it by the ancient *Britons*, who called it *Iniſ-wen*, or *Ellan-ban*, both words denoting *The white iſland*. As to its other name of *Britannia*, learned men have been much divided in their opinions about its derivation; and the diſpute between them hath been carried on with more warmth and vehemence than the ſubject ſeems to deſerve. Several of theſe derivations are ſo much forced, and ſo ill calculated, either to engage the judgment, or even ſtrike the fancy of mankind in their favour; that it is ſcarce worth while to mention them. I ſhall therefore only take notice of *Camden's*, which, it muſt be owned, is ingenious and natural enough, and then take the freedom of offering my own; for in caſes of ſo remote antiquity, where there is no light but what muſt ariſe from conjecture, every man has a right to propoſe his opinion, that the moſt rational may be preferred.

Camden makes this name to be a compound of two words of different languages: *Brith* or *Brit*, a Celtic word which ſignifies *painted*, and *Tania* [5], a Greek word denoting a *region*; ſo that, according to him *Britannia* was ſo called from its being a *Country of painted people*. My objection to this is, that it accounts better for the

[2] That this, as well as the harbour near it, called *Portus Icius* (deemed by [a] Camden, [b] Du Freſne, and other learned men, to be *Vitſand* or *Witſand*, which has ſtill the remains of a Roman road leading to it, and was the ordinary paſſage between *France* and *England* from the ſixth at leaſt to the fourteenth century, as appears from writers and records in thoſe and the intermediate ages) derived their names from the Britiſh word *Guith*, which ſignifies *a Separation*, is the more probable, becauſe the *Iſle of Wight*, called by ſome authors *Vectis*, and *Ictis* by *Diodorus Siculus*, (in whoſe time [c] it was an iſland only at high water, for at low, when the tide was out, the channel between it and *Hampſhire* being left dry, it was joined to *Britain*, as a peninſula) is called *Guith* by the Britains; for a like reaſon as *Sicily* aſſumed its name, when it was by *Deucalion's* flood (as [d] *Seneca* ſays) cut off and ſevered from *Italy*.

[3] In his treatiſe *De mundo*.

[4] From the Greek Ἄλφος or Ἄλπος, the Roman *Albus* or the Sabine *Alpus*, which in theſe ſeveral tongues ſignify *White*, being all derived from the Celtic *Alp* or *Alb* (the letters *b* and *p* being in that language, as well as in many others, continually interchanged) which hath the ſame meaning; (See *Antiquitez des Celtes* in *Gloſſ.*) But whether it be for this reaſon or no, there are others who maintain, that all mountains and high places were called by the *Celtæ*, *Alpes* or *Albes*: See note in *Tacit. de Mor. German.* N°. 28. *Ed. Gronov.* Thus a mountain near the *Neckar* not far from *Roteling*, was called *Alba*, and *Strabo*, l. iv. p. 202. ſpeaks of another at the extremity of the Alpes in *Illyricum*, called *Albius Mons quaſi Alpinus*, near which ſtood the town of *Albium*, and *Alpia* formerly *Albia* and *Alpiona*.

[5] *Camden* had no occaſion to have recourſe to a foreign word; when the Celtic, *Tan*, from which the other is manifeſtly derived, has the ſame meaning.

[a] In Kent. [b] Portus Iccius, p. 104. *etc.* [c] p. 301. [d] Quæſt. natural. 6.

name of the country, than for that of the inhabitants, and ſeems to owe its original rather to foreigners than the natives; whereas, of all the ways and occaſions of giving denomination to countries, that, which derives them from the very name of the people who firſt planted them, is certainly the moſt uſual in point of practice, and the moſt fitting in point of reaſon to be preferred. Now, in the ancienteſt writings of the *Britiſh* poets and others, it appears, that they conſtantly called themſelves *Prydhain*, and their country *Inis-prydhain*, the *Iſle of the Prydhain*: and "as with [1] *regard to words*, eſpecially *ſubſtantives*, which in their primary uſe "y begin with *p*, the *Welſh* conſtantly change that letter, in ſpeaking or writing, as "occaſion ſhall require, into *b*," and make a like change of *d* into *t* and *dh* into *th* [2]; like which it was always pronounced; I can't ſee how the *Latins*, who conſtantly rejected ſuch aſpirates, or indeed the *Greeks*, hearing the ſound of the word *Brydhain* [3], and ſoftening it after their manner, when they adopted it into their language, could well call the people by any name but that of *Britani*, or the country by any other than that of *Britania*.

I SUPPOSE indeed (and it is all that in this caſe I have occaſion to ſuppoſe,) that people diſtinguiſhed by the ſame *latinized* name, were likewiſe called by the ſame correſponding name in the *Celtic* or *Britiſh* tongue; which, I imagine, cannot reaſonably be diſputed; and that there were people on the continent called *Britanni*, who being more uſed to commerce with the world, and more civilized than the *Iſland Britains*, never marked or painted their bodies, is a fact very eaſy to be proved. *Julius Cæſar* indeed does not mention them in the ſhort Commentary which he wrote of his wars in *Gaule*, tho' he ſays in [4] general, that the maritime provinces of *Great Britain* were inhabited by people who came over from *Belgium* [5], and retained here the ſame names, which had ſerved to diſtinguiſh them in their former country. But there is no great ſtreſs to be laid upon his ſilence; becauſe he ſcarce gives us the names of forty towns of *Gaule*, when *Appian* in his account of the ſame wars, and *Plutarch* in *Cæſar's* life tell us, that he reduced above eight hundred to the obedience of the *Roman* empire [6].

Dionyſius, author of the *Periegeſis*, who wrote in the reign of [7] *Auguſtus Cæſar*, ſpeaking of the nations which dwelt on the ſea-coaſts from *Spain* to the *Rhine*, mentions the *Britanni* as ſettled to the ſouth of that river on the coaſt of *Flanders*, over-againſt the iſle of *Great Britain*: and *Pliny*, recounting the various people that dwelt in his time on the coaſt of *Gaule*, from the mouth of the *Schelde* ſouthwards, and diſtinguiſhing them from thoſe who were ſettled more within land; after mentioning the *Toxandri*, who poſſeſſed *Zealand*, the *Menapii* of *Brabant*, the *Morini* and *Oromanſaci* who inhabited the counties of *Boulogne* and *Guiſnes*, placeth the *Britanni* between theſe laſt and the people of *Amiens*, *Beauvais*, and *Seez* in *Normandie*; aſſigning them, by this deſcription of their ſituation, a part of *Picardie* for their habitation [8].

[1] *Lhuyd's Archæol. Brit.* p. 19. col. 2.

[2] Ib. p. 28, and 29. col. 1.

[3] For Mr. *Baxter* (*in Gloſ. Ant. Brit.* p. 90.) ſays, that the oldeſt *Brigantes*, the firſt inhabitants of *Britain*, never uſed the letter *p*, which was introduced afterwards by the *Belgic Britains*.

[4] *De bello Gallico*, l. 5.

[5] *i. e. Picardie* properly ſo called, or perhaps the part of it called the country of *Ponthieu*.

[6] Thus alſo with regard to the vaſt number of different people ſettled on the coaſt of the ocean, in a tract of above a 1000 miles, from the mouth of the *Rhine* to the ſhore of *Biſcay*, who all had their diſtinct *proper* names, he ſpeaks of them only under the *appellative* names to which they might all IT make the like pretenſions, being taken from their common ſituation; ſuch as the *Morini* and *Aremorici*, *i. e.* the *Maritime Nations*, except in three or four in the Province of *Britagne*, which his wars there neceſſarily obliged him to mention. It is likewiſe obſervable, that this laſt name of *Aremorici* uſed to be given alſo to the *Aquitani*, of whom there were above twenty nations between the *Garonne* and *Pyrenees*. *Plin. Nat. Hiſt.* l. iv. c. 17. 19. *Strabo*, p. 189.

[7] l. iv. c. 17.

[8] *Sanſon* thinks that the chief city of theſe people was *Abbeville*: Whoſe firſt walls, ſome veſtiges whereof ſtill remain, are by an old tradition ſaid to be built 1130 years before the *Chriſtian* æra;

a *Britannia, ou Recherche de l'Antiquité d'Abbeville.*

It is reaſonable however to think, that theſe *Britanni* or *Brydhain* of the continent, extended themſelves formerly much farther along the weſtern coaſt of *Gaule*, than they did, or were ſuppoſed to do, at the time when they firſt came to be known to the *Romans*; and that the *Britanni*, ſpoken of by *Dionyſius*, as ſettled on the coaſt of *Flanders*, (where the towns of *Bruges*, and *Bretten* the old name of *Mons* in *Haynault*, ſeem to preſerve their memory) and thoſe of *Picardie* mentioned by *Pliny*, were originally the ſame people, and lay contiguous to each other; and that they were ſpread ſtill farther along the coaſt towards the ſouth, even to the mouth of the *Loire* and the extremity of *Bretagne*; which ſeveral learned writers maintain to have been called by that name, long before it came to be in conſtant uſe, and appropriated to that province after the remains of the army, brought out of this iſland by *Maximus*, had, according to the *Welſh* tradition, ſettled in that country [4].

It

æra; and that by a fate common to it with abundance of other towns in *Gaule*, and elſewhere, it has by the ſubſtitution of a new one, loſt its ancient and more honourable name of *Britannia*. [b] *Strabo* gives us from the famous *Polybius*, who took it from *Eratoſthenes* keeper of the *Alexandrian* library under *Ptolemy Euergetes*, and from *Pytheas* of *Marſeille*, who was ſtill elder than the other, and in whoſe time the thing ſeems to have happened in the neighbourhood of his uſual abode, a very remarkable relation with regard to that ancient city. He ſays that *Publius Cornelius Scipio* (father to that great man who firſt deſerved the honourable title of *Africanus*) "enquired diligently of the de-"puties of *Marſeille*, when they were with him, "about the cities of *Britannia*, *Narbonne*, and "*Carbilo*, the three beſt cities in all *Gaule*." This muſt, in all probability, have happened in *A. U. C.* 535. about 220 years before the birth of *Chriſt*, when *Scipio*, being conſul with *T. Sempronius Longus*, was ſent to oppoſe *Annibal*, then marching with his army through *Gallia Narbonenſis* in order to invade *Italy*: and coming with his fleet to the mouth of the *Rhone*; the city of *Marſeille* (a colony of the *Phocæans*, which, from their firſt ſettlement in thoſe parts near four hundred years before, had cultivated a ſtrict friendſhip, confirmed by mutual good offices, with the *Romans*) ſent their deputies to wait upon the conſul, with offers of their aſſiſtance, and with the beſt intelligence, they had been able to procure, of the motions of the *Carthaginian* army. The *Maſſilians*, by reaſon of the continual wars, in which from the earlieſt days of their eſtabliſhment they had been engaged with the *Salii* and other nations ſettled in their neighbourhood, and the little intercourſe they had with the reſt of *Gaule*, were but ill qualified to anſwer *Scipio's* queſtions to his ſatisfaction: But it appears from hence, that *Britannia* was the firſt of thoſe renowned cities of *Gaule*, the fame of whoſe opulence, commerce, and power had reached to *Rome*. The account which [b] *Strabo* gives of the antiquity, commerce, and populouſneſs of *Narbonne*, which not long after occaſioned the ſouthern part of *Gaule* to change its name of *Braccata* into *Narbonenſis*, muſt raiſe in us a favourable opinion of the like advantages belonging to *Britannia*, which deſerved a preference to ſo eminent a city. Towns deſtined to commerce, by which in all ages they have grown conſiderable, were generally founded upon large rivers at a ſmall diſtance from the ſea; ſo was *Narbonne:* and *Strabo* tells us, that *Carbilo* was ſeated near the mouth of the *Loire*, where it now appears under the name of *Nantes* according to *Ortelius*. *Britannia* muſt be looked for among the *Britanni*; of which people we may as naturally conclude it to be the capital, as *Auſch* was of the *Auſcii*, *Angers* of the *Andegavi*, *Tours* of the *Turones*, and *Beauvais* of the *Bellovaci*; and accordingly *Sanſon* places it at *Abbeville* on the *Somme*, not far from the mouth of that navigable river.

This was probably a much better port in former days, the ſea having for ſeveral ages been withdrawing from the *French* ſide of the channel to the inconceivable prejudice of their ports, and gaining ground on the ſhore of *England*. This appears particularly from the great difference in the preſent ſtate of the channel of the *Iſle of Wight* from what it was in the time of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, when it was dry at low water; and from the caſe of *Monſtreuil ſur mer*, which, tho' formerly waſhed by an arm of the ſea, lies now at ſome leagues diſtance, and hath long ago ceaſed to be an harbour. The lower part of the town is at this day waſhed by an inconſiderable river too narrow for navigation, and ſecured by a moraſs, running a great way higher up into the country through a valley perfectly level between two ridges of mountains: which being without any of the unevenneſſes of inland vales, hath all the air of a bay once filled with water, tho' now deſerted by the ſea: and whoever caſts a view on the like vallies between that place and *Abbeville*, may obſerve appearances enough to make him conclude, they have all undergone the ſame fate. Theſe obſervations ſhew, that *Abbeville* was probably a very good port formerly, and it certainly lay very commodious for tranſporting over into *Britain*, as well the firſt inhabitants of this country, as the colonies, which, [c] *Cæſar* tells us, came over afterwards from *Belgium*, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſouthern and maritime parts of the iſland. Conſidering therefore the natural fondneſs, which all nations have for their mother country, and for the preſervation of its name, there ſeems no manner of grounds to imagine, that the firſt plantation of *Great Britain* was made from any other quarter, or by any other people, than the *Britanni* of *Gaule*.

[4] No ancient writer takes any notice of this uſurper's *Britiſh* forces retiring into *Armorica*; and *Sulpicius Severus* a contemporary hiſtorian, a man of

[b] l. iv. [c] l. iv. [4] *De Bello Gallico*, l. v.

It was common in the early ages of the world, for people to be called by ſeveral names, either owned by themſelves, or impoſed on them by others, inſomuch that, of the infinite number of nations which inhabited *Spain* at the time it firſt came to be known to the *Romans*, there was ſcarce one of them but went by ſeveral denominations. New names were generally given to a people upon the arrival of new colonies in a country, and were taken from ſomething in their qualities or condition, by which they were diſtinguiſhed, or from ſome particular circumſtance in their ſituation. Thus, when new colonies of inhabitants from among the *Belgæ* or *Germans*, came to fix their ſeats in the extreme parts of *Gaule*, the *Celtæ*, who had been ſettled there ſome ages before, began in the provinces adjoining to the abode of theſe new comers, to be called by the names of *Heneti*, *Veneti*, or *Senones*, all derived from the Celtic word *Hen*, in Latin *Senex*, and importing, what they really were, the *Old inhabitants*; whilſt others, who dwelt on the *Sea-coaſt*, (and among theſe, the *Veneti* of *Bretagne* and *Normandy*, who ſeem to have always carried on a large commerce, and to have kept up a ſtrict friendſhip and correſpondence with this iſland) were from thence [5] called by the general name of *Morini* or *Aremorici*, *Inhabitants of the ſea coaſts*. But names of this kind, being at firſt merely *appellative*, and ſerving rather to deſcribe than denominate a people, could hardly be deemed *proper* ones, till they came by long and continual uſe to be in a manner conſecrated, and at length ſo entirely appropriated, as in many caſes to extinguiſh utterly all remembrance of the true name, by which ſuch people were originally diſtinguiſhed. Whereas of all names, thoſe which are taken from the ſtock of which a nation is deſcended, are certainly the moſt ancient: and have this further advantage, that they point out to us the true original of a people; which is the next ſubject of enquiry with regard to the ancient inhabitants of *Britain*.

Of the firſt inhabitants of *Britain*.

That they were a *Celtic* nation, and came hither from *Gaule*, is no longer doubted by any body: the perfect conformity between them and the old *Gaulois* in their manners, cuſtoms, habits, buildings, temper, warlike genius, ſuperſtitions of religion, and above all in their language, joined to the ſituation of the two countries, not allowing on this head the leaſt room for diſpute. This renders it neceſſary to trace the original of the *Celtæ*; the doing of which will diſcover, likewiſe, that of the *Britains*: a work, which, however at this diſtance of time it may appear impracticable, hath yet been attempted with ſucceſs, and executed with ſo much learning and judgment by the late M. *Pezron* in his *Antiquité des Celtes* (wherein he hath been generally followed by other curious ſearchers into antiquity,) that there is little occaſion of entering into a minute detail of thoſe reaſonings by which he hath at large ſupported his opinions, or into a tedious elaborate diſcuſſion of what he hath deduced already in the cleareſt manner, and hath proved by unexceptionable authorities.

Let it ſuffice therefore to obſerve, that agreeably to the bleſſing, which God Almighty after the flood gave to *Noah* and his ſons [6], *That they ſhould be fruitful and bring forth abundantly, and replenish the earth*; and to that which *Noah* himſelf pronounced particularly in favour of the eldeſt of his children [7], that *God ſhould enlarge Japhet*; thoſe venerable progenitors of the preſent world did in fact multiply exceedingly. This, though the temperance of their diet and the regularity of their way of living might contribute ſomething towards it, was yet chiefly ow-

of quality, and a native of *Aquitain*, who was at that very time with St. *Martin* at *Tours*, writing within leſs than ten years after, (too ſhort a time for introducing a change in the old name of a country) and ſpeaking of times more ancient, ſtill calls that province by the name of *Britannia*; tho' *Sidonius Apollinaris* not long after terms it *Armorica*.

[5] The word *Mor* in *Celtic* ſignifying *the Sea*.

[6] Gen. ix. 1. 7. [7] Gen. x. 21.

ing to the remains of the antediluvian vigour, not then quite worn out of their conſtitutions; and to the extraordinary length, to which their lives, by a particular providence in that ſtate of the world, were extended. Hence, in about two hundred years after the Deluge, they found themſelves in a condition to ſend out colonies of their deſcendants into different parts of the earth, to divide it among them, and, as their families increaſed, to form many diſtinct nations. The inſpired author [1] of the book of *Geneſis* hath preſerved the names of the ſeveral heads of theſe families or nations, and tranſmitted them to us, with an account how they branched out of the common ſtem; adding at the concluſion of his genealogical narration, that *theſe were the families of the ſons of Noah after their generations in their nations, and by theſe were the nations divided in the earth after the flood.* Hence, whenever any of theſe nations come in ſucceeding times to be mentioned either in the other hiſtorical, or in the prophetical books of the Old Teſtament, they are conſtantly denominated by the name of their founder thus recorded by *Moſes*; a method, which hath been followed by the *Jewiſh* writers in all ages.

THE ſame divine authority aſſures us, that the *Iſles of the nations* [2] were planted by the deſcendants of *Japhet*: Profane hiſtory gives the ſame account, and ſhews us further, that the greater part of *Aſia* was peopled by his poſterity; ſo widely were his borders and poſſeſſions extended. *Gomer*, or *Gamar* (as he is called in the *Septuagint*) the eldeſt of his ſons, fixed his ſeat in the *Higher Aſia*, to the eaſt of the *Caſpian Sea*, in the pleaſant and fruitful countries of *Hyrcania*, *Margiana*, *Bactriana*, and *Sogdiana*; where he enjoyed all the advantages, which a rich ſoil, a temperate climate, the neighbourhood of the ſea, and the convenience of fine rivers, naturally afford. The vaſt tract of land, that lay to the eaſt and north-eaſt of thoſe countries, known by the general name of *Great Tartary*, was the portion of *Magog*, the ſecond of *Japhet's* ſons, and the father of the true *Scythians*. *Madai* the third ſon took poſſeſſion of *Media*, contiguous to his brother *Gomer's* territories, but lying more ſouth, and extending itſelf farther weſtward [3]. *Javan* or *Jovan* the fourth ſon, and the father of the *Jaones* or *Iones*, ſettled in the ſouthern parts of the *Leſſer Aſia*; and from thence his deſcendants, paſſing into *Attica*, *Phocis*, and *Peloponneſus*, peopled all *Greece*, ſome parts of *Italy*, and the iſlands of the *Archipelago*: whilſt *Tiras* or *Tirax*, the youngeſt, took poſſeſſion of the more northern provinces of the *Leſſer Aſia*, running from the coaſt of the *Mediterranean* to the ſouth-eaſtern extremity of the *Euxine*.

THE poſterity of this laſt multiplied ſo exceedingly, and ſpread themſelves ſo very early into the moſt diſtant parts, that under the names of *Thraces* and *Briges* [4], perhaps ſo called from their living, not ſtraggling in woods, (the too ordinary cuſtom in thoſe times,) but collected together in towns [5], the characters of *Gens* [6] *maxima* and *Gens antiquiſſima* were naturally given and juſtly allowed them by the ancients. For, after planting *Phrygia* and the adjoining countries lying on the *Euxine*, they paſſed over the *Thracian Boſphorus* into *Europe*, ſettled in *Thrace*, and from thence ſent out their colonies, ſome northwards into *Poland* and *Ruſſia*, where they gave the river *Nieſter* the name of *Thyras*; whilſt others, coaſting along the *Danube*, and afterwards down the *Rhine*, penetrated as far as the weſtern ocean.

[1] GEN. x.

[2] By this expreſſion is meant not only the iſlands of the *Mediterranean*, but *Greece* alſo, and all the maritime parts of *Europe*, to which they paſſed by ſea from *Paleſtine*.

[3] The country where the ark reſted is generally thought to be *Armenia*; but there are good reaſons to think that mount *Ararat* lay in *Bactriana*, and that this laſt was the country whence mankind was propagated; the eldeſt ſon of *Gomer* remaining there, whilſt the ſecond removed toward the riſing ſun and the younger directed their courſe towards the weſt.

[4] *Wachter*, in pref. to *Gloſſar. German.* thinks they were called *Briges*, becauſe a *free* people.

[5] *Brige* in *Celtic* ſignifies a *Town*, whence, by tranſpoſition of letters, comes the *German*, *Burg*, *civitas*.

[6] *Herod.* l. v. n. 3. l. ii. n. 2.

In thoſe early days of the world, before ſpeech was reduced to any certain rules; when there were no letters, books, or writings to ſettle a proper orthography and render it uniform; when every body took a liberty of ſpelling after their own manner, to expreſs, as near as they could, the ſound of a word, or what was their apprehenſion of that ſound; it cannot be expected, but that theſe names of the ſame people, which in their original, (as all ancient languages are ſimple, and conſiſt for the moſt part of monoſyllables,) were *Thrax* and *Bryx*, ſhould, in their declenſion and derivatives, meet with a good deal of variation. Every one ſees by his own daily experience, how frequent it is for a man to be puzzled, even in his native language, by the unaccountable ſpelling of his correſpondents: And whoever looks into *Rymer's* collection of our publick records, or reads the hiſtories of this nation, and of the very next adjoining realm of *France*, wrote by *Engliſh* and *French* hiſtorians, cannot but obſerve the ſtrange havock made by men of learning, in the names of perſons and places in both thoſe countries, to which they were reſpectively, ſtrangers. It can therefore be no ſubject of wonder, that in ages utterly illiterate, when there was no guide, either to prevent the miſtakes of the common people, (upon whom the uſe of words chiefly depends) in their pronunciation of the names of the mother nation, in caſes where they intended to preſerve them in their purity; or to correct any deviation of theirs, from the rules ſince received, for the forming derivative words; if they had a mind to aſſume, or give a colony, not the original name appropriated to the ſtock from whence it ſprung, but ſome other, that might however ſhew the relation, which the new tranſplanted race bore to that of which they were deſcendants; it can't in ſuch caſe, I ſay, be any ſubject of wonder, that the name of *Briges* ſhould, in their tranſmigrations from one country to another, receive ſuch alterations, as to allow the ſame people to be called in ſome countries [1] *Phryges*, *Frixi*, *Frigones*, *Friſones*, *Friſii*, *Pariſii*; and in others, *Brigantes*, *Briſones*, *Britones*, *Britanni*. Such variations are unavoidable, eſpecially when ſo many colonies are ſent out at different times to ſettle in diſtant regions, as were in the caſe of the *Phrygians*: Yet, after all, the variation is no greater in any of theſe names, than that made above a thouſand years afterwards, (when the denomination of cities and nations was better fixed) by the learned *Greeks*, in the names of *Pæni* and *Punici* for a colony of the *Phœnices*.

'Tis really amazing what a number of colonies were ſent abroad by the *Phrygians*. I make uſe of the word *Phrygians*, becauſe it is the beſt known and generally uſed, to denote the people, that were the firſt planters of *Europe*, and known originally by the names of *Thraces* and *Briges*: For [2] *Herodotus* tells us expreſly, that they were always called *Briges* as long as they ſtayed in *Europe*; but when one of their colonies that inhabited the mountainous parts of *Macedonia* on the confines of *Thrace*, thought fit afterwards to remove thence into *Leſſer Aſia*; they then, together with the place of their abode, changed their name into *Phryges* or *Phrygians*. [3] *Conon* aſcribes this to *Midas*; who had been a diſciple of *Orpheus*, and ruling over the *Bryges* in *Thrace*, perſuaded his ſubjects to croſs the *Hellespont*, and to aſſume the name of *Phryges* upon their ſettlement in the country beyond *Myſia*. This fixeth the time of their remove and change of name to about thirty years before the *Trojan* war. But whenever it was, this *Thracian* people, afterwards called *Phrygians*, were the firſt nation that entered *Europe*, and for an age

[1] *Baxter's Gloſſ. Antiq. Brit. in v.* BRIGANTES. So *Galli*, *Gallici*, *Gallicani*, *Galatæ*: So the *Myſi*, another *Thracian* colony, were called *Mæſi*, *Mœones*, *Meones* and *Merones*; ſo thoſe afterwards called *Britains*, were, even in *Thrace* itſelf, called by the various names of *Breges*, *Bregi*, *Briges*, *Bryces*, *Bryteæ*, *Bricci*, *Briceſi*, *Brigii*, *Brygiences*, *Bebryces* and *Phryges*, to which *Stephanus* adds, *Brigantes*.

[2] l. 7. n. 73. [3] Narrat. i.

[a] See *Strabo*, l. vii. p. 245. 326. l. xii. p. 550. *Stephan.* in dictis vocibus. *Conon* apud *Phot. Narrat.* I. p. 424.

or two had nobody to interfere with them in their plantations; no other people ſetting foot on this ſide the *Helleſpont*, beſides the *Jaones*, who ſettled in *Crete*, *Rhodes*, *Sicily* and other iſlands: but did not attempt for ſome ages to extend themſelves further on the continent than *Greece*, and the adjacent parts of *Italy*, diſtinguiſhed afterwards by the name of *Magna Græcia*. Theſe were indeed very fine countries, and very agreeable ſettlements, but not comparable in point of extent to thoſe of the *Phrygians*; who having peopled *Mæſia*, *Pannonia*, *Illyricum* and *Rhætia*, paſſed along the *Rhine* to the place where it empties itſelf into the ſea, making ſettlements on both ſides of the river; on the north, in the country ever ſince known by the name of *Friſia*, and from thence along the maritime provinces of *Germany*, thoſe parts being generally firſt inhabited, as the inland were over-run with foreſts; and on the ſouth upon the coaſts of the *weſtern ocean*. Others of their colonies, taking a different road, made their way by a nearer cut into the heart of *Gaule*.

A COUNTRY, to which nature hath been ſo prodigal of her bleſſings; ſeated in the happieſt climate, watered with the fineſt rivers; favoured above others with a healthineſs of ſoil, as well as lightneſs and ſerenity of air, proper to create a livelineſs of ſpirits, and infuſe a cheerfulneſs of temper, ſo neceſſary to make life agreeable; affording every where proſpects, extreamly delightful to the eye, and infinite in their variety; producing or capable of producing all the conveniencies, and even the ſuperfluities of human life; might well have ſatisfied all the deſires of the *Phrygians*, and put an end to their travels. But curioſity is boundleſs as well as eager; they ſoon made their way over the *Pyrenees* and ſpread their colonies through *Spain*, till they came to the very extremity of it, to the place where *Hercules* afterwards erected his famous pillars. They left, in the cities which they founded and in the names of rivers and mountains, monuments of themſelves in all the countries, through which they paſſed, or in which they ſettled: ſome of theſe remain to this very day; notwithſtanding the great changes that have ſince happened in thoſe parts, the frequent removal and ſucceſſion of inhabitants, different in their language as well as barbarous in their manners, and the vaſt number of ages which have flowed away, devouring as it were one another, and ſufficient to bury all things paſt ſo long ago, in oblivion[1].

THE humour of making plantations in remote parts of the world, which might be at firſt the reſult of neceſſity, and the effect of a country being too much crowded by the multitude of its fruitful inhabitants, became ſoon a favourite mode; and was carried on with an eagerneſs, which it would not be eaſy for us fully conceive; were it not for the fury, with which we have known the wild project of the *Cruſadoes* proſecuted, and all ſorts of perſons for three hundred years together embarked in the perillous adventures that attended expeditions to the *Holy Land*, and with which likewiſe, within the one hundred and fifty years laſt paſt, men expoſed themſelves to the horrible dangers and hardſhips they were ſure to meet with in their voyages for diſcovering a north-eaſt or north-weſt paſſage to the *Eaſt-Indies*. The firſt planters of *Europe* ran no ſuch dangers; they had no frozen ſeas to paſs; no ſhoals of ice, or extremities of cold, to guard againſt: They had not at land, ſo ſoon after the de-

[1] Of this ſort are the people, known over *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, by the name of *Brigantes*; the *Britanni* on the ſea coaſts of *Gallia Belgica*; the *Brigani* mentioned by *Pliny*, as ſeated in the *Alpes*; the *Brygian* mountains (as *Strabo* calls them) in *Illyria*; the town of *Brigitio*, now *Graan*, where the emperor *Valentinian* I. died in his expedition againſt the *Sarmatæ*; *Brixia* in *Gallia Ciſalpina*; the town of *Brigantium*, as *Ptolemy* calls it, or *Bergentium*, as it is named by *Aurelius Victor* in *Pannonia*; another *Brigantium*, now *Bregenta* in *Rhætia*, near the lake of *Conſtance*, which was of old called the *Lacus Brigantinus*; another of the ſame name, now *Briançon* in *Dauphiné*; a *Brigæcium*, now *Oviedo*, in the *Aſturias*; a *Brigantium*, now *Braganza* in *Portugal*; and another of the ſame name, now *Britanças* or *Corunna*, called antiently *Portus Brigantinus*, in *Gallicia*.

luge,

luge, any number of ravenous beaſts or venemous creatures to annoy them; no enemy to attack their lives or interrupt their paſſage; no difficulties to encounter in their way, but what aroſe, either from a neceſſity of carrying with them a moderate quantity of thoſe ſimple proviſions, which were then the common food of mankind, or from thick woods and large foreſts; from marſhes not yet drained of the waters, that, for want of a channel to carry them off, had ſubſided in their bottoms; from the height of mountains, and the largeneſs, depth or rapidity of the ſtream of rivers, which they had occaſion to paſs; difficulties not great in a gradual progreſs, and which every day ſuggeſted means of removing.

THE poſterity of *Tiras* enjoyed their *European* ſettlements for ſome time without diſturbance from any other quarter: But this quiet was at laſt interrupted by an invaſion made by the deſcendants of his eldeſt brother *Gomer*. Theſe being ſeated on the eaſt of the *Caſpian* ſea, were there known at firſt by the common name of *Gomerians* or *Comarians:* and are expreſly ſaid by [1] *Joſephus*, [2] *Ptolemy*, [3] *Euſtathius* of *Antioch*, [4] St. *Jerome*, and [5] *Iſidore* of *Seville*, to be the ſame people that were afterwards by the *Greeks* ealled *Celtæ*, and by a ſmall alteration (ſince the *Celtic C* was always pronounced like a *K*,) *Galatæ*. *Dionyſius*, *Pliny*, and *Mela* aſſign them the ſame ſituation; and as a diverſity in the nature of the countries they inhabited cauſed likewiſe ſome difference in their way of living, *Ptolemy* gives thoſe, who led a ſavage life in the vaſt plains that lie between the head of the *Jaxartes* and mount *Imaus*, without any fixed habitations, roving up and down from place to place with their flocks and herds, like the *Nomades* of old, or as the *Tartars* in thoſe very parts do now, the name of *Chomarians*; and adding an aſpirate to the word to make the pronunciation guttural, aſſigns that of *Chomarians* to the more civilized part of the nation, who, living ſociably together in towns and villages, inhabited *Margiana* and *Bactriana* near the *Oxus*, on which their capital city *Chomara* was ſeated. It was theſe laſt, who, either on occaſion of ſome diſſention, or becauſe the country was too much crowded by the multitude of its inhabitants, forced one of their clans to quit and retire beyond the mountains which bound *Margiana* on the ſouth, and ſeparate it from *Media*. Theſe exiles found a refuge and ſettlement in a barren, mountainous tract of the laſt named country, and were called [6] *Parthi*, by a name expreſſing their condition of *exile* and *ſeparation*; a treatment which they ſeem to have reſented ſo, as to brand the *Gomarians*, who had driven them out of their old poſſeſſions, with the names of *Scacæ* or *Sacæ*, to imply that they were *robbers*.

The expulſion of the *Parthi* proved but a temporary relief to the *Gomarians*. They ſtill continued to multiply ſo exceedingly, that, however unwilling they ſeem to have been to quit their original habitations, they yet found themſelves under a neceſſity of doing ſo, and of ſubmitting to the fate of other nations. [7] M. *Perron* maintains it to be in the time of *Nachor* grandfather to *Abraham*, that they made an irruption into the [8] *Greater Armenia*, under the conduct of *Acmon*, the ſon of [9] *Maneus:* And from thence paſſing into *Pontus*, *Cappadocia*, and *Phrygia*, made themſelves maſters of thoſe countries, and of the greateſt part of the *Leſſer Aſia*; where the memory of their leader was long preſerved in ſeveral towns bearing the name of *Acmonia*.

[1] *Antiq. Jud.* l. i. c. 6.
[2] *Geogr.* l. vi. c. 11. 13.
[3] *Comment. in Hexamer.* p. 57.
[4] *Trad. Hebr. in Gen.* [5] *Orig.* l. ix. c. 2.
[6] *Juſtin.* l. iv. c. 1. *Appian in Parthicis. Steph. de Urb. v.* Παρθυαῖοι.
[7] They were ſo called as being ſon or partizans of *Titæa*, and the name being derived from *Tit*, a *Celtic* word for *Earth*, was properly enough rendered by the *Greeks*, Γηγενῖς, and by the *Latins Terrigenæ*; *i. e.* Sons of the Earth.
[8] *Antiq. des Celtes*, p. 44.
[9] *Strabo*, l. xi. *Steph. v.* Ἀκμωνία. *Ptol. Geog.* l. v. c. 2.

ACMON

ACMON fixed the chief ſeat of his empire in *Phrygia:* But his ſon [1] *Uranus* or *Cælus*, a prince much addicted to aſtrology and augury, by which he pretended to diſcover future events and foretel revolutions in the heavens, and which ſeems to have given occaſion to his name, *Ur-en* in *Celtic* ſignifying *a man of the heavens*, paſſed the *Boſphorus*, ſubdued [2] *Thrace*, and extended his dominion over all the inhabited parts of *Europe*; plantations eaſily following the fate of their mother country. The *Gomarians* having made theſe conqueſts, began to be known, in the countries they had reduced, by other names, either aſſumed by themſelves, or given them by others. Their martial diſpoſition and great exploits procured them the names of *Celtæ*, by which they were known to the *Greeks*, and of *Galli*, as the *Romans* called them; both *Celtic* words in their original, and ſignifying in that tongue, *powerful* and *valiant*; an honourable diſtinction, which they tranſmitted, with their warlike genius, down to their poſterity. It was to their enormous ſize of body, or elſe to their inſolence, that they owed the appellation of *Gigantes*; the ſkilful in the *Celtic* language deriving *Gigas* from *Gug (proud* or *inſolent)* and *Guas (a man)* as they do *Gigantes* from *Giantos, (a giant.)* The name of [3] *Titanes* under which they were very famous in the firſt ages of antiquity, was at firſt appropriated only to the royal family, and particularly to the children of *Uranus* by his wife *Titæa*; whoſe party they embraced in her quarrel with him, and enabled her to depoſe *Uranus*, and advance her ſon *Saturn* to the throne.

SATURN kept his uſual reſidence in *Phrygia*, whence the greateſt part of his other territories had been planted; and where the ſcarlet or purple dye was firſt invented. This prince, thinking it no ill policy to diſtinguiſh himſelf from his ſubjects by ſome marks of dignity in his exterior figure which might ſtrike their eye, affected to appear in public, clad in a robe of that colour [4]; which from thence came to be for many ages appropriated to monarchs: He was likewiſe the firſt, that ever graced his temples with a [5] diadem. It was on this laſt account, that the *Phrygians* gave him the appellation of *Kroon*; which in their language ſignifies *crowned*, and occaſioned the *Greeks* to give him the name of *Cronos*. He was, like his father, addicted to the ſcience of aſtrology, and to all the religious ſuperſtitions, which the order of ſacrificers and diviners, eſtabliſhed under the names of *Curetes* and *Corybantes* among the *Gomarian Phrygians*, ſeem to have brought with them from *Bactria*; where the *Samanæi*, and the firſt *Zoroaſter* were ſoon after famous in thoſe reſpects. Theſe diviners, the only oracles then in the world, occaſioned the loſs of his crown, by ſuggeſting to him that he was in danger of being depoſed by his ſon [6] *Jupiter*; a prediction which made the ſtronger impreſſion on him, becauſe it was agreeable to what *Uranus*, (as *Apollodorus* ſays) in the anguiſh he felt on being deprived of his dominions by his own children, had told *Saturn* that he ſhould be treated by his own ſon in the ſame manner. *Saturn* jealous in his nature, and conſcious of the conduct he had obſerved towards his own father, eaſily imagined *Jupiter* capable of forming a like deſign; and by making war upon him, he haſtened his own ruin; being defeated

[1] The *Germans*, a *Celtic* nation, have an indiſputed tradition of their being deſcended from *Aſkenas* the eldeſt ſon of *Gomer*, and in *Tacitus's* time they derived themſelves from *Tuiſcon:* But whether this laſt name be a corruption of the former, or his ſon *Mannus* was the ſame perſon with *Manus* here mentioned, is matter of meer conjecture; it is however very probable that *Acmon* was a deſcendant of *Aſkenas*, becauſe *Aſcanius* and *Aſcania* are very common names of perſons and places in *Phrygia*, which till *Acmon's* time had been poſſeſſed by the *Thracians* or *Phrygians*, and eaſily fell under his power, upon being ſtripped of its inhabitants by the plantation of *Europe*.

[2] *Phurnut. de Nat. Deor.* c. 1. *Heſych v.* Ἀκμονίδης.

[3] *Diod. Sic.* l. iii. *Apollodor. de Deor. origine, initio.*

[4] *Tertul. de pallio,* & l. vi. *de Teſtimon. Animæ.*

[5] *Teſt. de Corona*, c. 7. *Lact. Inſt.* l. i. c. 13. *Divd.* See l. iii.

[6] *Lact.* l. i. c. 14. *Jul. Firmic.* l. *De error. Profan. Relig.*

in battel, and forced to abandon *Greece* and all the east to the conqueror. Upon this disaster, he fled to *Italy*; and being supported by his brother *Titan's* family, who seem to have ruled in the western provinces of *Europe*, the war was carried on by sea and land for several years: till the *Titans* were at last totally overthrown in a decisive battle fought near [1] *Tartesa*, a town of *Spain* near *Cadiz*; and being left without any other resource, were forced to submit to *Jupiter*. *Saturn* did not long survive this defeat; but died, and was buried in [2] *Sicily*, about ten years after his first retreat into *Italy*; leaving to *Jupiter* the quiet possession of all his dominions.

This prince applied himself, during the rest of his reign, to the administration of justice, the suppressing of rapine and violence, the civilizing of his people, the improvement of commerce, and the encouragement of arts and sciences. The *Cretan* [3] Historians bestow great elogiums on him for his prudence, justice, and other virtues; and it is generally agreed, that he did a great deal of good to his subjects, particularly to those of *Greece*, among whom he ordinarily resided in the fine part of *Thessaly* near *Mount Olympus*. There he allowed every body access, to lay before him either their grievances or such discoveries as they had made of things, which they conceived might be useful for human life, and serviceable to the publick. The government of the west he committed to his brother *Dis*, who having found a vast quantity of gold and silver in [4] *Spain*, was thence called *Pluto* or *Plutus*, i. e. *the rich*, and respected by the *Greeks* and *Latins* as the god of wealth. His being ruler of *Gaule* and *Spain*, the most western parts of the continent of *Europe*, procured him the title of the god of *Hades* or [5] *Inferorum*; the ancients looking on the *East*, from whence the light springs, to be the higher part of the earth, and the *West* to be the lower, because there the sun at setting seems to fall into the ocean.

Before *Jupiter's* time, the *Gomarians* were a rough, haughty, insolent and imperious people, who thought every thing lawful they had a mind to do, and every thing their own, they could get into their power; and the world had been a continual scene of rapine, oppression, and depredations; a fact which the uniform accounts, given by all the ancients of the conduct of that people, under the name of giants and *Titans*, leave us no room to question. It was this prince, who, by his great abilities, the equity of his laws, the wisdom of his regulations, and the impartiality of his justice, first corrected that furious temper of theirs, which breathed nothing but violence, and reduced them to a state of order and civility. A long and peaceful reign of sixty two years, [6] computing it only from the death of *Saturn*, enabled him to establish his regulations by an uniform observance thereof in the practice of his subjects, and a continual experience of their utility; to carry on his improvements in arts to some perfection, and to inure his people so thoroughly to the advantages of a civil and quiet life, that, in a sense of the blessings they had enjoyed under him, they held his memory in extraordinary veneration; and such honours were paid him after his death, throughout the vast extent of his territories, that, whatever they were in their first original, they soon came to be really divine. *Eubemerus*, *Ennius*, *Thallus*, and others make him contemporary with *Belus*, the first king of the *Assyrians*; which agrees well enough with the Sibylline verses; placing him in the tenth generation after the deluge; so that he lived about three hundred years before *Moses*, and dying in *Crete* at the age of [7] 120, was buried at *Gnossus*.

[1] *Didym. Schol. in Iliad.* viii. ℣ 473. *Justin.* l. xliv. c. 4.
[2] *Philocor. ap. Clem. Alex. Admon. ad Gentes.*
[3] *Diod. Sic.* l. iii. *Callim. Hymn in Jovem.*
[4] *Strabo* l. v. [5] *Lact. Inst.* l. i. c. 11.
[6] *Suidas* v. Κρονος. *Chron. Alex.* p. 87. 89.
[7] *Ennius & Cicero apud Lact. Inst.* l. i. c. 11. *Callim. Hymn. in Jov. Jul. Firmic. de error. prof. Relig.*

JUPITER was the laſt univerſal monarch of the empire of the *Titans*; for being divided at his death, it crumbled in a little time to nothing. *Crete* he aſſigned to his ſon *Cres*, who had entered himſelf in the diſcipline of the *Curetes*, and parcelled out the reſt of his dominions among his other children, his friends and relations [1]; all of which had ſome ſhare of his territories; though none had ſo conſiderable a part of them as *Mercury* his ſon by *Maia*, a daughter of *Atlas* his couſin german. This prince ſeems, after the death of *Pluto*, to have had the government of *Gaule* and *Spain* in his father's lifetime; to which, on *Jupiter's* death, was added *Italy*; where, under the name of *Faunus*, he reigned thirty five years [2], being ſole monarch of all the weſt of *Europe*. He was ingenious, politic, and eloquent; well qualified by theſe talents to poliſh the roughneſs of the people he was to govern: Nor did he ſpare any pains, as well to improve himſelf, as to inſtruct his ſubjects in all uſeful ſciences. It was with this view, or perhaps to perfect himſelf in the knowledge of auguries, divinations, and thoſe incantations, which then paſſed under the name of magic, and were ſo much in vogue among the *Titans*, (for he was the diviner of his family, whom they conſulted on all occaſions, the interpreter of the will of the gods, and for that reaſon called by the *Greeks*, *Ermes* [3]) that he made [4] three voyages into *Egypt*. But of all the meaſures he took for civilizing the *Celtæ*, and advancing the welfare of his kingdoms; there was none upon which he was more intent, or which was more likely to anſwer his purpoſe, than the encouragement he gave to commerce; and the means he uſed to link them together in ſociety and friendſhip by a mutual intercourſe in the way of merchandiſe. It was for this reaſon, that the name of [5] *Mercury* was given him; and he was look'd upon by all the heathen world, as the god of gain, of commerce and of merchandiſe, and as the patron of merchants and travellers. That of *Teutat*, (the *Teutates* of [6] *Lucan*, [7] *Lactantius*, and [8] *Livy*) was very properly given him by thoſe, who had lived under the more immediate influences of his government; and from whom, by employing all his care and concern for their good, he well deſerved the [9] title of the *father of his people*. Hence (as [10] *Cæſar* tells us) the people of *Gaule* diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their worſhip of him in a ſingular manner; conſidering him as the inventer of all arts; erecting to his honour abundance of ſtatues, which they treated with the higheſt reſpect; and preferring him to all other Deities. The *Germans*, who may poſſibly have derived their name of *Teutones* from his of *Teuth*, and among whom he had planted ſome colonies, treated [11] him with the ſame diſtinction; adoring him as the greateſt of their gods; with ſo much zeal, that the *Romans*, and other ſtrangers, who came amongſt them, could not take a better way to ingratiate themſelves with that people, than by erecting altars and temples in his [12] honour. *Mercury* died about the time that the *Iſraelites*, upon the invitation of *Joſeph*, firſt miniſter to *Pharaoh*, went down into *Egypt*; and [13] *Livy* tells us, that a large monument erected over

[1] *Ennius ap Lact. ib.*
[2] *Suidas* v. Πάνες & *Chr. Alex.* p. 105.
[3] From *Armes*, a *Celtic* word ſignifying *Devination*.
[4] *Cyril. Alex. contra Julian.*
[5] *i. e.* in *Celtic*, a man of merchandiſe, from *Mere*, merchandiſe, and *Ur*, *a* man.
[7] *Pharſal.* l. i. [6] *Inſt.* l. i. c. xxi.
[8] Lib. xxvi. c. 24.
[9] *Teut.* in *Celtic*, people, and *Tat*, father.
[11] *De Bello Gallic.* l. vi. [10] *De more German.*
[12] *Tacit. de more German.* Ed. Gronov. Ultraject. 1721, p. 388.

Many of their inſcriptions have been dug up formerly on the *Gallic* ſide of the *Rhine*, and have been publiſhed by ſeveral authors; but there is one lately diſcovered on the banks of that river near *Straſburg*, and preſerved by Mr. *Cheſſelin* canon of that church, and royal profeſſor in the univerſity; which, I imagine, hath not yet appeared in the world; and as it ſeems to have been erected in the time of *Conſtantine*, by a native of theſe *Britiſh* iſles, I have thought it not improper to be here inſerted.

IN. H. DD.
DEO. MERCVR
IO. AEDEM. AR
AM. ETIAN
VS. MAGISS. ET.
MAGISSIUS. H
IBERNVS. CA.
LEG. XXII. PPF.

[13] Lib. xxvi. c. 44.

him

him, and commonly called by the natives of the country, *Mercur Teutat*, was ſtill in the times of *Annibal* and *Scipio* to be ſeen in *Spain* near *Carthagena*. With him expired all the glory of the *Celtic* empire, which had laſted between two and three hundred years, letters not being known early enough in this weſtern quarter of the world to perpetuate the memory of his ſucceſſors, in caſe he left any children to inherit his dominions; of which we have no account. Nor would *Greece* itſelf in all probability have afforded, at this diſtance of time, any of the materials made uſe of by the learned *Pezron* in his curious hiſtory of the princes above mentioned, if they had not, by the idolatrous veneration of a ſenſeleſs people, been exalted from the rank of heroes to that of deities; which made their votaries zealous to preſerve ſome memorials of their actions by inſcriptions upon pillars of the moſt ancient temples dedicated to their worſhip. For thence is it, that *Euhemerus*, whom *Ennius* tranſlated, and other heathen writers, pretended to derive the accounts they publiſhed of theſe deified monarchs; And thoſe very accounts would have been for the moſt part loſt to the world, had not the learned apologiſts and advocates for *Chriſtianity* in the primitive times of the church, taken care to preſerve them, as unexceptionable evidences of the falſhood of the pagan religion; which put people upon paying divine worſhip to thoſe, who had appeared, by their lives and actions, to be as very mortals as themſelves.

Of the time when BRITAIN was firſt planted, and by whom.

III. I HAVE given, chiefly from M. *Pezron*, this ſhort account of the firſt monarchs, of theſe weſtern parts of the world, whoſe language was undoubtedly the *Celtic* [1], and whoſe names appear evidently, to be taken from that language; in order to form a conjecture about the time, when theſe *Britiſh* iſles were firſt planted. *Geffrey* of *Monmouth* fixeth it about the year 1100 before *Chriſt*: and tells a formal ſtory of *Brutus*, the great grandſon of *Æneas*, coming hither with a numerous body of forces, deſcended of a remnant of *Trojans*, who, after the deſtruction of their capital city, ſettled either in *Greece* or *Italy*. The ſubſtance of his relation, was taken from a manuſcript in the *Britiſh* language, brought from the *Armorican Bretagne*; which he tranſlated into Latin, and with the addition of *Merlin's* prophecies, ſpeeches of generals, and ſome few other embelliſhments of his own, publiſhed under the title of *Hiſtoria Britonum*.

THE ſtory itſelf is ſo utterly deſtitute of all ſupport, from any ancient genuine hiſtory, and the circumſtances of it ſo manifeſtly fabulous; that it would be loſt time to give it a ſerious refutation. It was impoſſible for the *Britains* who had no letters, or at leaſt committed nothing to writing, before the *Romans* came among them, to preſerve any ſuch regular ſeries of hiſtorical events, as is given in that manuſcript. That they had not, for ſeveral hundred years after *Chriſt*, any ſuch hiſtorical accounts, or any written monuments of tranſactions in former times, is a fact poſitively aſſerted by *Gildas*; who wrote *A. D.* 564, and confirmed by *Nennius*, who lived about the middle of the ninth century. And though I am willing to pay all imaginable deference to the old tradition of any country, in ſo material and intereſting a point, as that of its original, yet I can ſee no manner of reaſon to think, the old *Britains* had any ſuch tradition.

To account in ſome meaſure for the ſtory of *Brutus*, the foundation on which the reſt of *Geffrey's* hiſtory is grounded; it muſt be obſerved, that the *Romans*, deriving their original from the *Trojans*; and this being ſet off by *Virgil* with all the colourings and advantages, that the moſt beautiful imagination, and the fineſt poetic genius could give it, in his *Æneis*; made moſt of the *European* nations fond of any pretence, that would entitle them to a deſcent from a race of people, which

[1] *Saturn* from *Sadorne*, ſtrong, potent: *Juno* from *Gwyn*, fair: *Venus* from *Gwen*, white: *Apollo*, i. e. *ap Haul* or *ap Heulyn*, *filius ſolis*: *Diana*, i. e. ſpotleſs, chaſte, *etc.* See *Mon. Antiq.* p. 43.

thoſe conquerors of the world thought it a point of glory to own for their anceſtors. This humour was carried to ſo extravagant an height, that even the *Greeks*, in the emperor *Juſtinian's* time, were deſirous to be thought deſcended from thoſe very *Trojans*, which all *Greece* had formerly joined in a ten year's war to deſtroy: And in an hiſtory of the *French* nation, wrote in the reign of the ſucceeding emperor *Juſtinus junior* by one *Hunibaldus*, who pretends to have drawn his account, of the tranſactions of near a thouſand years before the death of *Clovis* I. from the ſongs of bards, and the writings of *Flamens*, that fabulous author aſcribes the original of the *Franks*, to *Francio* a *Trojan*, ſon to king *Priamus*. It was this *Romance*, which is interlarded with ſome paſſages of the *Roman* hiſtory, that ſerved for a plan to the compiler of *Geffrey's* manuſcript; which was undoubtedly compoſed after the time of *Nennius*; who, though he doth indeed mention *Brito* or *Brutus*, gives however ſuch [1] inconſiſtent accounts of him, and ſeems ſo entirely ignorant of every thing that paſſed in this iſland before *Julius Cæſar's* invaſion; that it is very plain, the ſtory of *Brutus* was not ſettled, nor the hiſtory of his ſucceſſors invented, till after *A. D.* 858. But whenever they were framed, and it was thought convenient to publiſh them, they could not well fail of paſſing current in an ignorant age, and of being readily received by a people, for whoſe honour they were in appearance calculated. This is ſtill the more eaſy to be conceived, if there was any notion, previouſly entertained by the nation, of their being deſcended from the *Phrygians*; which it is very probable there was, becauſe it was really the caſe; for being once perſuaded of the thing in general, they would hardly except to any particular manner of tracing the deſcent.

SUCH a general notion may very reaſonably be ſuppoſed to have prevailed among them; and the rather, becauſe this deſcent of theirs ſeems to be ſufficiently pointed out, and the memory of it to be preſerved, in the name of the *Brigantes*, who were known to be, what *Cæſar* calls, the *Aborigines*, the firſt inhabitants of this iſland. This was certainly the old tradition of the natives; not only in his time, agreeably to what he tells us of their firſt coming over from the oppoſite coaſts of [2] *Gaule*; but alſo in *Bede's*, who, living in the heart of the country of the *Brigantes*, ſpeaks of it, as their received opinion, that *Great Britain* was firſt planted *ex Armoricano tractu* [3]; not from the particular province of *Bretagne*, but from the whole tract of the ſea coaſt, which, including that province, extended from thence along the *Britiſh Channel*, to the mouth of the *Rhine*. Thus, the *Anonymus Ravennas*, who, though he was ſomewhat older than *Bede*, yet wrote in his time, at the latter end of the ſeventh century, expreſly includes the coaſt of *Normandy* in this tract, which he diſtinguiſhes by the name of *Britannia in paludibus*, and which running from thence through the county of *Ponthieu*, where *Plyni's Britanni* were ſeated, and the *Morini*, (a name of the ſame import, as *Aremorici*) terminated at laſt in the coaſt of *Flanders*; where the ſame geographer places the *Alo-brites*; or (as the word is read in the *Vatican* manuſcript of this author) *Alo-briges*. Small alterations of names are, in a long courſe of ages, unavoidable; and conſidering the changes that muſt be made in countries by the ſucceſſion of new inhabitants, and by other accidents, it is really wonderful that any affinity or reſemblance at all ſhould for any conſiderable length of time be preſerved. We ſee however this affinity of name, between the inhabitants of this iſland and thoſe of the coaſt on the continent of *Gaule*, continued to the end of the ſeventh century in the *Alo-Brites*, or *Gallo-Britones* of [4] *Gallia Belgica*.

[1] Making him one while a *Roman* conſul, at other times a ſon of *Heſichio*, and putting him in the third, fourth, and eighth generation from *Æneas*.

[2] Lib. *de bello Gothic.*

[3] *Hiſt. Eccl.* l. i. initio.

[4] The people of the *Armorican Bretagne*, call their country at this day *Breiz*, and their language

THERE ſtill remains another point to be examined; whether the *Britains*, or *Brigantes*, of this iſland derive their original from the *Phrygians*, before or after this people came to be mixed with the *Gomarians*, upon *Acmon's* ſettlement in *Phrygia*. The deciſion of this depends much upon a fact, which cannot eaſily be cleared; there being no materials preſerved of events in theſe weſtern parts of the world, before they came to be known to the *Romans*, ſufficient to enable us to judge, whether the narrow *Iſthmus*, which once joined *Britain* to the continent, was broke through at the flood, or waſhed away afterwards by the fury of ſtorms and the violence of the ſea, in ſome of the dark ages between the time of *Mercury* and that of *Julius Cæſar*. In this latter caſe, we may reaſonably think it to have been planted by the *Phrygians* alone, at the ſame time with *Gaule*, and within two hundred years of the deluge; but if it had been always an iſland from the time of the flood, it was in all probability peopled, after they came to be incorporated with the *Gomarians*. For though theſe laſt might, as conquerors, have the rank of nobles in compariſon of the others, and enjoy a pre-eminence on all occaſions, there is no doubt but the united nations were alike concerned in all the conqueſts that were made in the time of *Acmon's* ſucceſſors, and in all the colonies which were afterwards ſent out to plant and cultivate the weſt of *Europe*. [1] Mr. *Camden* ſeems entirely of opinion, that the firſt inhabitants of this iſland, came from the *Gomarians*, "the proper and peculiar name of the *Britains*, being called (as the *Welſh*, their genuine remains, call themſelves at this day) *Cumero*, *Cymro* and *Cumeri*, like as "a *Britiſh* or *Welſh* woman, *Kumerae*, and the tongue itſelf *Kumeraeg*[2]:" This of itſelf is a ſtrong preſumption, and he inforces it with ſeveral reaſons, to which I readily ſubſcribe.

BUT as he doth not ſeem to take within his view, or to offer any conjecture about the time when this iſland was firſt planted, I ſhall therefore obſerve further, that the firſt *Phrygians* do not appear to have had any knowledge of ſea-affairs; and therefore (whilſt the *Jaones*, and their deſcendants, the *Æolians* and *Dorians*, paſſed by ſea into *Greece*, and planted that country, *Crete*, and other iſlands in the *Ægean*, and *Ionian* ſeas) they made their way by land through *Thrace*, and the countries ſouth of the *Danube*, into *Gaule* and *Spaine*; where the *Gomarians* in the reign of *Uranus* found them ſettled, but not crowded enough to be under any neceſſity of adventuring croſs the ſea in ſearch of new habitations; that whether the *Gomarians* had acquired any ſkill in the building and ſailing of ſhips, whilſt they were ſeated on the borders of the *Caſpian* ſea, near the mountains of *Ararat*, where the ark, the firſt model of ſhipping, had reſted and remained for ſome ages, or whilſt they abode on the ſhoar of the *Euxine*, they were certainly very powerful at ſea, when they had reduced *Phœnicia*, *Greece*, and all the colonies of the *Ionians* in the *Mediterranean*; that, accordingly the ancient *Greek* hiſtorians, in their accounts of the wars of the gods, ſpeak of ſeveral naval engagements between *Jupiter* and the *Titans* during their diſpute for the throne of *Saturn*; and that the *Gomerians*

Brizonae: The geographer of *Ravenna* calls the *Friſians* indifferently, *Friſones*, *Frixi*, and *Frigones*[a]: And it is very probable that theſe laſt were anciently called *Britanni*, as well as the inhabitants along the ſea-coaſt ſouth of the *Rhine*; otherwiſe, to ſay nothing of what *Procopius* affirms, that this iſland was inhabited by the *Friſians* as well as the *Saxons*, and that the ſea between *Scotland* and *Ireland* is called *Mare Friſium* by [b] *Nennius*, and *Farigi* by the *Iriſh*, it will not be eaſy to account for the name which the ſoldiers of *Germanicus* gave to a plant, which the *Friſians* ſhewed them, as growing in their country, and which the *Romans* from thence called *Herba Britannica*.

[1] *Diſcourſe of the firſt inhabitants, before his Britannia*, p. 10, 11.

[a] So the north weſt of *Britain* from *Lancaſhire* to *Dumbritton Frith* was called *Cumbria*, and the great river *Humber* was originally ſpelt and pronounced *Chumber*.

[a] *Baxter in Gloſſ. Antiq. Brit.* p. 21, obſerves that theſe three laſt names are only varied denominations of the ſame people, as *Britones* and *Britanni*. [b] *Hiſt. Brit.* c. 37.

and the *Phrygians* who came with them, entering *Gaule* as conquerors, and having the whole land at their diſpoſal, would naturally chuſe for themſelves the moſt commodious ſituations, as well on the ſea-coaſts, as by the ſides of great rivers; which being more capable of improvement, with leſs trouble and expence than the inland parts of a country over-run with woods, that muſt be cut down before the ground could be cultivated, were generally the firſt planted, and the beſt peopled; and beſides the conveniences which they afford at all times, were in thoſe ages ſtill more eligible, becauſe of the ſuſtenance of human life, which fiſhing afforded. Theſe are ſome of the reaſons, which induce me to think, that the *Gomarians*, with their new clans of *Phrygians*, among other the like ſituations, ſettled themſelves in the maritime provinces of *Gaule*, oppoſite to *Great Britain*.

[1] MR. *Baxter* indeed, who allows the *Brites*, *Briges*, *Britones*, *Britanni* and *Brigantes* to be all the ſame name, though thus varied by a diverſity of dialects, ſuppoſes the *Alo-brites*, to be a people of the *Belgæ*[2]. He ſuppoſeth, that the *Britains* who inhabited that part of the ſea-coaſts of *Gaule*, when the *Belgæ* came to ſettle among them, gave them the name of *Alo-brites*, becauſe the *Celtic* nations uſed to diſtinguiſh all *new comers*, by the name of *Alli*, or *Galli*, which in their language, ſignifies *ſtrangers*: And this is the only reaſon he is pleaſed to aſſign in ſupport of his conjecture. But though this may be allowed as a reaſon, why thoſe *Belgæ* ſhould be called *Alli* or *Galli*, i. e. *foreigners*, it will hardly prove them to be called *Alo-brites*, or foreign [3] *Britains*.

As a great part of *Germany*, was peopled from *Gaule*, and the *Belgæ* were certainly of *Gallic* original, and ſpake the *Celtic* tongue, I make no queſtion but they were a colony of the *Volcæ*, (*B* and *V* being continually uſed for one another) and either of the *Volcæ Tectoſages*, who ſettled in the *Hercynian* foreſt, or perhaps of the *Arecomii*, who inhabited that vaſt tract of mountainous country, which runs from the ſide of the *Rhone*, through the *Vivarais* and *Cevennes* to the *Mediterranean*. For though hiſtorians do not mention any colonies of theirs being ſent abroad, as they do of the *Volcæ Tectoſages*, who poſſeſſed the more weſtern parts of *Languedoc* and *Gaſcony*, yet ſince they undoubtedly multiplied as faſt as the other, and inhabited a country much more barren, and leſs able to ſupport a large increaſe of people, they muſt, in the nature of the thing, have been forced to take the ſame method of diſburthening themſelves of their too great numbers, and in probability much earlier than the other; too early perhaps to allow ſuch an event to be taken notice of by hiſtorians. It was natural too for the *Briges*, that were planted on the coaſt of *Flanders* before the *Gomarians* came to invade them, to call their *Phrygian* country-men, who came along with thoſe invaders, to ſettle among them, by the name of *Alo-brites* or *Alo-briges*; though it could not, with any propriety of ſpeech, be applied to the *Belgæ*. Agreeably hereto, I am apt to think, that the true ancient name of that people, whom

[1] *v.* ALVION, AREMORICI, BRIGANTES, and BRITANNI.

[2] He thinks theſe *Belgæ* were about the time of *Camillus*, drove out of *Germany*, by the *Cimbri*, and coming thence ſettled on this ſide the *Rhine* in *Gallia Belgica*. From thence he imagines they ſent afterwards ſome of their colonies into this iſland, who took poſſeſſion of all the ſouthern provinces lying oppoſite to *Gaule* on the coaſts of the *Engliſh* channel; and that the old inhabitants, who were driven out by them, grew upon this occaſion leſs fond of the name of *Brigantes*, and aſſumed that of *Cumbri* or *Cumeri*; which ſerved to preſerve the memory of their true original.

[3] There are ſeveral learned men indeed, that derive the word *Gallus*, from the *Celtic Al* or *Gal*, which anſwers to the *Greek*, ἄλλος; tho' M. *Pezron* chooſes to derive it from *Gallu*, *poſſe*, *valere*, and *Galluas*, which, in *Celtic*, is powerful and valiant: And in this ſenſe, it is entirely of the ſame import with the word *Celtæ*. But whenceſoever the word *Galli* was derived, it is certainly as ancient a name for the people of *Gaule*, as that of *Celtæ*; for both were aſſumed or given at the ſame time, when the *Gomarians* conquered and ſettled in that country, above 1600 years before the *Belgæ* were ſo much as heard of in the world, at leaſt under the name of *Belgæ*.

the *Romans* called *Allo-broges*[1], might be *Allo-briges*, *i. e.* the *new-come Briges* of *Phrygians*, to diſtinguiſh them from their country men, that were the firſt planters. 'Tis certain, at leaſt, that theſe were a *Celtic* nation; that there is no account of any other nation's coming to ſettle in thoſe parts after the *Gomarians* had taken poſſeſſion of *Gaule*, to whom the name of *Foreigners* might be abſolutely applied; and that theſe very [2] people are called *Allo-bryges* by *Apollodorus*, and *Allo-briges* as well by *Polybius* as by all other *Greek* writers; a better authority, becauſe more ancient, than the *Romans*, who ſeem firſt to have introduced the name of *Allo-briges*. If we ſhould ſuppoſe that, even after the ſettlement of the *Gomarians* in *Phrygia* and their incorporation with the natives of that country ſome diſtinction ſhould ſtill be kept up between them and the *Briges*, with regard to their particular tribes, and the condition of their perſons; yet it may reaſonably be preſumed, that they ſpake the ſame *Gomerian* or *Celtic* language, and that they naturally fell into the ſame cuſtoms, and into an uniformity of dreſs; and that when they came as fellow adventurers to ſettle in a diſtant part of the world, they would fix their ſeats as near one another as could be done with convenience. We ſee accordingly that, as the *Gomarians* fixed theirs in *Provence* and *Languedoc*, maritime countries lying on the *Mediterranean*, from whence they might eaſily correſpond with the chief ſeat of their empire, and be wafted thither, or receive ſupplies from thence on occaſion; ſo the *Allo-broges*, (whoſe capital city was *Vienna* on the *Rhone*) ſettled in *Dauphine*, a province contiguous to the others, and with them, making up the *Roman* province, known by the name of *Gallia Narbonenſis*, but called formerly by that of *Gallia Braccata*[3].

THE name of *Gallia Braccata*, by which the *Narbonenſis* was called, being given to diſtinguiſh it from other parts of *Gaule*, was taken from the peculiar dreſs of the

[1] This word is by etymologiſts derived from *Al*, *alius*, and *Bro* (in *Iriſh Bruach*) a country.

[2] *Steph. de urbibus*, v. Ἀλλόβριγες.

[3] The old and new inhabitants, ſeem to have lived intermixed in that province; but the latter in much greater numbers than the former, as a curious man, acquainted with the *Perſian* and *Oriental* languages, may eaſily obſerve; though perhaps this may ariſe from the *Gomerians* changing the names of places as well as of rivers in various inſtances, upon their ſettlement in thoſe countries. For I judge it to be on that occaſion and not on account of *Arar*, the brother of *Geltiberius*, his being drowned in the *Saone*, a little above *Lyon*, (a relation which ſeems plainly fabulous) that this river loſt its ancient name of *Brigulus*, given it by the ancient *Briges*, (as the *Brigantes* upon their ſettling in *Ireland*, gave that of *Brigus* or *Birgus* to the river now called *Barrow*) and aſſumed that of *Arar*. The ſyllables [a] *Ar*, *Are*, and *Ac*, ſo common in the *Perſian*, *Turkiſh*, and other oriental tongues, eſpecially in the beginning or ending of the names of perſons, places and rivers; ſo unuſual or rather unknown in thoſe of *Thrace* and *Phrygia*, and yet ſo frequent in *Languedoc* and *Aquitane*, ſeem plainly to point out an eaſtern original. The word *Languedoc*, ſeems to be derived from the ſame ſource; being undoubtedly taken from the old name of *Occi-tania*; which, as *Tan*, in the *Perſian* tongue, ſignifies a country, points it out to be the *country* of the *Oxii*, *Uxii*, or *Ocii*, names of people ſeated as well in the ancient *Parthia*, as in *Bactriana* on the banks of the *Oxus*. The *Volcæ*, as well the *Tecto-ſages*, as the *Arecomii*, ſeem to have come from the ſame parts from the *Comi* a people of *Bactriana*, and from *Balch*, a conſiderable region in the further part of that country; the capital whereof, called *Balch* to this day, ſeated towards the head of the *Oxus*, (M. *Herbelot* tells us, from the old *Perſian* writers) was once the ſeat of ſome of the *Parthian* princes before the time of *Cyrus*, and was founded by *Kaiumarath* or *Ghumarath*, the firſt king of *Parthia*; who, though their writers generally repute him a grandſon of *Sem*, might poſſibly, according to the ſound of the name, be really *Gomer*. The *Cavari*, who inhabited the *Venaiſcin* and the country that runs along the ſide of the *Rhone* from *Vienne*, as ſome ſay, or, as others think, from *Arauſio*, to *Arelas* if not the ſame as the *Gavri* near *Herat* on the borders of *Khoraſſan*, the more modern name of a vaſt country which comprehends the *Bactriana*, *Ariana*, *Margiana*, and perhaps the *Hyrcania* of the ancients, might probably owe their name, like them, to their ſituation in a *plain at the foot of mountains*; the word *Gavr* ſignifying a *plain*, in the *Perſian* language. The *Arax* and *Araura*, rivers of *Gallia Braccata*, and *Samara* and *Sabis* in the *Belgica*, are plainly of *Eaſtern original*; ſo alſo are the GABALI and *Gebenni* mountains; [b] and it would be eaſy to multiply inſtances of the like nature. There want not the like

[a] In the province of *Ariana* adjoining to *Bactriana*, the names of all the different clans of people begin with *Ar*; as *Arii*, *Areii*, *Ariaſpæ*, *Arachoſii*, *Arachotæ*, *Oritæ*, *Ori*, which are all the people that inhabit it, according to *Cellarius*.

[b] The *Baccarii*, near *Embrun*, mentioned in the *Notitia Imperii*, might perhaps be *Bactrians*, the *Perſians* having in all ages called that country, *Bokhare*; or elſe of *Sogdiana* or the *Tranſoxana*, the capital of which, till the time of *Genghiſkan*, was *Bokhara*, a place ſtill famous in thoſe parts.

the inhabitants of thoſe provinces; who wore *Braccæ*, trowſes ſtriped, and of various colours, ſerving for both hoſe and breeches: as the ancient *Britons* did of old, and the *Iriſh*, as well as the highlanders of *Scotland*, continued to do till within our memory. And this being, as [1] *Herodotus* tells us, a diſtinguiſhing part of the dreſs of the *Sacæ* of *Amyrgæa* or *Margiana*, from whence the *Gomerians* brought it to theſe weſtern parts of *Europe*, we may well conclude that they ſettled in great numbers in the *Gallia Braccata*: and though perhaps more intermixed with *Phrygians*, on the north weſt coaſts of *Gaule*, ſo as to be there called by the firſt planters *Allo-briges*, yet it is from them chiefly (as the multitude of rivers in all parts of this iſland, called by the names of *Oxe*, *Ouſe*, *Axe*, the ſame as the *Oxus*, *Ochus*, *Axes* of *Bactriana*, and the *Welſh* language ſo full of gutturals, and agreeable to the *Perſian* and oriental tongues, leave little room to doubt) that the firſt inhabitants of this iſland derive their origine; though the agreement between the old *Britains* and the *Thracians* in their temper, manners, uſages in civil, and rites in religious matters, leave little room to doubt; but that the *Gomerian* or *Cymmerian* colony, firſt planted here, had in it a great intermixture of *Briges* or *Phrygians*.

As to the time when this iſland was firſt planted, there ſeems to be no ſeaſon favourable enough for ſuch an undertaking, till the reign of *Jupiter*; and conſidering the eagerneſs with which in thoſe ages the different nations of the world in general, and the *Gomerians* in particular, puſhed their conqueſts, and extended their plantations, it cannot reaſonably be deferred longer. *Uranus* was the firſt of the *Gomerian* princes that paſſed into *Europe*; and it is uncertain in what part of his reign he entred upon that expedition; but whenever it was, the ſubduing of *Thrace*, the paſſing to the furtheſt extremities of the weſt, and the reducing of *Gaule*, *Spaine*, and all the intermediate countries to his obedience, was undoubtedly the work of many years; nor could he well have compleated his conqueſts, till the latter end of his reign, when the troubles that aroſe in his family, by the intrigues of his wife, and the open rebellion of his ſon, muſt neceſſarily hinder him from puſhing them farther. *Saturn*, from the firſt beginning of his, was involved in a civil war with his elder brothers, which laſted ſeveral years; and though an accommodation was at laſt patched up between them by the mediation of friends, it was ſo very precarious and ſo ill obſerved, that ſcarce any part of his life was free from trouble; and all writers agree, that the ten laſt years of it, after he had loſt all the eaſt to *Jupiter*, and had retired into *Italy*, were wholly taken up with the wars of the *Titans*, who ſeemed to eſpouſe his quarrel. They agree likewiſe, that the earth was a ſcene of continual diſorders, murders, rapines, and all kinds of violence, till the reign of *Jupiter*, who effectually ſuppreſſed every thing of that nature, and by his conſtant vigilance and great ſkill in the affairs of government, and continual attention to whatever might promote the public good, ſecured his ſubjects in the enjoyment of their properties, and animated their induſtry in cultivating and extending their plantations. The long and peaceful reign of a prince of this temper and turn of politicks, was of all others, the moſt proper and likely ſeaſon for ſuch an attempt, as the planting of *Britain*. The proſpect of the iſland, offering itſelf every day to the view of the neareſt inhabitants on the continent, was too inviting not to raiſe their curioſity, and too continual a temptation to be long reſiſted:

like veſtiges of the *Briges*, not only in the inland and woody povinces of *Gaule*, (to which on the *Gomerian* conqueſt they were forced to retire) but in the maritime and extreme parts of the country; thus we find the *Caletes* in the *Pais de Caux*, the *Lato-briges* on the borders of the *Allo-briges*, the *Nitio-briges* in *Aquitaine*, the *Bebryces* on the coaſt about *Narbonne*, which cauſed the adjoining ſea to be called of old the *Mare Bebrycium*, and other *Bebryces* in *Spain*; all which ſeem clearly to have been colonies of the *Keletes*, *Briges* and *Bebryces* of *Thrace*.

[1] Lib. vii. n. 64.

The air was good, the ſoil fruitful, the ſituation promiſing a more conſtant ſecurity in their poſſeſſions than any could hope for on the main land, whilſt the humour of tranſmigrations reigned: the climate even more temperate (as *Cæſar* found it) than *Gaule* itſelf; neither too ſcorching in the heat of ſummer, nor too pinch-in the cold of winter; every thing conſpired to favour and egg them on to the undertaking.

Dis, or *Pluto*, had at that time the government of *Gaule*, under his brother *Jupiter*, whoſe ſteps he was diſpoſed to follow, and whoſe deſigns, for the good of his people and improvement of his territories, he was well qualified to advance. His manner of rule was ſo beneficial in its effects, and ſo agreeable to the *Celtæ*, that they loved and reverenced him as their father; and by adding that title to his name, glorified in being deſcended from *Diſ-pater*, whom ([1] *Cæſar* tells us) they all acknowledged for their great progenitor. Among other inſtances of his good government, he is particularly celebrated by the ancients for making new plantations, and peopling different parts of the weſt with colonies of the *Gomerians*. He was very ſolicitous to have theſe ſettlements made in proper places, and his care went ſo far in this reſpect, that he frequently went himſelf in perſon to conduct thoſe colonies; and was for this reaſon called, (as the beſt authors of [2] antiquity atteſt) *Ageſander*, and *Ageſilaus*, i. e. *the conductor of people*. In this caſe, it is ſcarce poſſible to think that this iſland ſhould eſcape his attention: It was not leſs worthy of his care than many other places, which he choſe for ſettlements: It was not ſo remote from the center of the territories he had to govern, as *Tarteſa* in the extremity of *Spain*; where, in one of his progreſſes to inſpect the ſtate of the country, his curioſity was rewarded with unexpected riches. Theſe reaſons and circumſtances ſeem ſufficient to authoriſe our fixing *Jupiter's* reign, for the time when this iſland was firſt peopled, and became the reſidence or ſeminary of the *Druides*, who derived their deſcent, if not their inſtitution, from *Pluto*. But as that of his ſucceſſor was full as favourable for ſuch a plantation, *Mercury* treading in his father's and his uncle's ſteps, ſending out colonies, as they did, encouraging commerce (the never-failing means of making a people rich, and a ſtate powerful) more remarkably, and extending it farther than either of them had done, for which his memory was diſtinguiſhed all over the world in ſucceding ages; it ſeems impoſſible to conceive but that *Great Britain*, ſo nearly adjoining to countries that had beenpeopled ſome ages before, muſt at the lateſt, be planted in one of theſe reigns of peace, of induſtry, of plantations, and of commerce, which took up together the ſpace of a century. It was probably in the former, that the firſt *Gomerian* or *Celtic* colonies were ſettled in this iſland, which muſt conſequently have been planted two thouſand years before the *Chriſtian* æra. Ill therefore did the *Britiſh* bard conſult the glory of his nation; who, enamoured of the beauties of *Virgil's Æneis*, and fond of making his countrymen vye with the old *Romans* in the nobleneſs of their deſcent, firſt deviſed the ſtory of *Brutus*, and derived their original from the *Trojans*, thus cutting them off at once from nine hundred years of their real antiquity. The *Britons* had no occaſion to envy any other nations the honour of their pretended originals, however exalted by fables to what was of old reputed divine; for which *Livy* makes ſo handſome an apology in behalf of the *Romans*. They had no need of having recourſe to the arts of blending falſities with truths, in order to repreſent their firſt beginning more noble, majeſtic, and ſacred than it was in reality; ſince they are in fact deſcended from the *Gomerians*, from a race of heroes; whoſe great and beneficent actions cauſed them to be reverenced as gods in former ages, and their firſt

[1] *De Bello Gallic.* l. vi. [2] *Æſchylus, Callimachus, Athenæus, Heſychius, Lactant. Inſt.* l. i. c. 11.

founders were univerſally acknowledged by the heathens as the greateſt of their deities.

Ancient State of *Britain* and *Gaule*.

V. THE *Gomerians*, being ſettled here before the uſe of letters was known in the world, had no means of preſerving any account of events, that happened in this iſland for many ages after their ſettlement: During which however, they ſeem to be only taken up in advancing their plantations to the extremity of this, and over the neighbouring iſles, without any remarkable revolution; to which, by their ſituation in ſo remote a corner divided from the reſt of the world, they were but little ſubject. Their fate in this reſpect was not much different from that of their brethren the *Celtæ*, whom they had left behind in *Gaule*, and who, troubled with no invaſions from abroad, found no inconvenience at home, but what aroſe from their multiplying too faſt; from an exceſſive number of people, which all the wide extended and fruitful country of *Gaule*, was not ſufficient to ſupply with proviſions. To remedy this defect, [1] *Cæſar* tells us, they ſent, from time to time, great numbers of people croſs the *Rhine*, to ſettle in the moſt fertile provinces of *Germany:* So the *Volcæ Tectoſages*, marching from *Languedoc*, fixed their ſeats in the *Hercynian foreſt*, about the *Neckar*; the [2] *Boii*, quitting the neighbourhood of *Bourdeaux*, took poſſeſſion, firſt of *Bohemia*, and afterwards of *Bavaria*; as the *Helvetii* did of other provinces. The time of theſe different expeditions is not ſo well known, as that of the *Senones* and others, who ſettled among the *Suevi*, under the conduct of *Sigoveſus*, ſiſter's ſon to [3] *Ambigatus*, prince of the *Bituriges*; which is mentioned by *Livy* as made at the ſame time, that another of his nephews marched with a very numerous body of forces into *Italy*, and ſeized on *Gallia Ciſalpina*, about 550 years before *Chriſt*, and in the reign of *Tarquinius Priſcus*. Thus were moſt of the weſtern provinces of *Germany* peopled by the *Celtæ*; till the [4] *Cimbri*, or (as the *Greeks*, who gave the name of *Scythæ* to all the northern nations, called them) *Celto-Scythæ*, were forced by an irruption of the *Scythian Nomades*, to quit their ſettlement on the *Palus Mæotis:* And marching gradually from time to time more weſtward till they came [5] into *Germany*, drove the *Belgæ* out of their territories; and thereby occaſioned ſome alterations in the ſtate both of *Gaule* and *Britain*.

THESE countries had hitherto been unmoleſted by any invaſion; but now, *i. e.* [6] about 150 years before *Chriſt*, the *Belgæ* being forced to ſeek for new habitations, croſſed the *Rhine*, and took poſſeſſion of the maritime provinces of *Gaule*, lying

1. *De Bello Gallic.* l. vi. 2. *Ib.* l. i.
3. Lib. v. c. 34.
4. Theſe *Cimbri* were a colony of thoſe wild *Gomarians*, who (as above related) lived like *Nomades*, and quitting *Sogdiana*, marched on the north of the *Caſpian*, to the *Palus Mæotis*, on the banks of which they ſettled about the time of *Inachus*, as *Pezron* thinks.
5. See *Plutarch* in *Mario*, from *Poſidonius*, and other ancient writers.
6. *Cæſar* obſerves, that there was a time when the *Gauls* ſurpaſſed the *Germans* in valour, and made conqueſts in the country of the latter: The moſt ancient which he mentions, of theſe conqueſts, when the *Volcæ Tectoſages* ſettled in the *Hercynian* foreſt, ſeems to have been a good deal later in time, then the ſettlement of the *Senones*, (from whom the *Suevi* deſcended) under the conduct of *Sigoveſus*, which was made about 550 years before *Chriſt*. The ſettlements of the *Boii* were, probably, about the time of *Camillus*, when a body of the ſame people came alſo into *Gallia Ciſalpina*. Thoſe of the *Helvetii* were ſtill later: And we cannot reaſonably ſuppoſe, either that this warlike genius of the *Gauls* ſhould abate, till after the expeditions of *Brennus* into *Greece*, which were in the cxxvth olympiad, about 270 years before *Chriſt*) and the conqueſt of *Galatia* by colonies of *Gauls*, who over-ran a great part of the leſſer *Aſia*, and by the terror of their prodigious valour, made all the potentates of that country in a manner their tributaries; or that the *Gauls* ſhould have ſo furious an inclination to make conqueſts, even in remote parts of the world, when they were not able to defend their own country from ſtrangers. It was therefore ſome time after theſe events, that the *Gauls* began to decline in valour; for changes of that nature are not brought about on a ſudden: And *Cæſar* ſays, it was the effect of a long peace. For theſe reaſons, I cannot think, that the *Belgæ*, who were the firſt of the *Germans* that entered *Gaule*, could croſs the *Rhine*, and make a ſettlement there, earlier than about 150 years before *Chriſt*; which is the ſame time as Dr. *Muſgrave* aſſigns, for their firſt ſettling in *Britain*.

between that river and the *Seine*; which the *Celtæ*, ſoftened by a long peace, and divided into too many different ſtates and principalities, to be eaſily united in any exigence, quitted by degrees to that warlike nation.

VI. THE *Belgæ*, increaſing daily in number and power, either too much ſtreightened in their new territories by the multitude of inhabitants, or tempted by ambition and hopes of plunder, to extend their dominions, tranſported over forces to *Britain:* And finding there much the ſame ſtate of things, as they had done in *Gaule*, reduced at laſt all the ſouthern parts of this iſland, from *Kent* to the *Lands-end*, under their obedience. *Ireland*, likewiſe, in conſequence of this ſettlement of the *Belgæ* in *Britain*, received a new ſupply of inhabitants. That iſland had been originally planted by the *Britains*, as it is reaſonable to think, from the great conveniencies peculiar to themſelves, which they had, by reaſon of the nearneſs of its ſituation to the coaſts of *Wales*, *Cantire*, and *Galloway*, to ſend over colonies thither; and as is put out of all diſpute, by the names of *Brigantes* appropriated to ſome of thoſe colonies; by the uniformity of cuſtoms, and the perfect agreement in language between the oldeſt inhabitants of both iſlands. They had hitherto poſſeſſed it, unmix'd with any other narion; but the *Belgæ*, being once maſters of the counties of *Cornwall*, *Devon*, and *Somerſet*, and having a commodious paſſage from thence to the ſouth eaſt parts of *Munſter*, and the maritime provinces of of *Leinſter*, ſtocked thoſe parts likewiſe with a new ſet of inhabitants, called by the *Iriſh*, *Fir Bolg (viri Belgici)* to expreſs their original deſcent, and *Fir-Dumnon*, to ſhew they came immediately from the *Dumnonii* of *Devonſhire*, who of courſe introduced many *Teutonic* words into the *Iriſh* language. As theſe *Belgic* colonies were ſettled in *Ireland* poſterior to the eſtabliſhment of the *Belgæ* in *Britain*, where they ought to be quietly and firmly ſettled before they took a ſtep of that nature; And as *Flaherty*, and the *Iriſh* writers in general, agreeable to what they call the tradition of their country, all allow that they came into *Ireland*, long before the *Scots* [1] arrived there from *Spaine*; it is very clear, that the colonies of this laſt nation were not ſettled in that kingdom till after the time of the *Incarnation*.

Settlement of *Belgic* colonies in *Britain*.

DR. *Muſgrave* [2], who had particular reaſons to examine this point, in his diſcourſe upon the *Belgium Britannicum*, fixeth the coming of the *Belgæ* into this iſland, to about 150 years before the *Chriſtian* æra; but if by this he means their invaſion under the command of [3] *Divitiacus*, (as he ſeems to do) it is, at leaſt, fifty years too early. The *Cimbri* had enjoyed their ſettlements on the *Boſphorus Cimmerius*, in the peninſula by the *Palus Mæotis*, and the countries between the rivers *Tanais* and *Tyras*, very quietly for many ages; 'till about the latter end of the reign of *Numa Pompilius*, the *Scythian Nomades*, being driven out of their old ſeats by the *Maſſagetæ*, came to poſſeſs themſelves of their territories. There was ſuch an infinite number of theſe invaders, that the [4] *Cimbri* were divided in their ſentiments, whether they had beſt fight the *Scythians*, or quit their country; and quarrelling among themſelves upon that occaſion, made the defence of it utterly impracticable. Thus the *Scythians* poſſeſſed themſelves of it without oppoſition; and whilſt one part of the *Cimbri*, coaſting along the *Euxine*, fell into *Cappadocia*, and waſted a great part of the *Leſſer Aſia*, another body of them retired into the north and weſtern parts of *Europe*, advancing ſtill by degrees their ſettlements towards thoſe points, till at laſt they took poſſeſſion of the countries between the

[1] Mr. *Lhoyd* thinks it was many centuries before the *Scots* or *Mileſians*. *Iriſh*, *Engliſh*, Dictionary, *v.* FERBOLI.

[2] Pag. 94. and Chronolog.

[3] This latiniſed name, is the ſame as the *Britiſh* and *Iriſh Duvtach*, a name very common among the *Cambro-Britains*.

[4] *Herodot.* l. iv. n. 11.

Baltic

Baltic and the *Elbe*; extending themſelves from thence into the *Mediterranean* provinces of *Germany*. It was on this occaſion, that the *Belgæ*, who were in all appearance one of the *Celtic* colonies formerly planted in that country, and ſeem to have ſpoken the *Celtic* language, with ſuch a diverſity of dialect, as their diſtance from *Gaule*, and their converſation with other bordering nations, would neceſſarily introduce, were forced to quit their ancient ſettlements, and retire with all their families croſs the *Rhine* into the northern parts of *Gaule*. They conſiſted of fifteen nations, diſtinguiſhed by their proper names; but all included in the common one of *Belgæ*: And, if we may judge of the reſt by the power which *Cæſar* aſcribes to thoſe he mentions, muſt have been vaſtly numerous. There is no account of any battles fought, or cruelties uſed, when they took poſſeſſion of the countries lying on the ſea-coaſt between the *Rhine* and the *Seine*: And this ſeems to have been done with little bloodſhed; ſince there is no manner of appearance of any rancour towards them in the minds of the *Celtæ*; as we may reaſonably conclude from ſeveral circumſtances mentioned by [1] *Cæſar*, from the intermarriages betwixt the two nations, the good neighbourhood and friendly correſpondence that ſubſiſted between them, (for the *Belgæ* had no wars but with the *Germans*) and from the *Celtic* form of government being ſo readily adopted by the *Belgæ*.

It was impoſſible, when ſuch multitudes of ſtrangers came into a country already populous, but great numbers of the old inhabitants muſt quit their habitations. The *Celtic Gaule* was too crowded to receive them; being forced from time to time to ſend out numerous armies, and bodies of adventurers, to fight for ſettlements in different parts of the world, in order to eaſe itſelf of the inconveniences ariſing from a too great multitude of people. *Britain* lay nearer to them than any other country, and was indeed the only one, where they could take refuge with any convenience. The people of it were originally a colony of their own, ſtill ſpake the ſame language, and poſſibly went by the ſame name; that of the *Britanni* in *Gaule* not being yet ſunk in the general name of *Belgæ*; and there had always been a perpetual intercourſe between them: for the merchants on the neareſt parts of the continent ſeem to have carried on the whole trade of this iſland, at leaſt from the time that the naval power of the *Phœnicians* declined, and the people of *Gades* came to ſhare in the common fate of *Spain*, haraſſed by the wars of the *Carthaginians* and *Romans*. Hither therefore the old inhabitants of *Belgium* came, when there was no longer room for them on the continent; and in all probability found the *Britains* willing to receive their new gueſts, and give them vaſt quantities of waſte land, which they did not cultivate. It was natural for them to ſettle in the ſouthern maritime provinces of this kingdom, which lay neareſt to their former home, and with which, whilſt they dwelt on the continent, they were uſed to traffick. The circumſtances of thoſe parts were at that time very favourable to ſuch a ſettlement; ſuch indeed, as would have expoſed the *Britains* to a charge of inhumanity, if they had refuſed them a place of refuge in their diſtreſs. *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall* were then all in a manner a wild foreſt, as they continued to be in a great degree, till 150 years after the *Norman* conqueſt. *Somerſetſhire* was the ſame for the moſt part, at leaſt on the *Mendip* and hilly ſide; and the lower parts of it were generally mooriſh and marſhy ground, uninhabited and unfrequented, except for the paſture of cattle, in the months of the ſummer. *Dorſetſhire* too was full of the like foreſts; and it is well known, how widely extended that of *Anderida* was, and what a large tract of country it took up in *Kent* and *Suſſex*. Theſe ſeem accordingly, to have been the parts, where the *Belgic Britanni* firſt ſettled, and where they had an ample field for the exerciſe of their induſtry.

2 [1] *De Bello Gallic*, l. i 2. *initio*.

COMMERCE

COMMERCE and huſbandry had been their chief employments in *Gaule*; and as the old *Britains* had either no ſkill, or took no delight in either, they found great advantages in both reſpects, by being tranſplanted hither. The ground was now tilled, and firſt yielded crops of wheat; for which it grew afterwards ſo famous in the *Roman* times, and proved ſo uſeful to their armies in *Germany*; and by its natural fertility, properly improved, afforded ſuſtenance enough for the great numbers of *Belgæ*, who, following the fortune of their countrymen, continually flocked over to partake in their ſettlements. The native commodities of the iſland were now ſought for with better ſkill, and more application, than before: and a conſtant vent provided for them by the eſtabliſhment of a regular method, (which, *Strabo* tells us, was practiſed in his time) of conveying them through *Gaule*, either on horſe-back, or in boats by the rivers *Seine*, *Saone*, and *Rhone* to *Marſeille*. Theſe colonies from *Belgium* had been uſed to live in ſociety; not diſperſed, like the *Brigantes*, in woods, for the ſake of hunting, their chief employment as well as diverſion; but in houſes contiguous to each other, in towns and villages: and their own ſecurity rendering the ſame manner as neceſſary here, as they had found it agreeable and uſeful in their late abodes, towns and cities now began to be founded. *Kent*, the part of *Britain* that lay neareſt to the country of this *Belgic* people, could not fail of having a greater ſhare of them in proportion, than any other province of the iſland; and ſuch were the numbers which came over thither, that, inſtead of mixing with the *Britains*, as the others ſeem to have done, they formed a diſtinct people of themſelves, known by the name of [1] *Nouantæ* or new *Inhabitants*: or *Nou cantæ*, i. e. *New Kentiſhmen*, from whom *Ptolemy* calls the foreland of *Kent*, *promontorium Noucantium*. Theſe, in an age when there were no *havens*, but what nature had provided, and when the *Thames* was the only river on that ſide of this iſland, on which they could ſail for any conſiderable way within land with ſafety, extending their ſettlements along it, laid the foundation of the city of *London*; which being called, *Tri*, or *Tre-Nouant*, *i. e.* the *Town* of the *Nouantæ*, ſeems to be the reaſon for giving the name of *Trinovantes* to this people, who poſſeſſed themſelves of the neighbouring parts of *Eſſex*, *Middleſex*, *Surrey* and *Kent*, which lie round that metropolis of this nation.

ALL this, except perhaps in the laſt inſtance of the *Nouantæ*, ſeems to have been done, without giving more umbrage or offence to the old natives, than our

[1] *Baxter's Gloſſ. Ant. Brit. v.* NOVANTAE and TRINOBANTES. Theſe came probably, from the neareſt part of the oppoſite continent, whence the old *Britains* themſelves firſt came over to ſettle in this iſland; from the bank of the *Canche*, a river, which riſing in *Artois* paſſeth by *Monſtreuil*, and falls into the ſea at *Eſtaples*. In the lives of St. *Joſſe*, St. *Auſtrebert*, and others, the Latin name of this river carries with it the ſame ſound, as the modern *French* one does, it being called *Quantia*, *Cantia* or *Kentia*; in *Celtic*, *Cuent*, *Quant*, and *Kent*. There are two towns mentioned in the life of St. *Joſſe*, as lying in theſe parts, and near the mouth of the *Cantia*; the one lying on the left of it, called *Braicq*. (now *Bercq*) the other on the right, called *Brec-ſen*, i. e. *Brectorum* ſeu *Britonum Sabulum*; Names, which as the *Britains* are called *Brits*, *Bracht* and *Brecht* by the *Saxon* writers, ſerve ſtill to preſerve ſome remains of that people. The life of St. *Boniface* ſays, there was alſo on the bank of this river, a town called *Cuenta-wik*, or (as the life of St. *Theodore* ſpells it) *Kainta-wik*, i. e. *Cantiæ Sinus* or *Vicus*; which in the middle ages of the *empire*, was a famous port and the ſeat of the royal prefects on that coaſt. In the diviſion of the kingdoms of *Ludovicus Pius*, and in the capitulars of *Charles* the *Bald*, this town is called *Quanto-vicus* or *Kento-vicus*: It was ſeated between the countries of *Ponthieu* and *Boulogne*, where *Eſtaples* is now; but it hath been ſince deſtroyed. It ſeems to have been a conſiderable port and ordinary paſſage to, and from this iſland; for *Bede* tells us, *H. E.* l. iv. c. 1. That when *Theodore* archbiſhop of *Canterbury* came hither from *France*, *A. D.* 668, he ſet ſail from the port of *Kenta-vic*: And *Willibald* in his life of St. *Boniface* ſays, that when this laſt named prelate paſſed from *England* to *France*, he landed at the mouth of the river *Quent*, and at the town of *Quenta-wik*. See *Bucherii Belgium Romanum*, l i. c 5. This is enough to ſuperſede all further enquiries about the name of *Kent*, or of the new comers from *Belgium*, ſettled either in that country, or in the neighbourhood of it, under the name of the *Noucantæ*, or *Nouantæ*, or *Nouantes*, *æ* and *es*, in the termination of words, being uſed indifferently by the *Romans*, as we ſee in the latiniſing of the word *Druids*: *Lucan*, *Strabo*, and others, giving the name of *Druidæ*, to the ſame perſons, whom *Cæſar* and *Tully* call *Druides*.

late ſettlement in *Georgia* hath done to the *Creak Indians*, there being ſtill woods enough for thoſe, who did not care to fall into the *Belgic* way of living, to gratify their paſſion for hunting. There is ſtill the leſs reaſon to apprehend it ſhould, becauſe theſe *Belgic Britains* were originally their countrymen, and came of the ſame ſtock, from which the natives themſelves deſcended. As for the true [1] *Belgæ*, they had no manner of taſte for trade: their diſpoſition was entirely warlike, and they would allow nothing to enter their territories, that might corrupt or interfere with their military inclination. Their time too was taken up in *Gaule*, either in ſettling their new acquiſitions, or in oppoſing the *German* nations that attempted to invade them; till after the noble ſtand they made againſt the prodigious armies of the *Teutons* and *Cimbri*, who having ravaged moſt of the other provinces of *Gaule*, and ſtruck terror into *Rome* itſelf, were at laſt routed and deſtroyed by *Caius Marius*. The courage and reſolution the *Belgæ* had ſhewn on that occaſion in hindering theſe Barbarians from croſſing the *Rhine* on their borders, and not allowing them on any terms to enter or paſs through their territories, raiſed their reputation to ſuch an height, that they were afterwards much leſs infeſted by any incurſions of their neighbours. Their apprehenſions, which only came from the ſide of *Germany*, being by this means in a great meaſure quieted, *Divitiacus* king of the *Sueſſones*, and of great credit with the whole body of the *Belgæ*, reſolved to improve a juncture, favourable to his ambition or avarice, by making an invaſion of *Britain*. *Cæſar* mentions both that expedition of the *Cimbri*, who, after waſting *Gaule*, and alarming *Italy* for ſeveral years, were routed near *Arles* by *Marius* in his fifth conſulſhip *A. U. C.* 652, and this of *Divitiacus*, and ſays, that the former happened in our father's memory, the latter in our own. For this reaſon, as *Cæſar* was not fifty, when in *U. C.* 699, he made his firſt attempt upon this iſland; and as *Galba*, the king then ruling at *Soiſſons*, ſeems to have been the immediate ſucceſſor of *Divitiacus*, it ſeems reaſonable to think, that the expedition of this laſt, being a generation later than the other, was not at moſt above twenty-five years before *Cæſar's*; and conſequently happened within leſs than a hundred years before the birth of *Chriſt*. There might poſſibly have been previous thereto, ſome depredations at ſea, and inconſiderable deſcents upon the coaſt for the ſake of plunder; but this ſeems to be the only one, made with a formed deſign of conqueſt, and with a force anſwerable to ſuch an undertaking. It was perhaps made at the inſtance of the *Belgæ* ſettled in *Britain*, whoſe continual increaſe in numbers and power might give a jealouſy to the natives; at leaſt it was made by a prince of the country from whence they derived their origine. This ſeems to be the reaſon why [2] *Diodorus Siculus*, who being cotemporary with *Julius Cæſar*, and taking infinite pains by travelling over *Aſia* and *Europe*, and improving all opportunities to inform himſelf of all conſiderable events, could not be ignorant of this expedition, doth yet poſitively aſſert, "that *this iſland was never* "*invaded by any foreigners*, till it was attacked by *Cæſar*."

However this was, *Divitiacus* aſſembling a large body of forces, compoſed of his own ſubjects, the *Bibroci* in the *Rhemois*, the *Atrebates*, and other *Belgic* nations, that lay adjoining to his territories, and at the greateſt diſtance from the *Rhine*, paſſed the ſea into *Britain*; and reduced a great part of it into his obedience. The chief ſcene of his conqueſts lay in the counties of *Berks* and *Oxford*, where he planted the *Bibroci* and *Atrebates*; and in thoſe, of *Hants*, *Wilts*, and the bordering parts of *Somerſet* and *Suſſex*, where he ſettled the other adventurers, who went by the general name of *Belgæ*; expelling the *Regni* and other clans of the old inhabitants from their ſeats in thoſe countries; a fate that doth not ſeem to have attended the natives in any other part of the iſland. It is very probable, that the late colonies from *Belgium* ſubmitted to him upon this occaſion, if they did not

[1] *Cæſar de Bell. Gall.* l. ii. initio. [2] *Diod.* l. v. p. 300.

aſſiſt

affiſt him in his conqueſts; and that he ſubdued a good part of the [8] *Iceni*: though theſe laſt afterwards threw off the yoke, recovered their former dominions, and became one of the moſt powerful nations in *Britain*, before the time of the emperor *Claudius*.

Of the Government of *Gaule* and *Britain*.

VI. By the form of conſtitution, which prevailed univerſally throughout *Gallia Belgica*, as well as *Celtica*, the government of each particular people was lodged in a ſenate or council of the principal nobility; in which preſided a chief magiſtrate, annually choſen, inveſted with a power of life and death, called among the *Ædui*, the *Vergobret*; and in other ſtates by a like name, importing the ſupreme authority. For the better maintaining an union among ſo many different nations, a general council was held regularly every year about *Dreux*, the chief ſeat of the *Druids*, like that of the *Amphictyones* of *Greece* at *Delphi*; and the deputies of each particular ſtate meeting there together, made regulations for their common ſafety and advantage; which being religiouſly obſerved, they thought the whole world unable to oppoſe their united power. This was their general ſtated council; but in particular exigencies they held extraordinary general councils; in which on occaſion of an approaching war affecting them all in common, they choſe ſometimes a general in chief, and ſometimes appointed a king: whoſe power laſted as long as the occaſion, and who was either named by the particular ſtate, which had its turn of ſummoning and preſiding in theſe aſſemblies, as *Ambigatus* was by the *Bituriges*, or choſen by the ſuffrages of the general council; in which manner *Vercingetorix* was appointed general. Each particular people likewiſe in certain exigencies, or out of an high opinion of the bravery, prudence, and other virtues of ſome eminent perſons, choſe ſometimes two, as *Ambiorix* and *Catavulcus* among the *Eburones*, but generally, one *Reich* or *Rex*, whom the *Romans* looked upon as a *King*: And who was much of the ſame nature, though not ſo abſolute, as their *Dictator*. But his power always determined with his life, and the title never deſcended to poſterity; ſo that *Cæſar* ſpeaks of *Caſticus*, *Piſo*, and others, as private perſons, though their fathers had been kings of their reſpective countries. Such a king was *Divitiacus*; whoſe authority over the *Belgæ* in general expiring with his life, the government of each particular nation fell of courſe into the hands of their particular chieftains, or ſtates, (if they had been before united) who afterwards either acted under the direction of their reſpective ſenates; or elſe choſe a king to preſide in the adminiſtration; which laſt was generally the caſe of thoſe *Belgic* nations in *Britain*, that lay moſt expoſed to the enemy. For that great prince's ambition had involved them in wars with the natives; in which the *Atrebates* and *Trinobantes*, lying on the borders, ſuffered moſt; and the natural ſtrength and power of the *Belgæ* being leſſened, as well as divided, by his death, they were not able to maintain his conqueſts; ſo that the *Iceni* and *Cattivellauni* found it no difficult matter to recover their liberty, and even to extend their territories.

Of the *Druids*.

VII. Had it not been for that reigning paſſion in *Divitiacus*, and the injuries it put him upon doing the old inhabitants of this iſland, the *Belgæ* might probably have continued much longer in amity with the *Britains*; there being ſuch a conformity between them in their temper, cuſtoms, language, and, above all, in their religion. They were equally in this laſt reſpect under the direction of the *Druides*; a ſociety of men, who, beſides a mighty influence in all civil affairs, had in ſacred matters an authority, full as abſolute, as ever the *Magi* enjoyed in *Perſia*; the *Curetes*

[8] *Baxter's Gloſſar. Antiq. Brit. v.* Iceni, *&c.*

in

in any parts of *Greece*; or the *Chaldæans* in [1]*Aſſyria*. They agreed ſo much with the *Curetes* in the rites and ceremonies of their religion; in the methods they uſed to raiſe the wonder and engage the veneration of the people; in the nature of their ſtudies, as well as in their manner of life, cuſtoms, and inſtitutions; that *Pezron* makes no difficulty in pronouncing the *Druides*, to be the immediate deſcendants of theſe *Curetes*, or at leaſt their ſucceſſors; being admitted into their ſociety, initiated in their myſteries, and charged with the care of religion in the *Gomarian* colonies ſettled in the weſtern parts of *Europe*. For though both theſe dignities ſeem to be hereditary in their families, and the points of knowledge neceſſary to qualify perſons for the due diſcharge of theſe offices were regularly tranſmitted to their poſterity; yet we learn from *Cæſar*, that the chief of the nobility of *Gaule* as well as of *Britain*, ſent their children to the *Druides*, to be inſtructed in their myſteries and admitted into their ſociety; and we find among the *Greeks*, that *Empedocles*, *Orpheus*, and others, who appear not to be of the race of the firſt *Curetes*, were yet initiated into their order.

THEY were alike given to the ſtudy of aſtronomy, and the practice of judicial aſtrology; to auguries and divinations; as well by the flight of birds, as the entrails of ſacrificed animals; to incantations and all the juggling arts and tricks of what then paſſed by the name of *Magic*; which, according to [2]*Pliny*, who conſiders them as a mere cheat, took in the three fitteſt things to engage mankind; phyſic, mathematics, and religion. *Pezron* is willing to excuſe the *Gomarians* from the charge of being the firſt introducers of theſe magical arts and curioſities into the world, and aſcribes the invention of them to the *Chaldæans*; who being, for their better obſervation of the ſtars, ſettled in the *Gordyæan* mountains on the borders of *Armenia*, when *Acmon* made his irruption into that country, eaſily infuſed their own taſte into the others, and engaged them in the like practiſes. But whatever is to be ſaid in reſpect of aſtronomy, which might ſerve for a foundation to the reſt, and for which the *Chaldæans* were deſervedly famous, being generally reputed the firſt diſcoverers of that ſcience, though none of their obſervations went higher than the time of *Nabonaſſar*, I ſee no reaſon to think but that the *Gomarians* might have brought with them their ſkill in incantations and other magical deluſions from their own country of *Bactriana*, where they were originally ſettled; and where ſuch of their clans, as they left behind, are known to have practiſed them not long after. For [3]*Trogus Pompeius*, [4]*Arnobius*, [5]St. *Auguſtine* and [6]*Oroſius* tell us; that *Zoroaſter* the king of *Bactriana*, who was routed by *Ninus*, ſon of *Belus* founder of the *Aſſyrian* empire, (higher than which the old *Perſian* annals, whence we derive almoſt all our knowledge of the affairs of the eaſt, in thoſe early times, do not extend) was the firſt remarkable author of magic. [7]Dr. *Prideaux* indeed, upon the credit of ſome later oriental writers, maintaineth that there was but one *Zoroaſter*, and aſſerts with [8]*Agathias* (who founded his opinion on that of the modern *Perſians* his contemporaries) that he flouriſhed in the time of *Darius* the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*; adding further that the *Bactrian* monarch, who fought with *Ninus*, is called *Oxyartes* by *Cteſias*. But he lays a much greater ſtreſs upon this name, than the thing will well bare; nor is all that he ſays ſufficient to overweigh the general tradition of antiquity, aſcribing the invention of magic to a prince much more ancient, who bore the name of *Zoroaſter*. The later impoſtor known

[1] It is very probable that theſe were the ſame inſtitution, though called by different names in different countries; and all alike ſet apart for the care of religion and the ſtudy of divine ſubjects; and therefore deemed *neceſſary men*, for ſo the word *Dir-riw* (whence ſome derive the name of *Druide*) ſignifies among the *Celtæ*, and *Curetes* among the *Greeks*.

[2] *Plin.* l. xxx. c. 1. [3] *Juſtin.* l. i.
[4] Lib. i. [5] *De Civit. Dei*, l. xxi. c. 14.
[6] Lib. i. c. 4. [7] vol. 1. 167. [8] Lib. ii.

by this name, was no king, but born of mean and obſcure parents. He might be the broacher of ſome of the diſtinguiſhing doctrines of the *Magi*, and might be a reformer of the ſect, but the ſect itſelf had, undoubtedly, ſubſiſted long before his time, had practiſed all the magical arts, as they were termed, and encouraged the inceſtuous marriages of ſiſters, and mothers, and other abominations; which (it is well known) were too much in vogue among the *Perſians*, *Chaldæans*, and *Egyptians*, many ages before the time of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*. All agree that *Zoroaſter* was the firſt founder either of the ſect, or of the magical arts to which it was addicted; and *Xanthus* the *Lydian*, who was elder than *Herodotus*, and who is by [1] *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* celebrated above all other hiſtorians for his thorough knowledge of antiquity, places this inventor many hundred of years before the time of the other *Zoroaſter* or *Zaradus*, with whom he was at leaſt cotemporary, if not more ancient. *Hermippus* of *Smyrna*, commended by *Joſephus* [2] for a moſt diligent and exact hiſtorian, *Hermodorus* cited by *Diogenes Laertius* [3], *Plutarch* [4], and *Eudoxus* [5] *Cnidius*, who was cotemporary with *Cteſias*, and *Plato's* companion in his voyage to *Egypt*, all ſpeak of him as ancienter by ſeveral ages, than the *Trojan* war. There are inſtances enough to be given, of the revivers of inſtitutions being confounded with the original founders, and by the figure they made, obſcuring the reputation of the others to ſuch a degree, as to render their very exiſtence doubtful.

As to the name of *Oxyartes*, it can create no great difficulty in this matter, nothing being more common than for perſons of diſtinction in thoſe days, to be called by two different names, as even the latter impoſtor himſelf was: For the *Perſian* writers call him *Zerduſht*, and *Agathias* [6] gives him the name of *Zaradus*, (which ſeems indeed to be his true name) as well as that of *Zoroaſter*. I have already obſerved, that in thoſe early ages of the world, proper names were hardly fixed or ſettled ſo as to ſerve for a peculiar diſtinction of perſons; and ſuch as were then made uſe of by writers, were for the moſt part deſigned, not ſo much to tell us the real denomination of thoſe to whom they were applied, (however they came afterwards to be ſo taken) as to give us a particular deſcription of them, from ſome diſtinguiſhed part or other of their character. Thus the king of the people of *Margiana* (called by *Herodotus*, *Amorgæi*) is by *Cteſias*, called *Amorges*: And this cuſtom continued ſo low down as the time of *Julius Cæſar*; in the account of whoſe firſt expedition into *Britain*, there will ſoon appear ſeveral of the like names or deſcriptions. Such was the name of [7] *Zoroaſter* which in the oriental tongues, ſignifies a *Star-gazer*: Such likewiſe I conceive that of [8] *Oxyartes* to be; the hiſtorian, who was probably ignorant of any proper name he had, intending thereby to point out the mighty prince, whom *Ninus*, to compleat the glories of his reign, ventured to attack, and whoſe territories he propoſed to make the laſt of his conqueſts; as being lord of the countries watered by the *Oxus* and *Jaxartes*, the ancient names, originally *Celtic*, of the two principal rivers, which ran through *Bactriana*, *Margiana*, *Sogdiana*, the dominions of the firſt *Zoroaſter*. There is the leſs reaſon to doubt of this; becauſe when there is occaſion again in the *Greek* hiſtory to mention a prince of this country, and ſo low down as *Alexander the*

[1] *Antiq. Roman.* l. 1. [2] *Contra Appion.* l. 1.
[3] *De Magis & in Vitis.* [4] *In Iſide.*
[5] *Plin.* l xxx c. 1. [6] l. ii. [7] *Bochart Phaleg.* p 233. ſays that *Zoroaſter* in the oriental tongues ſignifies ἀστροθιατὴς, *aſtrorum contemplator*, from שׁיר *aſpicere* or שׁירה *aſpectus*, and *ſter* in the *Perſian* tongue, *aſtrum*.
[8] Mr *Lhuyd* in *Baxter's Gloſſ. Antiq. Brit.* p. 264. obſerves how often appellatives are taken for proper names, particularly in the very common names of rivers here, *Ax*, *Ex*, *Ux* and *Ox*; the very name of the *Bactrian* river *Oxus*: and *Jaxartes*, coming from *J* (*the*) *Ax* (a *river*) and *Art*, (*noble*, *ſtrong*) or *Ard* and *Ardh* (*ſtrong*, *high*, *deep*,) ſignifies in the *Celtic*, the language of the *Bactrian Gomarians* (the *ſtrong* or *deep river*) a deſcription, or name, which anſwers to the nature of its ſtream. See *Lhuyd's Archæology* in the *Iriſh Diction.* v. ARD, and ART.

Great's invaſion of *Bactriana*, the prince at that time is, by *Juſtin*, and others, ſtill called *Oxyartes*.

THERE are ſo few monuments left of thoſe remote ages of antiquity, that all we know of *Acmon*, before he quitted *Bactriana* at the head of his *Gomarians*, is, that he was the ſon of *Maneus*; but when he made his conqueſts of *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Phrygia*, we find he was accompanied in all theſe by his brother *Doeas*, the *diviner* (as the name imports) of his family, whom he conſulted for his auguries and divinations before he engaged in any enterpriſe; and that he was, after his death, worſhipped by his children [1] with ſacrifices and libations; the firſt honours of that kind which appear (ſince he was ancienter than *Belus* [2]) to have been paid to any mortal. *Uranus* his ſon (as *Diodorus Siculus* informs us [3]) was exceſſively given to the ſtudy of the ſtars, and was thought to know their riſing, ſetting, and revolutions, with every thing that paſſed in the ætherial world: And having taken upon him to foretel events, which amazed a people utterly ignorant of the conſtant order and courſe of the ſtars, they readily fancied him partaker of the divine nature, and paid him divine honours after his deceaſe. His daughter *Themis* [4] was a great miſtreſs of the arts of divination; had the chief hand in ſettling the rites of divine worſhip, and making thoſe regulations in matters of religion, which were adopted afterwards by the heathen world; and the predictions which ſhe confidently delivered out to the people, were ſo generally received, that ſhe was deemed the firſt inventor of oracles; and *Apollo* himſelf, when he gave an anſwer, was ſaid θεμιζειν, to act the part of *Themis*. In ſhort, all the deſcendants of *Uranus*, (who had no leſs than forty five children) fell into the ſame way of divination and magical arts, as far as we have any accounts of them, till after the time of *Mercury*: But none of the family were more remarkable in this reſpect than the *Curetes*, deſcended of the firſt [5] *Jupiter*, (brother to *Uranus*) who by his wife *Idæa* had ten ſons, and being by his brother made king of *Crete*, ſettled with them in that iſland, where they were afterwards entruſted with the education of *Jupiter Olympius*, and employed their time in divinations and enchantments. It was from one of theſe, the *Cretan Hercules* [6], that the women of *Greece* borrowed the incantations they uſed, and the amulets they carried about them, even to the time of *Diodorus Siculus*.

THE *Druides* followed the example of the *Curetes* in their pretences to a familiar intercourſe with the gods, in their undertaking to foretel events, in their practice of magical arts and illuſions, and their various methods of divination [7]. The *Iriſh* books are full of their enchantments, as the *Britiſh* are of their medicinal ſecrets; and an infinite number of charms for the cure of diſtempers, derived originally from them, are ſtill in vogue among the common people in every quarter of theſe *Britiſh* iſlands. What was calculated to ſtrike an awe and ſecure an influence at home, carried their reputation into foreign parts: And [8] *Pliny* tell us, they practiſed their arts of magic with ſuch aſtoniſhing rites and pompous ceremonies, that they might well be thought to have inſtructed the very *Perſians*. *Cicero* [9] ſpeaks of their ſkill in augury: And *Juſtin* [10] gives us a very extraordinary inſtance of the implicite faith given to their pretences, of underſtanding the language of birds, or of knowing the will of heaven, by their feeding, ſettling, flight, motions, actions, and

[1] *Sanchoniath. apud Euſeb.* [2] *Præp. Evang.* l. i. c. 10. [3] l. 3. [4] Ib. l. 5. [5] Ib. l. 1. [6] Ib. p. 230.

[7] The ordinary word now for a magician, among the *Saxons* and *Germans*, is *Dry*; and among the *Iriſh*, *Druidheact*, or *Druid*: and in their tranſlation of the [a] Bible, whenever the *Magicians* of *Egypt*, or the *Magi* of the eaſt, come to be mentioned, it is uſed as the proper term to expreſs their character.

[8] *Nat. Hiſt.* l. xxx. c. 1. [9] *De divinat.* l. i. c. 41. [10] L. xxiv. c. 4.

[a] See *Exod.* vii. 11. *Matth.* xi. 1.

gestures,

geſtures, in his relation of the expedition of a vaſt army of the *Celtæ*; who, conducted in their march from *Gaule*, by the flight of birds, forced their way through provinces of *Illyricum* into *Pannonia*.

To gain the greater credit to their profeſſions [1], of being acquainted with the gods, and knowing their pleaſure; and to qualify themſelves for the better exerciſe of their arts of divination, their ſtudies were chiefly directed to ſuch [2] ſciences as were likely to be ſubſervient to theſe purpoſes. Aſtronomy was, on this account, very proper to engage their attention; as accurate obſervations of the motions and revolutions of the ſtars, would enable them to foretel the time and meaſure of eclipſes, and other phænomena in the heavens, with an abſolute certainty; and ſo great was their proficiency in this ſcience, that *Pezron* undertook to prove [3] the *Greeks* and *Latins* borrowed from them, what their own aſtronomers called the *ſphere of the Barbarians*. Their ſkill in phyſick, and diſcoveries of the medicinal virtues of herbs and other ſimples, ſerved as well to cover the ridiculouſneſs of the charms they palmed upon people, as well as to ſupply their want of efficacy in diſeaſes. The extenſive knowledge which they had of nature, and of the ſecret inconceivable properties of certain things (ſcarce poſſible to be found out, but by an infinite number of experiments made in a regular courſe of enquiry for many ages, by a continual ſucceſſion of curious and judicious perſons communicating their obſervations to one another) in ſuſpending or over-ruling the moſt ordinary and conſtant effects of natural bodies, tho' violent as fire in their operations, put them in a capacity of performing many extraordinary actions, [4] which could not fail of aſtoniſhing the world, and would eaſily paſs for miracles. The almoſt incredible things done in ancient times by *Archimedes* and others, ſome of whoſe works ſubſiſted to be juſtly the wonder of ſucceeding ages, naturally ſuggeſt to us, the impreſſions which the *Druids* might make on a people, unacquainted with the extent and force of mechanical powers, by their ſkill in mathematics. Of this ſkill, as applied to mechaniſm, we have ſtill ſeveral ſtupendous monuments remaining in their temple of *Stone-henge*, and the like prodigious ſtructures in other places of theſe *Britiſh* iſles, that however feaſible they may now appear in a learned age, and biſhop *Wilkins*, in his treatiſe of *Mathematical magick* hath ſhewn them ſo to be, they were generally reputed in former days, the work either of giants or magicians. Their ſtudy of [5] geography, their great experience and continual opportunities of making reflections on human nature; their knowledge of the ſituation of countries, and of the tempers, condition, circumſtances and intereſts of particular perſons, as well as nations, enabled them likewiſe to judge, with ſome aſſurance, in many caſes, of what would, in all probability, be the event; thus helping out, (as *Tully* tells us [6]) by a rational conjecture, what they knew was deficient in their auguries. Theſe arts of divination, however, were not confined to the men; there were *She-Druids*, that, pretending to the like, delivered their oracles with as much confidence as the *Themis* of the *Gomarians*, and continued for near three hundred years after the [7] *Druids* were ſuppreſſed all over the *Roman* empire, to be very famous in *Gaule* and *Germany* for their predictions, as we learn from *Lampridius*, *Vopiſcus*, and *Aurelius Victor*; and as appears alſo from the well known ſtory of *Diocletian*.

The art of building was not found out, as *Diodorus* ſays [8], when the *Curetes* firſt ſettled in *Crete*, an iſland full of foreſts and mountains; ſo that they naturally took up their reſidence in the dens of valleys, the hollows of rocks, and the woods

[1] *Lucan.* l. i. Solis noſſe deos, &c. *Pompon. Mela*, Druidæ quod dii velint, ſe ſcire profitentur. [2] *Cæſar de Bell. Gallic.* l. 6. [3] Preface to *Antiquitez des Celtes.* [4] *Servius ad Æn.* l. xi. v. 785. [5] *Mela* l. iii. c. 2. [6] *De divinat.* l. i. c. 41. [7] *In Alexandro, in Aurel. in Claudio.* [8] L. v. p. 230.

of

of mountains; the only places which at that time afforded any ſhelter from the cold, or any covering againſt the weather. They continued this method only till architecture ſupplied them with better conveniences: But what was at firſt the reſult of neceſſity, became ſoon, in a great meaſure, matter of choice, either by force of habit, or becauſe they found the darkneſs and ſolemnity of woods very convenient for the practice of their incantations; and accordingly we find them, after houſes came into faſhion, ſtill inhabiting the groves and hills of *Crete*, and the foreſts of [1] *Tarteſſus*, in the ſouthweſt extremity of *Spain*. Purſuant to their example, the *Druids* conſtantly made their reſidence [2] in groves and foreſts, in ſolitary and retired abodes, fit for ſtudy and contemplation. In [3] *Gaule*, the ſeat of the chief *Druid* and his college of aſſiſtants, was in the woods near *Dreux*, in the *Pais Chartrain*, where M. *Goſſelin*, a *French* author of the laſt century, aſſures us, there were then to be ſeen conſiderable ruins of their buildings. In *Britain*, the accounts given us by *Tacitus*, *Dio Caſſius*, and others, of *Suetonius Paulinus's* invaſion of *Angleſey*, leave us no room to doubt of that iſland's being a principal reſidence of the *Britiſh Druids*; who, being better verſed in the inſtitutions and doctrines of their ſect, and greater maſters of the points of learning neceſſary for their profeſſion, than any of thoſe in foreign countries, were reſorted to from all parts of *Gaule*, by ſuch as deſired to be perfectly inſtructed in their diſcipline. It was an iſland, like *Crete*, where the *Curetes*, and *Samothrace*, where the *Cabiri* and *Corybantes* reſided, near enough to the main land of *Britain*, to allow them to paſs thither at any time, without trouble or danger; and yet retired enough to ſecure them againſt any inconveniences from its tumults; of a good air, and an healthy ſoil, abounding with ſprings and rivulets; generally level, yet diverſified with an agreeable variety of riſing and falling grounds; and full of ſpacious woods of oak, ſo neceſſary for their religious obſervances; defended, on all ſides, from any alarms of invaders by the ſea, which at the ſame time conſpired with the land to afford them plenty of all the conveniences of life. Such was the place the *Druids* choſe for their habitation, and they ſeem to have enjoyed it in demeſne. They had the like, perhaps greater advantages, in *Lewes* or *Harris*, one of the *Weſtern Iſles* or *Hebrides*, which ſeem, to have been another of their ſeminaries, as more monuments of their worſhip and practiſes are preſerved there, than perhaps in all the reſt of *Britain*.

THERE are, however, ſtill to be ſeen in *Angleſey*, a ſurprizing number of remains of their uſages, and monuments of their ſuperſtition. The learned Mr. *Rowlands*, a curious and judicious obſerver of theſe things, and a native of that iſland, after a life ſpent on the ſpot, publiſhed, juſt before his death, an exact deſcription of many of theſe remains; the number of which, in the ſingle pariſh of *Llanidan*, is very extraordinary. "[4] There is ſtill plainly viſibly, the ſquare ground-"plot, and elevated ſtone foundation of the *Arch-Druid's* manſion-houſe, ſur-"rounded by very deep ditches; the mud of which, near the bottom, ſeems to be "all a maſs of rotten oak leaves; the name of the place at this day, is *Tre'r-Drew*, "i. e. *The Druid's manſion*. There appears a little way from it, a large cirque "or theatre raiſed up of earth and ſtones to the height of five yards perpendicular, "reſembling an horſe-ſhoe, opening directly to the weſt, on an even fair ſpot of "ground, which ſeems to have been the place where the *chief Druid* held his conſi-"ſtory to determine cauſes; and it ſtill goes by the name of *Bryn* or *Brein-Gwyn*, *i. e.* "the *ſupreme* or *royal tribunal*. About a furlong off, appear the remains of a coronet "of very large erected columns or ſtone-pillars, including an area of twelve or "fourteen yards diameter; and between this circle and the cirque, a coped heap

[1] *Juſtin.* l. xliv. c. 4. [2] *Cæſar.* l. vi. [3] *Mona Antiqua*, p. 83, 88.

" of ſtones, growing taper towards the top, being one of the *Carnedde*, or places " for offering ſacrifices, which are to be ſeen ſo frequently in *Wales*, *Ireland*, and " the *Hebrides*. Adjoining, at a little diſtance, and in a manner ſurrounding the " head *Druid's* manſion, there ſeems to have been the dwellings of thoſe ſeparate " conventual ſocieties, which were under his immediate inſpection, and uſed to " attend his orders; the memory whereof is ſtill preſerved in the names of *Bod-* " *drudau*, i. e. the *habitation* of the ordinary *Druides*; *Bod-owyr*, i. e. the *abode* of " the *ſacrificers*, and the *Trer-Beird*, the *hamlet* of the *Bards*. There are in " the precinct other circumſtantial memorials of the more obſervable parts of " their diſcipline and worſhip, in the names of a neighbouring ſummit of an hill, " called *Caer-Edris*, from *Edris* or *Henoch*, the ſuppoſed founder of aſtronomy; " and of a place juſt by it called *Cerrig-Brudyn*, *i. e.* the *Aſtronomer's ſtones* or " *circle*, of a ſmall villa named *Myſyrion*, which ſignifies a *place, dedicated to* " *ſtudies and contemplation*; of *Trev-ir-wydd*, *i. e.* the *hamlet of young trees*, it " having been the nurſery of their ſacred oak; of *Myſſoglan* ſo denominated from " the *Viſcus*, or *Myſſletoe*, wich they ſo highly venerated; and of *Ceſn y Verwen*, " *i. e.* the *Juniper trees hillock*, a tree of ſacred uſe in antiquity." Theſe, and other remains too numerous to be mentioned, all crowded together in one pariſh, leave no room to doubt of this place's being the principal reſidence of the *Druids* in the ſouthern parts of *Britain*.

Their Ignorance of Letters.

VIII. HAD theſe *Druids* been leſs rigid, than in fact they were, in adhering to the firſt uſages and inſtitutions of their order, we ſhould not, in all probability, have wanted any lights to inform us of many particulars, of their cuſtoms, doctrine and diſcipline, as well as of the general hiſtory of theſe iſlands, which are at preſent unknown, and likely to remain ſo for ever.

THE uſe of letters was not known in the world, till ſeveral hundred years after the inſtitution of the *Druids*, as well as of the *Curetes*, who not being able to give their diſciples any inſtructions in religion or learning, or any rules for their conduct, in writing, were forced to put them into verſe; the meaſure whereof was a great aſſiſtance to the memory. The Druidical compoſitions of that kind, which ſerved for a model to *Talieſſin*, *Llywarch*, and others of the moſt ancient and beſt of the *Britiſh* poets, whoſe works are preſerved, and have ſince ſerved for the foundation of the lent *Proſodia*, which they have in the *Welſh* grammar, and which is perhaps the fineſt that any language affords, were admirably contrived for this purpoſe. They were all adapted to muſick, every word being harmonious; the ſtrongeſt and moſt expreſſive repeated in a beautiful manner; and all of them ranged in an order eſtabliſhed by rules, well known and univerſally received in ſuch compoſitions: Each verſe ſo connected with, and depending on thoſe which either preceded or followed it, that if any one line in a ſtanza be remembred, all the reſt muſt of courſe be called to mind, and it is almoſt impracticable to forget or miſtake in any. " The *Britiſh* poetry, as well as the language hath a peculiarity, which perhaps " no other language in the world hath; ſo that the *Britiſh* poets in all ages, and " to this day, call their art [1] *Cyfrinach y Beirdd*, *i. e.* the *Secret of the Poets*. " Knowing this art of the poets, it is impoſſible that any one word of the lan-

[1] Theſe are the words of a very judicious *Welſh* antiquary (Mr. *Lewis Morris*) perfectly well verſed in the writings of the old *Britiſh* poets; who refers me to Dr. *John David Rhys's* grammar, and Mr. *Prichard's* preface to it, for a deſcription of this *Secret of the Poets*, and adds, that though at firſt ſight it may be naturally thought, their poetry is clogged with ſo many rules that it is impoſſible to write a poem of comon ſenſe in the language; yet the vaſt number of flexions of conſonants in it, and the variations in declenſions *&c.* make it almoſt as copious as four or five languages added together; and conſequently a poet in the *Cambrian language*, notwithſtanding the ſtrictneſs of its rules, hath as great a ſcope and uſe of words, as in any other tongue whatſoever; as will appear from a peruſal of the ancient *Britiſh* poets.

" guage, which is to be found in poetry, ſhould be pronounced in any other " manner than is there uſed; ſo that without a transformation of the whole lan- " guage, not one word could be altered."

It was owing to a like ignorance of letters, that the moſt ancient laws among the *Greeks* were couched in verſe; they were called *νόμοι*, or ſongs, becauſe the way of publiſhing them, was by ſinging them to the people; and the *Lacedæmonians*, being uſed to this way of preſerving their laws by memory, grew ſo fond of it, that they would never ſuffer them to be written. The ſame method was taken with regard to the elogiums of princes and heroes, the actions of great men, and other hiſtorical and remarkable events, which it was thought proper to convey down to poſterity: And the mode prevailed ſo generally, that even after the invention of letters, none of the old *Greek* hiſtorians wrote in proſe, [1] till the time of *Cadmus Mileſius*. The *Carmina Saturnia*, firſt compoſed and ſung by the *Curetes* in honour of *Saturn*, though the name was afterwards applied to all poems of a like nature in honour of others; and the *Carmina Saliaria*, ſo called from the [2] *Salii*, a branch of the *Curetes*, who ſung them, were in great vogue among the *Romans*, and treated of all ſorts of ſubjects, of laws and religion, as well as of armies and hiſtory. Nor had the *Curetes* any ſcruple about committing to writing, what they thus repeated by heart; for *Orpheus* [3] publiſhed his hymns, and *Epimenides*, who, (as *Diogenes Laertius* ſays in his life) was one of them, wrote, near ſix hundred years before *Chriſt*, a poem of five thouſand verſes to give an account of the generation of their gods, and the origine of the *Curetes*; beſides other works both in proſe and verſe, treating of their ſacrifices, myſteries and rites of expiation.

It is not eaſy to aſſign a reaſon, why the *Druids* of *Gaule* and *Britain*, ſhould be more ſhy in this reſpect than the *Curetes*; yet [4] *Cæſar* tells us, " they did not " think it right for their ſcholars to commit any thing to writing, that " regarded their diſcipline. He endeavours to account for this conſtitution by " conjectures of his own imagination; thinking it was made, either becauſe they " would not have their doctrines divulged, or for fear their pupils, by truſting to " their books, ſhould neglect their memory; which could not be kept up in all " its perfection without a continual exerciſe." What may naturally be gathered from this paſſage is, that the *Druids* put none of their inſtructions down in writing: But whether that great man's notion of a particular regulation for this purpoſe be not founded ſolely upon that fact, and as merely conjectural as his reaſons for it, may well enough be queſtioned. For my part, I cannot bring myſelf to think, either that any improvement of the memory is a ſufficient equivalent for a twenty years continual application, or that the doctrines of the *Druids* might not be as well communicated to the vulgar world, in virtue of that ſo much cultivated memory, as they could be, if drawn up by the *Druids* in writing. They were men of a retired life; thoſe at leaſt, who lived in colleges, and were charged with the education of youth; and this was more particularly the caſe of the *Britiſh*, who lived in a country which had no correſpondence with any other, except *Gaule*; and that carried on by merchants only, in the maritime provinces of the two nations which lay oppoſite to each other. This would naturally render them more ſtiff and uncomplying in reſpect of the new faſhions of the world, and more tenacious of their own cuſtoms; and the great reſort of ſcholars to them from *Gaule*, in order to learn their diſcipline in its greateſt purity and perfection, looks as if they were not only more knowing, but likewiſe more ſtrict in obſerving it,

[1] *Pliny*, l. v. c. 56. l. vii. c. 55. [2] *Dionyſ. Halicar. Antiq. Rom.* l. ii. n. 71.
[3] *Plutarch. in vit. Solon.* [4] *De Bello Gallic.* l. vi.

and more closely adhering to their original institution. Reflecting therefore upon these circumstances of their situation, I should, in case there were any such regulation as that above mentioned, be apt to impute it to an excessive fondness (like that of the *Lacedæmonians* abovementioned) for their ancient usages, and an invincible aversion to novelty; or, if there were none, I should think their practise arose from their utter ignorance of letters, which might be owing, either to their want of opportunities of learning them, or to an affected rejecting of such as were offered, in consequence of their inveterate dislike of new fashions.

WHATEVER may be thought of the *British Druids*, it will probably be scarce allowed me to suppose, that those of *Gaule*, who had the advantage of a *Greek* colony settled at *Marseille*, should want any opportunity of learning the use of letters. But this colony was seated in an extremity of the country; and having, from the first years of their settlement there, been continually engaged in wars with the *Salii*, and other bordering nations, the *Massylians* held little correspondence with other parts of *Gaule*, till after their friends the *Romans* had reduced *Gallia Narbonensis* into the form of a province, and made an alliance with the *Ædui*. This was a favourable event for the *Massylians* to extend their commerce, and to settle a correspondence with the *Belgæ* and other nations in the maritime provinces lying upon the ocean; who, when the *Phœnicians* of *Gades*, distressed by wars at home, laid aside their trading voyages abroad, had engrossed the whole commerce of *Britain*, and by means of the *Seine*, the *Loire*, and the *Rhone*, had great conveniences of sending the commodities of these islands to *Marseille*. But this could not be long before *Cæsar's* time, nor probably till after the expedition and defeat of the *Cimbri*: And the correspondence being purely mercantile, the *Gauls*, who as yet breathed nothing but war, and the *Druids*, who perhaps did not care that their pupils should grow learned in less time, and at an easier rate than themselves, or (as *Cæsar* upon common report supposeth) were not allowed to commit to writing any thing that regarded their discipline or instructions, which took in theology, philosophy, geography, history, mathematicks, and other sciences, might not be very eager to acquire the knowledge of letters, for which they had so little occasion.

IT is not unreasonable to think, that such of the *Ædui* as bordered on the *Roman* province, might get a smattering of the *Latin* language, and that some of their chiefs, who had a continual intercourse with the *Romans*, might learn both to speak and write it; and yet we find, that *Divitiacus*, the greatest, the wisest, and the most learned of their princes, who had been sent by the *Ædui* in the character of their embassador to *Rome*, could do neither. If he, that was at the head of the state, and a principal person in the management of all transactions with the *Romans* (whose province was contiguous to the *Hedui*, and the borders of it above two hundred miles nearer them than *Marseille)* was so utterly ignorant of the *Latin* language, that *Cæsar* could not talk with him, but by the means of an interpreter, there can be very little ground to expect a greater knowledge, even of *Latin*, from others who had not the like particular reasons; much less can it be thought, that they should understand either the *Greek* language or characters. That they did not understand these last, seems very plain from *Cæsar's* writing his epistle to *Q. Cicero* in *Greek* letters, for fear of its being intercepted and the enemy's learning its contents: And though the passage here under consideration, which hath exercised the pens of many learned men, hath been made use of by some to shew that the *Gauls* understood the *Greek* language, and by others, that they knew at least the *Greek* letters; whilst a third sort, not seeing any foundation for either of these suppositions, have boldly adventured to alter rather than correct

correct the text; I can't perſuade myſelf to think it ſufficient to juſtify either of thoſe opinions.

CÆSAR, ſpeaking of the [1] *Helvetii*, ſays there was found in their camp an *accompt* in *Greek* letters of the numbers, as well of the whole body of them that left their country, as of all that were able to bear arms; with a particular accompt likewiſe of the numbers of the old men, the boys, and the women reſpectively. He ſays alſo, in this other paſſage about the *Gallic Druids*, (which is not expreſſed with his uſual clearneſs) that either they, or the people, made uſe of *Greek* letters in all their accompts, as well publick as private. For the right underſtanding of theſe paſſages, it muſt be obſerved, that before the figures, which are now uſed to denote numbers, were invented, the *Greeks* made uſe of the [2] letters of their alphabet, and of the initial letters of ſuch words in their language, as, (like the *French livre*, *ſol*, and *denier*, which we follow in our *pounds*, *ſhillings* and *pence)* expreſſed the nominal ſums of money by which they computed, in all their accompts, where either ſums or numbers were to be mentioned; and that the *Romans*, though they obſerved the ſame method in a great meaſure, yet deviated from it in ſome particulars. Hence I take *Cæſar's* meaning in one of theſe paſſages to be, that the *Helvetii*, in computing the different orders or degrees of perſons, that had a ſhare in their expedition, followed the method of the *Greeks*, making uſe of their letters, not the *Roman*, or any other figures, to expreſs their ſeveral numbers: And in the other, that the *Gauls* uſed the ſame *Greek* letters in all their *accompts* of money, either contributed or laid out for the public ſervice of the ſtate, or elſe paſſing in private tranſactions between merchants and other particular perſons.

IT was an eaſy thing for the *Maſſylians*, who were a *Greek* colony, when, by the protection of the *Romans*, they had extended their trade to the *Helvetii*, and even to the furtheſt parts of *Gaule* lying on the ocean, to teach their correſpondents this way of accompting; and as eaſy for theſe laſt, when they had once found the convenience of the method, to introduce it in a very ſhort time among their countrymen, ſo as to make it of general uſe, in a matter of ſo general concern as accompts of money, wherein almoſt every man in a nation, is in ſome degree or other neceſſarily intereſted. But all this might be done without their underſtanding the leaſt of the *Greek* language, or knowing any other uſe of the letters than as they ſtood for *Figures*; ſo that when they came to be combined into words, they would appear to the *Gauls* full as unintelligible as the moſt myſterious cypher, that the wit of man can invent. In a word, we meet with no other paſſages in ancient authors, which give us any reaſon to imagine, that either the *Gallic* or the *Britiſh Druids* [3] had any knowledge of the uſe of letters, before the *Romans* came amongſt them: We hear of no books on any ſubject, that they wrote, nor writings of any kind, that they had, or left behind them, mentioned by any hiſtorian; we ſee no inſcriptions of theirs on any pillars of their temples, or on any altars of their gods, or on any monuments of their princes and heroes, in whoſe honour the *Druids*, who had the ſole care of religion, and the chief ſway in the ordering of public affairs, may be naturally ſuppoſed as zealous to diſtinguiſh themſelves, as the Heathens were, in all countries where they had the uſe of letters: There is ſtill an infinite number of the remains of ſuch monuments, altars and temples erected by the *Druids* in theſe iſlands; and ſome there are of their times on the neighbouring continent, but without the leaſt mark to ſhew there ever was a *Britiſh* or *Celtic* inſcription on any of them: And as characters engraven in marble are not apt to diſappear as if wrote in water, a vaſt number of *Roman* ones from the reign of *Claudius* are preſerved to this very day, it may be

[1] Lib. i. [2] See the learned Dr. *Taylor's* excellent commentary on the *Marmor Sandvicenſe*.
[3] *Tacitus* ſays expreſly the *Germans* had not.

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reaſonable on the whole to pronounce, that the *Britiſh Druids* had no knowledge of the uſe of letters.

THIS was a point of knowledge, which our *Britiſh* anceſtors derived from the *Romans*, whoſe character they adopted and made uſe of in all their inſcriptions and writings, as Mr. *Baxter* hath obſerved, in his letter prefixed to the *Archæologia Britannica*. The author of which elaborate and learned work hath ſhewn, "that the "*Britiſh*, or (as they are uſually called) the *Saxon* and *Iriſh* characters, are really *Ro-* "*man*, with ſuch very ſmall deviations, as muſt unavoidably be introduced by "time, and the arbitrary uſe of writing; and that the ſame characters are ſtill "extant on the tombſtone of *Kadvan* king of *Guynedh*, in the church of *Lhan* "*Cadwaladar* in the iſle of *Angleſey*, who was one of the *Britiſh* princes in that "famous battle fought againſt the *Saxons*, who had maſſacred the monks of "*Bangor*." They have in *North-wales* ſeveral other ancient inſcriptions, all in the ſame character, though none of them more remarkable than that on the grave-ſtone of *Pabo*, who lived at the time of the *Saxons* coming into this iſland, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much by his valour againſt the *Picts* and *Scots*, that he was ſurnamed, *Poſt Prydain, i. e. the pillar of Britain*. He was great [1] nephew to *Helena*, mother to *Conſtantine* the great, and muſt conſequenlty be cotemporary with St. *Patrick*, who firſt taught the *Iriſh* their alphabet, and the *Roman* or *Britiſh* character.

AS for thoſe, who, judging of the *Bards* in ancient times, not as they were under the direction of the *Druids*, but as they appeared to be in after ages, when the latter were extirpated, have, in order to find ſome imaginary materials for the injudicious compilers of certain hiſtorical works, whereon to ground their fabulous relations, ventured to ſuggeſt, that though the *Druids* and their pupils were reſtrained from committing any thing to writing, yet the *Bards* might take a greater liberty; it is enough to ſay, that both were ſubject to the ſame diſcipline: And if the *Druids* were not allowed to write any thing, the *Bards* undoubtedly lay under the ſame reſtriction; if the *Druids* did not know the uſe of letters, the *Bards* certainly were full as ignorant.

THIS ignorance, in which thoſe of *Spaine*, *Gaule*, and *Germany*, ſeem to be equally involved, was a natural effect of the military genius of our anceſtors, the contemplative life of their *Druids*, and the happy ſituation of theſe iſlands: Happy in being divided from the reſt of world, and free from the calamities of war, and the inundations of barbarous nations, which from time to time ravaged moſt parts of the continent; but the more unknown by being ſeated in the remoteſt quarter of the globe towards the weſt and north, beyond the bounds of what was for ſome ages reputed habitable by the ancients. The eaſt, from whence light breaks upon the earth to enliven nature, firſt gave birth to letters; which ſeems to have been invented about the time of *Moſes*, whoſe account of the origin of the world, and hiſtory of the *Iſralites* from the call of *Abraham* to their ſettlement in the land of *Canaan*, is the moſt ancient work that is known, and the firſt that was ever written. The neighbouring nations ſoon profited of the diſcovery, and *Cadmus* brought letters from *Phœnicia* into *Greece*; where they found a reception anſwerable to their utility; laying the foundation of that learning, which hath diſtinguiſhed the *Greeks* above all other nations, and contributing to form thoſe great men among the ancients, whoſe works are ſtill read with pleaſure and admiration. The *Phœnicians* might have done us the ſame ſervice; for in a few ages after their ſettlements at *Carthage* and *Gades*, they began to trade to theſe parts, though they never planted any colony in *Britain*.

[1] *Mona Antiq.* p. 157.

It is only by ſuch fixed eſtabliſhments, with which the natives of a country have a continual intercourſe, that a foreign language can be communicated; and ſtrange cuſtoms, difficult to acquire, and promiſing no immediate advantage, can be introduced. The *Phœnicians* were occaſional viſitants, ſailors, and merchants, whoſe ſole view was gain; this they found in the iſles of *Scilly*, famous among the ancients under the name of *Caſſiterides*, on account of the vaſt quantities of tin, which they ſupplied for the convenience of other nations, and of which thoſe merchants made ſo extraordinary a profit, that they took all imaginable [1] pains, not even boggling at the extremeſt dangers, and all the horrors of ſhipwreck, to conceal from the world the courſe of the navigation thither. With theſe ſentiments, it cannot be thought, that they ſhould take any more care to inſtruct and improve the *Britains* in knowledge, than we have done in the caſe, either of the inhabitants we trade with on the coaſts of *Africa*, or of the *Indians* that live on the back of our plantations in *America*. It was inconſiſtent with the tenour of their received politics, and contrary to their intereſt, the all-powerful and domineering paſſion of that kind of men, to furniſh the natives with any means of knowledge or helps to a correſpondence with other countries; which muſt in time have diminiſhed the exorbitant profits, that the *Phœnicians* made of the others ignorance and ſimplicity.

The *Maſſylians*, tempted by the like hopes of gain, and in order to ſhare with the *Phœnicians* in the advantages of a commerce with theſe parts of the world, ſent, about two hundred and fifty years before *Chriſt*, *Pytheas* one of their citizens to make a diſcovery of all the coaſts of the ocean towards the north, beyond the ſtreights of *Gibralter*. This ancient geographer having coaſted along *Spaine*, *Gaule*, and *Britain*, examining the ſituation and condition of the ports in his way, proceeded at laſt as far north as *Iceland*; and on his return publiſhed an hiſtory of this laſt iſland under the name of *Thulè*; with an account of the countries he had viſited, and the obſervations he had made in his voyage. This work is now unhappily loſt, except ſome few paſſages of it, quoted by *Polybius* and others; which only ſerve to raiſe our curioſity for the reſt, and to heighten our regret for its having undergone a fate, common to it with the writings of other *Greeks*, who ſeem to have known more of theſe iſlands in and before the age of this *Pytheas*, than either they or the *Romans* did afterwards, upon the diſcontinuance of the *Phœnician* trade, till the time of *Cæſar's* expedition. The diſcovery then made of them by that founder of the *Roman* empire, and the eaſy communication with them, which he had opened by the conqueſt of *Gaule*, made them in a little time generally known to the world; and it is from his *Memoires*, the firſt and moſt authentic of any, and from the later writings of other *Roman* authors, compared with the monuments ſtill remaining of the ſuperſtition of thoſe ancient times, that we derive all the knowledge we have of the inſtitutions of the *Druids*, and of the religion, cuſtoms, and manners of the old *Britains*.

Their Religion.

IX. In point of religion, they were diſtinguiſhed above all other nations, by their firm belief of that fundamental principle of it, the immortality [2] of the ſoul; of which *Lucan* repreſents them as the firſt authors; and to which the *Romans* generally aſcribed that uncommon bravery, intrepidity, and utter contempt of life, which they ſhewed upon all occaſions. But they grafted on this foundation two other notions, depending on one another, *viz.* the pre-exiſtence of ſouls, and their ſucceſſive tranſmigration from one human body to another, in which they lived

[1] *Strabo*, l. iii. *Mela*, l. iii. c. 2.

[2] *Cæſar de Bello Gal.* l. vi. *Lucan.* l. i. *Strabo*, l. iv. *Amm. Marcellin.* l. xv.

again after a certain time of expiation. Thus is it *Diodorus* [1] explains this doctrine which the *Druides* held in common with the *Pythagoreans:* but the time of its being received among them hath hitherto been thought ſo uncertain, as to render it difficult to determine, whether they were the firſt authors of it, and communicated it (as *Clemens Alexandrinus* aſſerts [2]) to *Pythagoras*, or elſe derived it from this philoſopher. They believed one ſupreme God, immenſe and infinite, and would not worſhip him in a temple; the confining him to a place, being thought inconſiſtent with thoſe attributes: But this doctrine too was corrupted by their admitting an inferior kind of deities, and paying divine honours to [3] *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Apollo* and *Mercury* under the names of *Taranus*, *Heſus*, *Belenus*, or the *Sun*, and *Teutates* They had the ſame opinion of theſe as other nations had, and aſſigned to each a diſtinct province, wherein he particularly exerciſed his protection; *Jupiter* having a ſovereign power over heavenly bodies; *Mars* in events of war; And *Apollo* in diſeaſes; whilſt *Mercury* the founder of arts and commerce, preſided over merchandiſe and was the guide of travellers, the name *Teutates*, being by ſome derived from the *Celtic* words, *Diw Taith*, i. e. *Deus itineris*. To theſe, *Cæſar* adds *Minerva*, the goddeſs of artificial works; as [4] *Plutarch* does, *Diana*; and *Lucian*, [5] *Hercules*, who was worſhipped by the name of *Ogmius*, and as the god of eloquence. But before the times of the *Romans*, there are no traces of any worſhip paid to *Minerva*, either by the *Gauls* or *Britains*, unleſs ſhe be the ſame with *Andraſte* or *Dea mater*, that infernal fury to whom *Bunduica* impiouſly offered human ſacrifices (as Mr. *Baxter* [6] thinks) or be confounded (as was very frequently the caſe) with the *Phrygian Artemis*, or *Diana*, whom *Plutarch* ſays, the *Gauls* worſhipped exceedingly; or the *Moon*, which, in conſequence of the *Druids* aſtronomical ſtudies, was adored in a particular manner by the *Britains*.

The exterior acts and rites, by which the *Druids* expreſſed their inward ſenſe of religion in the adoration of their deities, were prayers, thankſgivings, oblations, and ſacrifices; acts warranted by the example of the ante-diluvian patriarchs, and which being ſome of them ſuggeſted by the light of reaſon, and all conveyed by a general tradition to all nations upon earth, were accordingly adopted by them in their practice. They compoſed [7] ſongs and hymns in praiſe of their deities, which were ſung in concert, accompanied with the muſic of their harps, in the ſolemn and regularly-returning feſtivals inſtituted and celebrated in their honour, with choirs of dancers, rejoicings, feaſts, games and plays, much after the ſame manner, as was uſed by the *Greeks* at their olympic games dedicated to *Jupiter*, and in their *Delian* feſtivals, conſecrated to the honour of *Apollo* and *Diana*. Their offerings, agreeable to the frugality and ſimplicity of a people living upon milk, acorns, the fruits of the trees, and produce of the ground, were at firſt fine [8] meal or flower ſprinkled with ſalt, or a baked cake ſeaſoned in the like manner; which was originally the [9] general practice of the Heathen world, and never entirely laid aſide, even after animals came to be uſed as victims; theſe ſimple oblations being ſtill kept up as neceſſary concomitants and proper preludes of their more coſtly ſacrifices. The *Britains* ſeem to have been, later than other nations, infected with this affectation of pomp and expence in acts of religion; for we ſee by the offerings which they ſent from time to time, either by ſacred ambaſſadors, ſolemnly deputed to carry them, or by other methods of conveyance, to the temples of *Apollo* and

[1] *Diod. Sic.* l. v. [2] *Strom.* 1. [3] *Cæſ.* l. vi. *Lact.* l. vi. c. 21. *Lucan.* l. i. *Greg. Turon. de gloria mart.* c. 5. *A. Gell.* l vi c. 6. *Auſon. de Profeſſ. Burdegal. Carm.* iv. [4] *De virtut. Mulier. & in Amatorio* [5] *In Dial.* περσαλαιά. [6] *Gloſſ. Antiq. Brit.* v. ANDRASTA, JUPAPANIA, MINERVA. [7] *Diodor. Sic.* l. ii. p. 38. *Herodot.* l. iv. n. 33. *Ovid. Faſt.* i. 335. *Plin.* l. xxxi. c. 41. [9] *Ib.*

Diana

Diana at *Delos*, that they preſerved the primitive ſimplicity in this reſpect, to at leaſt the time of *Hecatæus*.

[1] CÆSAR ſpeaks of it as a common practice among the *Gauls*, when they were going to battle, to devote all the ſpoils of the enemy to the gods; and that when the action was over, they ſacrificed all the animals they had taken, and laid up the reſt of the ſpoil on heaps in conſecrated places; where abundance of thoſe heaps were in his time to be ſeen, and remained untouched in great ſecurity. None durſt ſteal or take away any thing thus repoſed, either for fear of the capital puniſhment and tortures inflicted on ſuch as were detected of ſo heinous an impiety, or out of reſpect to a principle of their religion, which forbade them, as well to conceal any part of the booty they had taken, or to violate the appropriation of it afterwards. Hence were there to be ſeen in all parts of the country, great quantities of gold and ſilver lying in their conſecrated groves and open temples, unguarded, and yet untouched by any of the inhabitants; which *Diodorus* thought very wonderful in a people ſo exceſſively greedy of money, as the *Celtæ* ſhewed themſelves to be on other occaſions. The *Romans* indeed were leſs ſcrupulous: And [1] *Q. Servilius Cæpio*, when he was conſul, plundered the temple of *Tholouſe* of an hundred thouſand pound weight of gold, and five millions of ſilver, which were there conſecrated. But the terrible calamities which, immediately after this ſacrilege, attended him and his family (he being routed in the ſame year by the *Cimbri*, dying in exile, and the only heirs he left, his daughters proſtituted) ſerved to confirm the *Gauls* in their abhorrence of all ſuch ſacrilegious practices, and gave riſe to the common proverb, of *Aurum Toloſanum*, uſed ſo frequently among the *Romans*, obſerving how ſeldom ill got riches proſpered. There are no veſtiges of the like cuſtom among the *Britains*; but this may be owing to their not being infeſted with foreign wars, and as they agreed with the *Gauls* in religion as well as manners, and were as much addicted to their own religious [2] obſervances, at the ſame time that they deſpiſed thoſe of all other nations, we may reaſonably preſume, that on the like occaſions (if any ever offered) they made the like offerings and dedications of their acquiſitions.

THE ſame vanity, which gives people an exceſſive fondneſs for their own ſuperſtitions, makes them likewiſe apt to vye with others in every thing that hath the air of a ſuperior merit, that may render them more acceptable to the deity, and diſtinguiſh their zeal for his worſhip. Thus the *Gauls* and *Britains*, giving in to the general notion of the Heathens, that the more valuable the life, the more acceptable was the offering of it to their gods, adopted the barbarous practice of human ſacrifices. They had too many examples for it in other nations; in the *Spaniards* [3], the *Carthaginians*, the *Cretans*, the *Lacedæmonians*, the *Thracians* and *Scythians*, the *Perſians*, the *Phœnicians* who traded to *Britain*, and ſeem to have introduced it there [4], the *Maſſylians* ſeated on the coaſt of *Gaule*, and abundance of other nations, not excepting even the *Athenians* and *Romans*. The *Egyptians* carried it to ſuch a monſtrous exceſs, that at *Heliopolis* they offered every day three men to *Juno*, till *Amoſis* aboliſhed the cuſtom, ſubſtituting images of wax,

[1] Lib. vi.

[2] *Strabo*, l. iv. *Salluſt. in Jugurth. Plutarch. in Mario. Eutrop.* l. v.

[3] *Cicero de Nat. Deor.* l. iii. *Aul. Gell.* l. iii. c. 9. *Juſtin.* l. xxxii. *Cicero de Nat. Deor.* l. ii. *Aul. Gall.* l. iv. c. 9. *Diod.* l. v.

[4] *Euſeb. Orat. de laud Conſtantini. Porphyr. de illicit. animalium uſu. Clem. Alexand. Protreptic. Juſt.* l. xviii. *Euſeb. ib. Lactant.* c. 21. l. i. *Lucan*, l. x. *Prudent. Epig.* xvi. *Tert. Apol.* c. 9. *Minut. Felix in Octavio.*

[5] The *Phœnicians* ſacrificed their only children to *Saturn*, and were ſo furious above others in offering human ſacrifices, that in *Libya* they made public ſacrifices of two hundred of the ſons of their principal nobility, the inferior people at the ſame time offering as many of theirs; and this cuſtom continued in the country about *Carthage* till the reign of the emperor *Adrian*, when *Tiberius* proconſul of *Africa* aboliſhed that impious practice. *Euſeb. de Laud. Conſtantini*, l. i. 7.

inſtead

inſtead of men; as the *Laodiceans* of *Syria* did an hind in lieu of the virgin they yearly offered to *Minerva*. The *Aborigines* of *Italy* offered their victims to *Jove* and *Apollo*; the *Romans* theirs to *Jupiter Latiaris* and to the *Dii manes*, on occaſion of any public danger or calamity of war; nor were theſe entirely laid aſide, (at leaſt as to criminals and gladiators) till the time of the emperor *Honorius*. It was in ſuch caſes of publick danger, in the rage of a peſtilence and before a battle, that the *Gauls* chiefly had recourſe to them: But they often did the ſame in private caſes, in the diſtempers of particular perſons, that appeared more than ordinary dangerous. They generally indeed ſacrificed only robbers and other criminals; but, if they had none of theſe in priſon ready for the purpoſe, they made no ſcruple, in [1] caſes of imminent danger, to offer innocent perſons, to *Taranis*, *Heſus* and *Teutates*; in which they were followed by the *Britains*: Who going beyond them in this point, made the ſame ſacrifices to *Belin*, *Andraſte*, or *Luna*; probably drawn into this unuſual difference from the others by the *Phœnicians*.

It was about four hundred and fifty years before Christ, that theſe people firſt diſcovered the *Britiſh* iſles, making the largeſt of them known to the eaſtern world by the name of *Britain*; and a trade to theſe parts was opened by the *Carthaginians*: Who about the year of *Rome* 307, ſent *Hanno* and *Hamilcar* with each a fleet to ſail, the one ſouth, the other northward, from the ſtreight of *Gibraltar*, to diſcover the weſtern coaſts of the continent of *Africa* and *Europe*, and the iſlands that lay in the *Atlantick* [2] ocean. The latter of theſe was charged with the northern navigation: And having coaſted along *Spaine* and *Gaule*, diſcovered this iſland, paſſed along the *Britiſh channel* into the *German ocean*, as far as the *Baltick*, and returned, after ſpending two years in the expedition. It was probably at this time, that the *Carthaginians*, having paſſed along *Britain* to the extremity of *Scotland*, erected, in the moſt northern point of that country, the votive altar and inſcription, in honour of *Ulyſſes*, the hero of voyages, mentioned by *Solinus*. From this time the *Phœnicians* began to trade with the *Britiſh iſles*: And being themſelves furiouſly prepoſſeſſed in favour of human ſacrifices, ſeem to have recommended them to a people extremely devoted to religion, and diſpoſed to receive any rites, that might expreſs an higher veneration of their deities. The *Druids* too, might the eaſier adopt them, as finding them ſerviceable to their pretenſions of knowing or diſcovering the will of heaven; for what ſeems to have diſtinguiſhed the *Britains* moſt from other nations in theſe ſacrifices, was their uſing them for divination; it being uſual with the *Druids* (as [3] *Diodorus* ſays) in conſulting of matters of great moment, to ſacrifice a man, and running him through with a ſword above the breaſt, to divine of futurity by the flow of blood from the wound, and by the fall and convulſion of the members. It was theſe ſacrifices, attended with ſeveral ſhocking circumſtances in the auguries taken from the entrails of the unhappy victims, which gave the *Romans* ſuch an averſion to the *Druids*, that contrary to the ordinary policy, obſerved by them in their conqueſts, of encouraging, or at leaſt tolerating, the religion of the country, they reſolved upon an utter extirpation of them and their ſuperſtition. Thoſe ſacrifices had been forbidden at [4] *Rome*, *A. U. C.* 657. by a decree of the ſenate: But ſome people continuing them in private, the emperor

[1] *Cæſar*, l. vi. *Juſtin*, l. xxvi. *Cicero orat. pro Fonteio*, *Strabo*, l. iv. *Lactant.* l. i. c. 21. *Lucan*, l. x.

[2] This is the opinion of *Mariana*, and other learned men; but there are others, who, building upon *Pliny's* aſſertion, that theſe voyages were undertaken in the moſt flouriſhing ſtate of the *Carthaginian* affairs, and judging this to be in the time of *Agathocles*, ſuppoſe them to be ſtill later. This indeed may be reaſonably inferred from what *Polybius* (who died about 125 years before Christ) [4] ſays, that the eaſtern parts of *Spain*, near the *Mediterranean*, from the *Pyrenees* to the *pillars of Hercules*, was called *Iberia*; but that part, which lay on the *Atlantick* ocean, had in his time no name nor common appellation, *becauſe it had not been long diſcovered*; and yet it was diſcovered by *Hanno* and *Hamilcar*, the very perſons here mentioned.

[3] *Diod. Sic.* l. v.

[4] *Plin.* l. xxx. c. 1.

Auguſtus had renewed the prohibition. *Tiberius* had ſuppreſſed them in *Gaule*; and [1] *Claudius* extirpated the *Druids* in that country. In [2] *Britain* they ſubſiſted till *Nero*'s time, when *Paulinus Suetonius* having reduced *Angleſey*, deſtruction fell ſo ſuddenly upon the *Druids*, that all their knowledge of various kinds, and all the hiſtorical memorials of former ages, conveyed down to them by their predeceſſors, either in the ſongs of the *Bards*, or in any other methodical manner, being preſerved only in their memories, periſhed with them at once, without any learned or inquiſitive *Roman's* having an opportunity to gratify his own curioſity, or commit any remains thereof to writing, for the benefit and entertainment of poſterity.

THE places ſet apart for theſe ſacrifices, and for other acts of public worſhip, were [3] conſecrated groves of oak; which [4] *Pliny* ſays, were the moſt ancient temples of the deities. The ſilence and ſolemnity which reigned there, naturally recommended them as proper places for religious worſhip; nor could mankind well think of any other, in the firſt ages of the world, when they had no houſes for their own habitation. A practiſe ancienter than the flood in its original, could not fail of being adopted afterwards by all nations; among whom *Sacra Jovi quercus*, was a common maxim, and oaks were held in particular veneration [5]. It prevailed ſo generally among the oriental nations, that whenever any of the *Iſraelites* were perverted to the idolatry of the Heathens in their neighbourhood, it was ſtill under the *green well-ſpread* [6] *oaks*, and on the tops of mountains, that they built altars and offered ſacrifices to their idols. The *Perſians* ([7] *Herodotus* tells us) had neither temples nor ſtatues; but ſacrificed to the ſun and moon, and the whole expanſe of heaven, on the moſt elevated parts of mountains; ſo that woods ſerved them for temples, and the tops of hills for altars [8].

IT was not uncommon to erect pillars in theſe groves thus dedicated to religious performances: And accordingly we find the men of *Shechem* proclaiming *Abimelech* [9] king by the *oak of the pillar in Sichem*, the place where *Abraham* had formerly worſhipped, and where *Joſhua* had ſet up a great *ſtone* or pillar in the ſanctuary of the *Lord*. It was uſual to anoint and conſecrate ſuch pillars: So *Abraham* [10] did at *Bethel:* So *Jacob* in mount *Gilead*; where directing his brethren to gather ſtones, he erected an *heap* of them to ſerve not only for a teſtimony and memorial, but for all the rites of a ſacrifical action, which were obſerved in making the covenant between him and *Laban*. Theſe uſages, part of the patriarchal manner of religious worſhip, were all adopted by the old *Britains* [11]: And the names by which they are known in *Wales* and *Ireland* this very day, being evidently derived from the *Hebrew*, the original language of mankind; (though the cuſtoms themſelves cannot poſſibly be ſuppoſed to be copied from the *Jews*) are a plain indication, that they flow from an higher ſource, and have been continued by means of a conſtant, regular, uninterrupted exerciſe of the religion, whereof they were a branch, from before the confuſion of *Babel*, and the diſperſion of nations; and are, conſequently, ſo many evidences of the great antiquity of the *Druidical* inſtitution.

[1] *Sueton. in Claud.* c. 25. [2] *Mela*, l. iii. c. 2.
[3] *Lucan*, l. iii. *Pliny*, l xii. c. 1. [4] *Ib.*
[5] It was in the [a] oak-grove (for ſo the word *Allon* ſhould be rendered) of *Moreh* in *Sichem*, that *Abraham* was paying his devotions to the *Almighty*, when he was honoured with the divine preſence, and received the promiſe of the land of *Canaan* for his poſterity. There alſo he erected an altar to the Lord; as he did likewiſe on the mountain (in thoſe early days all covered with woods) that lay on the eaſt of *Beth-el*, when he removed thither.
[6] *Ezek.* vi. 13. *Hoſea* iv. 13.
[7] *Herodot.* l. i. n. 131.
[8] From the *Hebrew* word במות ſignifying *high places*, the *Greek* word βωμοὶ, *altars*, is commonly derived; as the *Welſh Lhyn* a grove, is from *Allon*, which hath the like import in the *Hebrew* language.
[9] *Judges*, xi. 6. [10] *Gen.* xxxi. 13, 45, 46, 52, 54. [11] See *Mona Antiqua*, p. 56.

[a] *Gen.* xii. 6, 7.

THAT

THAT the *Britains* performed all the parts of their divine worſhip in groves, is a fact undeniably proved by the concurrent teſtimony of all antiquity: And it is generally ſuppoſed that the *Druides* derived their name from *Deru*, the *Britiſh* word for *Oak*; the tree for which they had ſo ſingular a veneration. They never exerciſed any part of their ſacred functions without it[1]: The fences, that encloſed the places of their religious worſhip, were all made of oak; the altars, on which they offered ſacrifices, were ſtrewed with its leaves, and encircled with its branches: it ſerved for wreaths to crown the brows of the victims, and for garlands to deck the the heads of the muſicians, ſingers, dancers, and other votaries, that bore a part in their ſacred feſtivals and ſolemnities. They placed a very high myſtery in the *Miſſletoe* of that tree, looking upon it as the choiceſt gift of heaven, as an aſſurance of further bleſſings, as a mark of divine election, in favour of the particular tree whereon it was found; which for that reaſon was ever afterwards treated with a more than ordinary veneration. It was ſought for in all parts at the beginning of the year (which they began on the firſt day of the moon, when it appears viſible) with a wonderful eagerneſs, found with tranſport, and gathered with the greateſt ſolemnity, in the midſt of an infinite concourſe of people, flocking from all quarters to behold the welcome earneſt of their future felicity, and to celebrate the feſtival obſerved and the ſacrifices offered on that occaſion; the *Druid*, clad in a white veſture, climbing up the tree, cropping the *Miſſletoe* with a conſecrated golden pruning knife, and receiving on his *Sagum* or *white garment*, this annual preſent of the Gods, and ſure remedy (ſuch they thought it) againſt all diſeaſes.

IT was a received principle in the religion of all countries, where *Druidiſm* prevailed, as in *Gaule*, *Germany*, and *Britain*, that to confine the deity within walls, or to repreſent him in any human figure[2], were things unworthy of his majeſty, and unſuitable to his immenſity: And they remained accordingly for many ages without either temples or ſtatues, till the influence of the example ſet them by all their neighbours, particularly by the *Romans*[3], prevailed with them to deviate in ſome degree from their ancient uſage. Thoſe of *Gaule* ſeem to have been firſt infected with the itch of novelty, and, at the time of the irruption of the *Cimbri*, had a famous temple at *Tholouſe*; tho' to reconcile their new practiſe in ſome meaſure with their old principle, it was open at the top; whereas the *Britiſh* ſtructures, called and uſed as temples, were open on all ſides, being only circles of ſtones at a diſtance from each other. The *Gauls* however had very few of that new kind, till the *Romans* had ſubdued their country; and then they had temples covered with roofs, as in other places. *Cæſar* ſpeaks of ſeveral images of *Mercury*: *Pliny*[4] mentions a vaſt coloſſus erected to his honour, and[5] *Lucian* gives us an account of a ſtatue in his time of *Hercules (Ogmius)* emblematically deſigned to expreſs the force of eloquence. But this laſt ſeems only an hieroglyphic: And the firſt were probably large pillars of ſtone or marble erected in the interſections of roads, or in woods, where the people were uſed to worſhip that chief of their deities; and were not properly ſtatues, any more than the lofty oak, which *Maximus Tyrius*[6] fancied, they worſhipped as the image of *Jupiter*. Whatever kind of reſpect was originally intended to be paid to that tree, it is not unlikely, but it might in time, at leaſt among the commonalty, degenerate at leaſt into a religious adoration: And we ſee accordingly *Gregory* the great, in one of his epiſtles to queen *Brunehaut*, recommends to her, not to ſuffer the worſhippers of trees any longer in thoſe parts of *Gaule*, that were under her government.[7] *Gildas* informs us likewiſe, that the

[1] *Pliny* l. xvi. c. 44. [2] *Tacit. de mor. Germ.*
[3] Who always had temples, and though *Numa* had enjoined them to make no repreſentation, whether carved or painted, of the deity; yet within 160 afterwards they introduced ſtatues into their religion.
[4] L. xxxiv. c. 7. [5] *Dial.* πϱοσλαλιά.
[6] *Diſſert.* xxxviii. [7] *Epiſt. initio.*

Britains

Britains in his time had very ill favoured ſtatues, and paid divine honours to mountains, hills, and rivers.

It is difficult to fix the exact time, when theſe novelties were firſt introduced into *Gaule:* But it was certainly after the expedition of *Sigoveſus*, when the *Senones* mixed with the *Suevi*; and after every one of thoſe later ſettlements made in *Germany*, at conſiderable diſtances of time from one another, by the *Boii*, *Helvetii*, and *Volcæ Tectoſages*; becauſe in *Tacitus's* time, none of theſe *Celtic* tranſplanted colonies had either temples or ſtatues. We read of no ſtatues among the *Britains* at that time, unleſs a rough unſhapen ſtone, of an enormous ſize, ſet up erect, may be ſo called, and fancied to repreſent the ſtability of the deity: And their temples were no more than a number of ſuch large unwrought pillars, (every two of which, in ſome of them, ſupport an huge flat ſtone, raiſed up and laid on their top) a certain diſtance being obſerved between each, and (except ſuch as were dedicated to the worſhip of the moon, which appear to be ſemicircular) all diſpoſed in the form of a circle, and ſurrounded by a trench on the outſide. Such is the temple we ſee at *Stonehenge* near *Ambreſbury* in *Wiltſhire*; and ſuch were thoſe of *Rollricht* and *Aubury*, and others; the remains whereof are ſtill viſible in the *Weſtern* and *Orkney* iſles, and in other parts of *Britain* and *Ireland*.

Their [1] altars were huge, broad, flattiſh ſtones, mounted up and laid flat upon other erect ones, and leaning with a little declivity in ſome places, on thoſe ſupporters. This bending poſture they ſeem to have affected, though it be not found in all of theſe monuments, which are called *Crom-lech* [2]. Theſe generally ſtood in the midſt of the *Area* of the temple, near which was erected a great unſhapen, uneffigiated pillar or obeliſk, agreeable perhaps in form to thoſe of the patriarchal ages, but much abuſed in the application, there being holes bored through ſome of them, ſtill to be ſeen, which perhaps ſerved either for tying the victim, or for fixing and ſupporting thoſe twiggen machines that *Cæſar* mentions, as formed into monſtrous figures, and filled in every part or member with the miſerable wretches deſtined to be burnt by way of ſacrifice. Beſides theſe pillars the *Britains* had, not only near their temples, but diſperſed all over the country, on hills and eminences, large coped heaps of ſtones, of a round form, growing gradually more taper upwards, but with a flat ſtone always at the top, diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Carnedde* [3]; which being compoſed of ſtones of different qualities, from thoſe to be found near the ſpot, and brought from very diſtant parts of the country, ſeem to have been deſigned for ſacrifices; to which every body preſent contributed by bringing a ſtone for his offering; of which cuſtom, there are to this day ſome traces both in *Wales* and *Ireland*.

No ſacrifice could be performed without a [4] *Druid* to officiate: The private ones of particular families, as well as thoſe of a more publick nature, in behalf of the ſtate and country in general, being equally ſubject to this regulation. There hath been frequently obſerved, near the places of ſacrifice and temples of the *Britains*, a ſmall eminence, either naturally or artificially raiſed above the level of the encircling ground; from whence it is ſuppoſed the *Druides* uſe to inſtruct the people in the rules of morality, which they laid down for their conduct, and in the doctrines of religion which they thought fit to communicate. All ſuch inſtructions, whether given to a general auditory, or to their pupils in particular, were delivered in a ſymbolical and ænigmatical manner, couched in fables and parables, or veiled in allegories, involutions and ſhadows, agreeable to the cuſtom of the eaſt, and to the practiſe of *Pythagoras* and other ancient philoſophers. Their authority

[1] *Mona antiq.* 47, 52, 48. *Toland's Letters about the Druides.* [2] From the Hebrew *Cærem-luach*, ſignifying a *devoted ſtone*, or *altar*. [3] From the Hebrew *Keren nedh*, a *coped heap*. [4] *Cæſ.* l. i. *Diod* l. v. *Strabo* l. iv.

in ſacred and religious matters was abſolute: Nor could it well be otherwiſe, conſidering that their pretences to divination were univerſally believed by the people, (who looked upon them as interpreters of the will of the Gods,) and that they had the power of deſigning the victims proper to be ſacrificed.

Their judicial and legiſlative authority.

THEY had a like authority in point of [1] judicature; in the controverſies of princes and ſtates, as well as of private men; in civil matters as well as criminal; in capital crimes and ſuits of the higheſt conſequence, as well as in points of an inferior claſs and leſs importance. [2] If any heinous offence was perpetrated, if any ſlaughter or murder was committed, if any diſpute happened about the ſucceſſion of inheritances, or quarrel aroſe about the boundaries of lands and territories, the *Druids* took cogniſance of the matter; ordering ſatisfaction to be given, and decreed puniſhments, as the caſe deſerved. Whatever their ſentence was, it was ſure to be executed; ſince whoever refuſed, (whether prince, magiſtrate, or private perſon) to ſubmit to their decrees, was interdicted the uſe of ſacrifices; which could not but extremely affect a ſuperſtitious people, bred up in a notion of the abſolute neceſſity of thoſe ſacrifices, and of their own indiſpenſable obligation to attend frequently the ſervice and ſolemnities of their altars. This interdict was attended with other conſequences that were very terrible; thoſe that were ſubject to it being deemed the moſt wicked and profligate of men, avoided as ſuch by all the world, as if their very preſence was infectious, deprived of all intercourſe and converſation with others, excluded from all benefit of law, and rendered incapable of all places of truſt and offices of honour; penalties abundantly ſufficient to prevent any contempt or diſobedience of their ſentence. This was a very great power: But it is generally acknowledged that they uſed it well; the *Druides* [3] being much celebrated, for their equitable and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice; and the ſervices which they did the publick in this reſpect, juſtly entitled them to the privileges they enjoyed, of exemption from perſonal attendance in war, and all kinds of military ſervice; from the publick taxes and contributions, to which the reſt of the nation were ſubject, and from all other duties and burdens whatſoever. It is diſputed whether this power was merely declarative: [4] So indeed a learned *Britain* maintains it to be; and thinks, though their decrees extended to life and death, yet the execution thereof was wholly transferred to the ſecular power of the province or city to which they belonged. But this is judging of ancient times, by the uſages of modern, the ordinary ſource of endleſs miſtakes; and though a declarative power, ſuch as our judges have, may be ſufficient to anſwer all the purpoſes of judicature in our days, yet it can hardly be ſuppoſed to have done ſo, in the early times of the *Britains*, when the ſtate of things, and the circumſtances of people, were vaſtly different. Nations muſt be formed before they can make laws; and till then, all judges muſt decide cauſes by the light of reaſon, and according to the principles of natural equity; which deciſions ſerve afterwards for precedents, and a guide to others in the like caſes. The *Druides* made Ethics a principal part of their ſtudy, and inſtructed the people in the rules of juſtice, and in all other points of morality by their rhythmical compoſition, of which there are ſeveral ſtill to be ſeen among the [5] poems of *Lhowarch Hên*, (who was prince of *Cumberland*, *A. D.* 590.) in the *Venedotian* dialect, which is very different from the *Cumbrian* or *Pictiſh*; theſe having probably been preſerved by the memories of their ſcholars till the know-

[1] Ib. [2] *Cæſar*, ib. [3] *Strabo*, l. iv. [4] *Mona Antiq.* p. 66. [5] *Ib.* 266, 267.

ledge of letters came in with the *Romans*. Till then the *Britains* could have no written laws; nor could the reports of law caſes and deciſions, the *reſponſa prudentum*, be recorded in any manner, but by the means of thoſe memories, which were cultivated by the care of the *Druids*, and exerciſed under their direction. Thus were they the only perſons qualified to be judges: And if one *common law* was obſerved alike, through all the different governments and nations of *Britain*, it muſt be either of their enacting, who had an authority in every one, or be eſtabliſhed in a general council of the whole, where they had the chief influence. In this light, I conſider them as law-givers; and as ſuch, they are repreſented by the tradition of the *Mankſmen*, who aſcribe to the *Druids* thoſe excellent laws, ſo highly valued by themſelves, and ſo much admired by others, by which the *Iſle of Man* has always been governed.

[1] ONE of the powers veſted in them was of a very extraordinary nature, and attended with a truſt of the higheſt conſequence; which yet ſeems a branch of their ordinary authority, and an eſſential part of the conſtitution of ſome of the wiſeſt ſtates in *Gaule*. It was only after diſaſters had actually happened, or when dangers were imminent, that the *Romans* had recourſe to a *Dictator*, or the ſenate enlarged the conſul's power, by charging him to take care, that the commonwealth ſhould receive no detriment: but the *Gauls*, to guard againſt all ſurprizes by ſudden accidents, which might not allow time for thinking of a proper remedy, had a ſtanding proviſion for the like purpoſes. The *Druids* had a power paramount to that of the magiſtrates, not excepting even the ordinary power of the ſupreme; and ſeem to have had a conſtant charge to inſpect their conduct, to take care the laws were obſerved, and to prevent the miſchiefs of their being violated. They could vacate the acts of the ſovereign, remove ſuch as were put into office illegally, and appoint the ſupreme magiſtrate; of which *Cæſar* gives us a remarkable inſtance. The *Vergobret* was the ſupreme magiſtrate among the *Ædui*, and under that title enjoyed all the authority, which a king had in other ſtates of *Gaule*; with this only difference, that the power of the latter laſted for life; whereas the *Vergobret's* expired, like that of a *Roman* conſul, at the end of his year; the *Ædui* having made the office annual, for fear a longer continuance in power ſhould afford any of their princes means to uſurp the royalty. They had another wiſe proviſion, calculated for the like purpoſe; which other ſtates, particularly that of *Venice*, have thought worthy of their imitation: two brothers, whilſt both were living, could not be made magiſtrates, nor even admitted into the ſenate. Notwithſtanding this law, ſo wiſely providing for the ſecurity of their liberties, *Vedeliacus* the *Vergobret*, being, before he laid down his office, to appoint another, who was to execute it upon the expiration of his year, either named of himſelf, or got the other magiſtrates to join with him in naming, his brother *Cotys* for his ſucceſſor. The *Druids* hereupon interpoſed with their prerogative, ſuperſeded the nomination of *Cotys*, and appointed *Convictolitanius Vergobret*. The whole ſtate was intereſted in the affair; all the world attended at the hearing of a cauſe, on which the fundamentals of their conſtitution depended; and it appears by the deciſion, that the *Druids* had proceeded according to law, and had exerciſed their prerogative juſtly; the nomination of *Cotys* was declared illegal, and *Convictolitanius* was pronounced the rightful *Vergobret*.

IT was not the exemplarineſs of the lives of the *Druids*, though really unblameable in all reſpects, except in what related to their ſacrifices, divinations, and ſuperſtitions, nor the goodneſs of their moral inſtructions, gaining them ſuch an influence

[1] *Cæſar de Bello Gallico*, l. vii.

over

over the people, as to perſuade them to conſent to their regulations; nor yet was it their power in matters of religion, or the terror of their excommunications, extorting a forced ſubmiſſion to the laws they preſcribed, which gave them the authority of legiſlators, tho' the opinion of their integrity might contribute to the laſt mentioned branch of their power. It is a very miſtaken notion to conſider them purely as eccleſiaſtics; they were men of the firſt quality in the *Celtic* nations, and their legiſlative authority was the reſult of their birthright. [1] *Cæſar* begins his diſcourſe about them with obſerving that in *Gaule*, the conſtitution whereof was the ſame as that of *Britain*, there were three orders of men, *viz.* the *Druids*, the *Equites* or gentlemen, and the *Plebeians*; that theſe laſt were of no conſideration in the ſtate; never admitted to any council of particular nations, or to any general repreſentation of the whole body of the people of *Gaule*, nor conſulted with upon any occaſion. He ſays that the *Druids* were the firſt of the other two orders [2]; they preſided in all acts of judicature, and were at the head of the legiſlature; they were the *great*, the *chief* or *ſupreme magiſtrates*, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed of their nobility. They compoſed in thoſe days, (if I may be allowed to borrow expreſſions from more modern times,) the principal part of what hath been ſince called, in *France* the *Court of Peers*, and in *England* the court or *Great council of the Barons*. See here, in a conſtitution founded by the *Old Britains*, the firſt draught of that which hath ſince obtained in this nation, as it ſtood before the name of *Parliament* was known, and before burroughs were incorporated, or capable of having repreſentatives.

The particular charge, which the *Druids* had in matters of religion, was neither derogatory to their nobility, nor incompatible with their dignities in the ſtate: they continued to enjoy their rights in both reſpects; they inherited and exerciſed royalty itſelf. There are inſtances enough in former days, beſides thoſe noted ones of *Anius* in *Greece*, and *Zoroaſter* in *Bactriana*, of kings that have executed the functions of prieſts, at the ſame time that they reigned as monarchs. It was indeed the general practice in all parts of the world, for princes to preſide in all rites of religion and augury; and when particular inſtitutions for thoſe purpoſes began to take place, we ſee that the *Curetes* in *Crete*, the *Corybantes* in *Phrygia*, and the *Cabiri* of *Samothrace*, were all of the race of *Acmon*, *Uranus*, and other *Gomarian* princes, thoſe lords of half the habitable world. *Cres* the ſon of *Jupiter* was king of *Crete*, as well as one of the *Curetes*: *Jaſion*, another of that deified monarch's ſons, was preſident of the *Cabiri*: The *Druids* (I am apt to think) were deſcendants of the ſame race, and of the line of *Pluto*, from whom the *Gauls* in general gloried in being deſcended; but as this cannot be ſuppoſed to be fact with regard to the whole nation, it ſeems meant more particularly of the *Druids*, who would naturally preſerve their own genealogies. The *Gauls* opinion of this deſcent of theirs, was founded upon the relation of the *Druids*: and the chieftains of their clanns being initiated into the ſame diſcipline, furniſhed a colour for the whole nation to put in a claim to the ſame deſcent, as being generally of the ſame family with their reſpective chieftains. But however they were deſcended, the inſtitution of the *Druids* at leaſt was formed upon the ſame plan as that of the *Curetes*. *Divitiacus*, a prince of the *Ædui*, whoſe credit was great among all the nations of *Gaule*, who is ſo often mentioned, and always with eſteem, by *Cæſar*, and who was

[1] L. vi.

[2] Whoever conſiders that the terms *Magiſtracies* and *Honours* were of the ſame import among the *Greeks* [a], and in the *Roman* law; that part of it, which conſiſteth in the edicts of magiſtrates, was ſtyled [b] *Jus honorarium*; will eaſily comprehend the force of *Cæſar's* expreſſion, when he adds, in the words immediately preceding his particular account of their judicial authority, that the *Druides* were all *in magno honore*, as their preſident had the *ſumma auctoritas*.

[a] *Ariſtot. Pol.* l. iii. c. 10.

[b] *Edicta Inſtit. de jure naturali gent.*

upon

upon occaſion general in chief of the *Æduan* armies, was (as we are told by *Cicero*, who knew him well) a *Druid*. His brother *Dumnorix*, commander of the *Æduan Cavalry*, ſeems likewiſe to have been of the ſame order; and this character of his to have been the ground of his excuſe for not attending *Cæſar* into *Britain*, becauſe he was *religionibus impeditus*, hindered by the rites of religion, in which he was obliged to officiate; it being, as *Cæſar* ſays, the peculiar buſineſs of the *Druids* [1], *interpretari religiones*, to judge in matters of augury, and to officiate in all ſacrifices and rites of religion; all which are included in the word *religiones* [2]. It is very likely that the *Vergobrets* and princes in other nations of *Gaule* were likewiſe *Druids*; *Cæſar* [3], who knew them better than any other writer extant, aſſuring us, that they were men of the firſt quality.

My notion of the matter is, that, as fathers of families in the early ages of the world, were the firſt ſacrificers, and preſided in all acts of religion, ſo the ſame preſidency naturally continued to be exerciſed by the heads of *Clans*, which are only families multiplied, and extended into ſeveral branches. This will ſoon appear, by a particular inſtance, to have been the conſtant uſage in the *Hebrides* of *Scotland*, from the remoteſt ages down at leaſt to the time of *Hecatæus*, if not of *Diodorus Siculus*, who quotes him for the relation. The ſame was probably the practiſe of the heads of *Clans* in *Gaule*; who, when for their common defence, they united together to form particular ſtates, under the ordinary government of a ſenate, and the extraordinary one of a common or general council, meeting annually, or aſſembled on ſpecial occaſions, came to be ſtyled princes; as they really were in their reſpective territories, and are under that title frequently mentioned by *Cæſar*. When the Druidical inſtitution took place, which was the ſame, at leaſt in ſubſtance, with that of the *Curetes*, into which, *Jupiter*, *Mercury*, and all the firſt *Celtic* emperors entered, and which ſeems to have been at firſt confined to their family; ſuch of the heads of *Clans* or leſſer potentates in *Gaule*, as, upon the extinction of that race of monarchs, were left to a freer and more unlimited exerciſe of their natural authority, and had a mind to perfect themſelves in the arts of augury and divination [4], ſo uſeful to ſtrengthen their ordinary authority, and procure them an abſolute ſubmiſſion from their vaſſals, entered likewiſe into it, and were inſtructed in that diſcipline. Thoſe who were thus initiated, though they ſtill enjoyed the title of princes [5] in common with the reſt, were yet on that account diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Druids* [6]: and being probably ſtill more diſtinguiſhed

[1] *Cæſ. de Bell. Gall.* l. vi. c. 7. [2] *Tacit. Ann.* 1. n. 11. [Auguſto] templum et cœleſtes *religiones* decernuntur. *Ann.* 3. n. 26. *Numa* populum *religionibus* devinxit.

[3] Such I take *Meſius*, prince or chieftain of the *Senones* to have been, who going from *Gaule* to *Rome* with *Ganna* a *She-Druid*, their divinations and predictions recommended them ſo much to the emperor *Domitian* that he did them very great honours. *Suidas* v. Σιάζυσα

[4] *Cicero de Divinat.* l. 1. Omnino apud *Veteres*, qui rerum potiebantur, iidem auguria tenebant; ut enim ſapere, ſic divinare *regale* ducebant: ut teſtis eſt noſtra Civitas, in qua et *Reges*, *Augures*, et poſtea privati, eodem *ſacerdotio* præditi Remp. *religionum auctoritate rexerunt*. Eaque divinationum ratio, ne in barbaris quidem gentibus neglecta eſt; ſiquidem et in *Gallia Druides* ſunt; è quibus ipſe *Divitiacum* Heduum—cognovi—So the *Athenian* republic, had a *rex ſacrorum*; and their heralds reply to the *Bœotians*, in *Thucyd.* l. iv. is to this effect: Jus *apud Græcos* hujuſmodi eſt, ut penes quos *imperium ſit cujuſcunque* ſive magni ſive parvi *imperii penes eoſdem* ſint ſemper *templa*, et *loca ſacra*.

[5] So the heads of tribes among the Jews are conſtantly ſtyled by *Moſes*; ſo the chieftains of clanns and hords among the *Germans* and *Scythians* are called by the *Roman* writers.

[6] It was to ſuch as abode in the ſeminaries that the name of *Druid* was generally applied, the ſame perſons when acting elſewhere in public affairs, being ſtyled only *Prieſts* by *Cæſar*, whoſe miſtake about the *Germans* having no *Druids* among them ſeems to have ariſen from their having no ſeminaries for their inſtruction, as there were in *Gaule* and *Britain*. *Cluver* has fully proved that they had *Druids*. —It is not unlikely but they were inſtructed in ſome *Britiſh* ſeminary, moſt probably in the *Hebrides*, becauſe they retained more of the old ſimplicity of their religion, than thoſe who had a greater intercourſe with other nations.

from them by their learning, capacity, integrity, and reputation, were thereupon more particularly intruſted with the extraordinary prerogatives above mentioned.

THIS notion, of the chiefs of clanns and heads of tribes among the *Gauls* being *Druids*, is not a little countenanced by a relation which is given us by [1] *Parthenius* (who being taken in the war with *Mithridates*, was brought to *Rome* by [2] *Cinna*) and by *Ariſtodemus* of *Nyſa* in *Caria*, who was preceptor to *Strabo* and *Pompey*, or rather father to that *Ariſtodemus*, under whom thoſe great men ſtudied. The *Celtæ*, inhabiting *Gallia Braccata*, before it was reduced by the *Romans* into a province, were much given to plunder: and equipping a fleet, made deſcents on the coaſts of *Ionia* in the leſſer *Aſia*; ſacking towns, and ravaging all the country. A chieftain of the *Cavares* (a *Gallic* people inhabiting along the eaſtern bank of the *Rhone*, about *Orange*, *Avignon*, and *Cavaillon*) ſtraggling from the main body of the army, and roving about thoſe parts with his men, advanced to the extremity of that country on the ſide of *Caria*, into the territory of *Miletus*. The women of that place chanced to be at that time keeping a great feſtival, and celebrating the *Theſmophoria* of *Ceres*, in a temple that ſtood at a little diſtance without the walls of the city: and were there ſurprized and carried off by the enemy. Moſt of them were however redeemed by the *Mileſians*, who diſburſed large ſums of money on that occaſion: but ſome of the fair captives were become too well acquainted with their new maſters, and too agreeable in their eyes, to be admitted to any ranſome. Theſe were carried away into *Gaule*, and among them *Erippe*, the wife of *Xanthus*, a man of great authority, and of the nobleſt family in *Miletus*; leaving behind her a ſon not above two years old, who had not been carried to the temple. *Xanthus*, infinitely fond of his wife, pined away after this misfortune: and, unable to ſupport her abſence longer, turned a great part of his eſtate into money, with which he paſſed into *Italy*; where he had ſome particular acquaintance, who convoyed him to *Marſeille*. From thence he travelled into the country of the *Gauls*: and coming to the houſe, where his wife lived with one of the moſt eminent of the *Celtic* nobility, deſired to be lodged and entertained. The *Gauls* were always famed for their hoſpitality; and the ſervants, though their lord was not at home, received him readily: as his wife, upon entering the houſe, did, with all the exterior marks of kindneſs. When the *Cavaran* Chieftain came home, *Erippe* acquainted him with her huſband's arrival, and with the occaſion of his journey; which was on her account, in order to pay her ranſom. The *Gaul* extolled the tender and generous ſentiments of *Xanthus*; treated him in the friendlieſt manner; and placing his wife next him at a great entertainment, to which his own friends and relations in the neighbourhood were invited, aſked him what was the value of his whole eſtate. *Xanthus* ſaying it was about a thouſand pieces of gold, the *Gaul* ordered him to divide that ſum into four equal parts, and to take away three of them for himſelf, his wife, and ſon, but to leave the fourth for his wife's ranſom. At night, when they were retired into their bedchamber, *Erippe* blamed her huſband for telling the Barbarian he was worth ſo much money; it being probably more than he had brought with him, or was able to pay, and then he would run a great riſque, if he did not make good his promiſe. *Xanthus* bade her be in no pain on that account, for he had a thouſand pieces more concealed in his ſervant's ſhoes; never imagining that he ſhould find a Barbarian ſo humane and reaſonable, but fully expecting, that a much dearer price would have been ſet upon her ranſome. The next day, *Erippe* told the *Gaul* what a quantity of gold her huſband had brought; and preſſed him earneſtly to

[1] *Parthenii Nicæenſis Erotica*, c. 8. [2] *Voſſius de Hiſtor. Græcis.*

kill *Xanthus*, either for deceiving him, or for the ſake of his money; declaring that ſhe loved him much more than either her child or her country, and that *Xanthus* was of all things her utter averſion. The *Gaul*, who had noble and generous ſentiments, worthy of his birth and quality, was ſtrangely ſhocked at a propoſal ſo full of horror, treachery, and inhumanity; ſo unnatural in a wife to offer againſt an huſband at any time, eſpecially after ſuch a ſignal teſtimony of his affection: But though he covered his indignation, reſolved to puniſh her crime, and treat her as the worſt of women. When *Xanthus* was taking his leave, in order to return with *Erippe*, the *Cavaran* chieftain, after treating him with the utmoſt kindneſs, would needs add a further politeneſs to the reſt, and convoy them part of their way to *Marſeille*. When they came to the mountains on the borders of the *Celtic* territories, he there declared, he would offer a ſacrifice before they parted. It was a ceremony generally obſerved in other nations, as well as by the *Jews*, for ſome of the perſons, in whoſe behalf a victim was offered, to lay their hands upon it: And *Erippe* had been uſed to perform that ceremony at this *Chieftain's* houſe, whenever he offered a ſacrifice. Thus when the victim was adorned as uſual, he bade her lay her hand upon it; and making a thruſt with his ſword, ran her through the body, and cut off her head; deſiring *Xanthus* not to be inconſolable for the loſs of a perſon, whoſe treachery to him merited the puniſhment inflicted on her; and giving him back the gold, which he had paid for her ranſom. 'Tis well known, that in *Gaule* none but *Druids* could offer ſacrifices; and the fact here related is an irrefragable proof, that this chieftain of the *Cavari*, though he lived among his own vaſſals, and ſometimes went on war-like expeditions, was ſtill one of that order.

In all inſtitutions whatever, where knowledge is requiſite, inſtructions are undoubtedly neceſſary: and for this purpoſe certain ſeminaries were erected for the education of *Druids*, as at *Dreux* for *Gaule*, and in *Angleſey* for *Britain*. It was probably the moſt aged of the order, that retired thither from the cares of the world, after paſſing the vigour of their life in buſineſs; for the reſt, that lived in ſcenes of action, were active men, verſed in ſtate affairs, and of the greateſt weight in all councils, as we ſee in the inſtance of *Divitiacus*: there too they employed themſelves ſtill uſefully for the public, in the inſtruction of young *Druids*, and in the care of thoſe colleges or ſeminaries. Such inſtruction therefore carries with it no implication, that it might in time debaſe the order; for, beſides that it was continued ordinarily in their own children, in whom the nobility of birth was propagated, no Plebeian could be admitted into their diſcipline, nor probably any of the *Nobleſſe* or leſs illuſtrious Gentry. For *Mela*[1] tells us, that thoſe whom they thus inſtructed, whom they kept to hard ſtudy and a continued exerciſe of their memory for twenty years together in a cloſe retreat, were *nobiliſſimi gentis*, the children of Princes, and the *chief nobility* of the Nation.

This will probably make people leſs wonder, if not leſs repine, at that authority, which *Dio*[2] *Chryſoſtom* thought exorbitant, and complains of their exerciſing over Princes; whoſe actions they had a power, like that of the Spartan *Ephori*, to controul. "Kings (ſays he) were not allowed to do any thing without them; nor "even ſo much as to conſult about putting any thing in execution without their "participation; ſo that it is the *Druids* who reign in effect, and Kings, though "they ſit on thrones, feaſt in ſplendour, and live in palaces, are no more than their "Apparitors and Miniſters in executing their orders." But notwithſtanding this heavy complaint, it will appear to be a very wiſe inſtitution, and admirably adapted

[1] Lib. iii. c. 2. [2] *Orat.* 43.

to the then circumſtances of *Gaule* and *Britain*. *Gaule* was inhabited (as [1] *Tacitus* ſays) by ſixty four different nations; but he reckons only the moſt conſiderable, whoſe community was made up of ſeveral diſtinct, though united, nations. For *Appian*[2] informs us, that, taking in ſmall as well as great, there were in all no leſs than four hundred. They formed together one aggregate body, and met in a *general council* once a year, in order to exerciſe and maintain their union. This was a very proper expedient to preſerve peace among them; but it was not effectual enough; ſince, (as [3] *Cæſar* ſays) before his coming thither, there ſcarce paſſed a year but a war broke out, on occaſion of depredations committed, oppoſed, or returned by ſome or other of thoſe different nations. What the avarice[4], to which the *Gauls* were remarkably given, or the fire and impetuoſity of their temper, either left no means, or did not allow time, to prevent, the interpoſition of the *Druids* ſerved very uſefully to compoſe and keep from continuing.

THEY were an order of men of the firſt quality; endowed with all that greatneſs of mind, which a noble birth, uncorrupted by vice and luxury, naturally inſpires; fitted by their education, ſtudies, reflections, experience, and a continual exerciſe of their talents in the deciſion of caſes, which came before them in judicature, to determine all matters of right and wrong, according to the wiſeſt rules of equity; collected out of all the various nations ſpread through the wide extent of that country, and related to all the princely and noble families that had the chief influence and government in each; unconcerned themſelves in the quarrel, by means of their exemption from perſonal ſervice in the war, whenever they thought fit to uſe their privilege; unintereſted in the event, by reaſon as well of their ordinary abode in Colleges, retired from the world, and at a diſtance from all to whom they were by blood related; as of the ſatisfaction they found in a contemplative life, and the every-way-happy circumſtances of their condition, which left them nothing to wiſh for themſelves, and no deſire in nature but, that which can never leave a man of virtue, the deſire of being uſeful to the world. With theſe advantages, added to the ſacredneſs of their character; the reverence for their perſons, which religion inſpired into a people extremely addicted to it; the univerſal ſubmiſſion ever paid to their advice and decrees; their abſolute power in ſacrifices, and the inexpreſſible dread of their interdicts, rendered them the fitteſt perſons to interpoſe between jarring enraged nations, and the likelieſt to do it with ſucceſs. They did ſo accordingly, as occaſions offered; regardleſs of their own ſafety, and deſpiſing danger, where the peace of their country was at ſtake, and the publick good required their mediation, "they "threw themſelves between embattled armies, eager to engage, advancing with "drawn ſwords, and extended ſpears to wreck their fury upon one another, put, by "their wiſe remonſtrances, a ſtop to the rage of incenſed enemies, making their "weapons drop from their hands, as it were by enchantment, and thus prevented "the combat: ſo highly doth *Mars* reverence the *Muſes*, ſo much can wiſdom "prevail over animoſity, even among barbarous *Nations*," is the reflection of the *Greek*[6] hiſtorian at the end of this relation.

SUCH were the benefits which *Gaule* and *Britain* received from the inſtitution of the *Druids*; from a body of men compoſed of the prime nobility, aſſociated together according to the rules of the Druidical diſcipline; which afforded them a means of preſerving union between the various nations which inhabited thoſe countries, and a reſource in caſe of quarrels between them, better and more effectual, than *Greece* found in her celebrated *Amphictyones*. The *Gauls* had a general

[1] *Ann.* l. iii. n. 44. *Strabo*, l. iv.
[2] *Appian in Celtic.* [3] Lib. vi.
[4] *Diod.* l. v. p. 212. [5] So the Chieftains of the *Batavian Clans*, who *vetere inſtituto* commanded the cohorts of that people in the *Roman* ſervice, which as allies they were obliged to furniſh, are by *Tacitus*, *Hiſt.* l. vi. n. 12. ſtyled *nobiliſſimi populorum*. [6] *Diod. Sicul.* l. iii. p. 91.

council

council like that of *Greece*, in which the repreſentatives of all their different nations met, to concert meaſures for their common good, and provide for the preſervation of their union. But the two powerful factions of the *Ædui* and *Arverni* contending (like the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* in *Greece)* for the chief ſway in the government of *Gaule*, and working continually to draw over the leſſer nations to their ſides, occaſioned the reſolutions of thoſe councils to be too much directed by a party ſpirit; which afforded new matter of complaint, and, inſtead of compoſing, inflamed the quarrel. War in ſuch caſes became unavoidable, and might have been carried to ſtrange exceſſes, and ſpread ſo generally as to produce an entire diſſolution of their union, if the *Druids* had not interpoſed to make an accommodation.

THEY did the ſame good office in *Britain*; whoſe conſtitution was formed upon the ſame plan, as that of *Gaule:* and they did it with better ſucceſs; becauſe they there prevented thoſe wars, which in *Gaule*, not able to hinder their breaking out, all their buſineſs was to compoſe. The *Britains* had their *common councils*, where the deputies of their different people met, as they did in *Gaule:* and it was in one of theſe, *in communi concilio*, (as *Cæſar* ſays) that *Caſſivellan* was choſen commander in chief of the forces drawn together to oppoſe the *Romans*. But there is no reaſon to think them privileged here from thoſe defects, under which they laboured there: nor is it to be conceived how ſuch a number of little nations, (like the *Clans* of the highlands of *Scotland*, or the *Septs* of *Ireland)* as inhabited *Britain*, ſhould be for ages together kept united; (for notwithſtanding their multitude of kings, princes, and potentates, *Diodorus* [1] ſays they were generally at peace with each other,) without the influence and authority of the *Druids*.

Account of *Abaris* a Druid and the *Hyperboreans*.

THE collegiate life which the *Druids* led, far from rendering them moroſe or awkward, ſerved only to improve their politeneſs, by daily converſations with perſons of the ſame rank with themſelves; whoſe minds, by their ſtudies and reaſonings on ſubjects of morality, were filled with noble ſentiments; and who had added to their other accompliſhments, a knowledge of all uſeful parts of learning. When they went abroad into the world, they appeared the ſame men of quality, that they were before their retreat: And of this we have a remarkable inſtance, near 600 years before the Chriſtian æra, in a *Druid*, whoſe travels into *Greece*, made him known to the learned men of that country; who give us an account of him, too curious and important to be paſſed by in ſilence.

IT muſt be previouſly obſerved, that the ancient *Greeks*, knowing very little of the northern parts of the world, comprehended the inhabitants thereof under general names: Such as uſed bows and arrows, and lived like *Nomades*, being termed *Scythæ:* And thoſe who lived farther north than the particular nations whoſe names they had heard of, being called *Hyperborei*. This laſt name, was uſually given to the moſt northern people on the continent of *Europe*, from its eaſtern boundaries, to its fartheſt weſtern extremity; [2] particularly to all the *Celtick* nations. But there was likewiſe an *Hyperborean* iſland deſcribed by *Diodorus Siculus* [3], as lying in the ocean beyond *Gaule*, in the northweſt of *Europe*. This account of its ſituation, and what he adds of its being as big as *Sicily*, would make any one conclude that it was *Britain*, were it not that this iſland, as well as *Ireland*, was well known to that author; who propoſed to give a more particular account of them, than he had done in his *Antiquities*, when he ſhould come in the order of

[1] Ibid. [2] *Cluver* in his *Germania Antiqua*, l. i. and ii. ſhews, that the name of *Hyperbori* was given by the antient *Greek* writers to the *Britiſh Iſles*, and to all the *Celtic* nations from thence to *Illyricum*. [3] Lib. ii. p. 91.

time, to write the hiſtory of *Cæſar's* expedition: And there are no other iſles, except the *Orcades* and *Hebrides*, that are either compatible with the ſituation he aſſigns, or agreeable to the deſcription he gives of this *Hyperborean Iſland*. *Diodorus* ſays expreſsly in this paſſage, that he takes his account from *Hecatæus*, and other writers; and I am apt to think he gives it in their own words, but chiefly in thoſe of *Hecatæus*, who wrote a particular treatiſe on the ſubject of the *Hyperboreans*; and, writing before the *Phœnicians* had opened the way by ſea to the *Britiſh* iſles, muſt take what he ſays of the iſland in queſtion, from the reports of the *Hyperborean* deputies ſent to *Delos*. Theſe deputies might poſſibly, on ſome occaſions, in their diſcourſe, conſider their iſland as a member or part of *Great Britain*, to which it adjoined, and ſerved as a ſeminary for the common religion of all the *Britiſh* iſles; themſelves, as well as the other inhabitants, being all the ſame people. And thence upon the *Greeks* enquiring, whether their iſland was as large as the greateſt of their own, (the ſize of which the *Hyperboreans* cannot well be ſuppoſed to know, but by the repreſentation of the others) they might probably compare it to *Sicily* in reſpect of its bigneſs. Thus the antients ſpeaking of the *Caſſiterides*, a name appropriated to the iſles of *Scilly*, and by which they are uſually meant, do it often in ſuch terms, as can agree only to *Britain*, of which perhaps they were conſidered as an *appendage*. *Diodorus* poſſibly might not know that the *Hyperborean* iſland was really *Britain*[1], or not care to deliver his opinion on the ſubject, and therefore choſe to confine himſelf to the deſcription given of it by *Hecatæus*; which though it agrees in that reſpect to *Britain* in general, doth yet, in other points, more particularly ſuit with the *Hebrides*; to which likewiſe agree all the accounts of its ſituation given by the moſt ancient *Greek* authors, who wrote before the *Britiſh Iſles* were known to the *Phœnicians*. Theſe repreſent it as the place where "*Latona* was "ſaid to be born; as lying far North beyond *Celtica*, and as big as *Sicily*, and the "inhabitants as enjoying a temperate air, and very fruitful ſoil; as adoring *Apollo*, or the *Sun*, preferably to all other deities; paying him the "higheſt honours, and ſinging his praiſes ſo continually, that they all ſeemed to be prieſts appropriated to his ſervice, and their town itſelf dedicated "to his worſhip. There was a fine grove and circular temple conſecrated "to him; in which choirs of his votaries ſung hymns, celebrating his actions, "and ſet to muſick; whilſt others playing upon the harp, (which moſt "of the inhabitants underſtood) anſwered to their voices, and formed a delightful ſymphony. They had a peculiar dialect of their own, and a ſingular regard "for the *Greeks*; particularly the *Athenians* and *Delians*, with whom they had, "from ancient times, cultivated a friendſhip, confirmed by mutual viſits; which "however having been intermitted for ſome time, *Abaris* (this is the name of "our *Druid)* was ſent by the *Hyperboreans* to renew; and in return, ſeveral of "the *Greeks* paſſing to their iſland, left there ſeveral ſacred preſents to their "deities, with inſcriptions in *Greek* characters."

What next follows is a remarkable teſtimony of the great progreſs which the *Druids* had, even before the times of *Hecatæus* and *Pythagoras*, made in the ſtudy of aſtronomy, and that they had found out the uſe of teleſcopes. For it is ſaid "that the moon could be ſeen from that iſland at a ſmall diſtance from the earth, "and in her face ſeveral mountainous eminencies were repreſented: And that "*Apollo* came once in nineteen years, (in which ſpace of time the ſtars, having "made their revolutions, return to their former places, called by the *Greeks* for

[1] It ſeems very probable, that till the *Phœnicians* diſcovered *Britain*, and made that name known to the *Greeks*, this iſland was known by no other name than the *Hyperborean* iſland; and this is hinted in the old tradition about *Ypres* in *Flanders*, mentioned by *L. Guicciardin*, *viz.* That it was built by an *Hyperborean*, who came thither out of the iſle of *Britain*.

" that reaſon, the *Great year,)* to viſit the iſland in perſon; and was there " every night entertained with choirs of muſick and ſongs to the harp during " the ſtay, which, delighted with hearing his own praiſes, he made there, from " the vernal equinox to the riſe of *Pleiades.*" This relation, however mythologically expreſſed in ſome places, ſhews plainly enough, that the *Cycle* of *nineteen years*, ſo neceſſary to the *Greeks*, for the due keeping of their feſtivals, on their appointed days and ſeaſons, had been invented by the *Druids*, before *Abaris's* voyage to *Greece*; which was at leaſt 130 years earlier than *Meton*, who introduced the uſe of it among the *Greeks*; and probably a good while before that voyage, becauſe the feſtivals then kept by the *Hyperboreans* in memory of that diſcovery, ſeem to have been long eſtabliſhed. *Diodorus* concludes his relation with obſerving, that ſome perſons called *Boreades* were lords of the iſland, and preſided over the temple; ſucceeding to this authority by hereditary deſcent from father to ſon, and deriving their lineage (as he ſuppoſed) from *Boreas*. *Eratoſthenes* [1] obſerves further of this temple, that it was *winged*.

THERE is no iſland, to which this deſcription agrees ſo well, as to the *Hebrides* [2]. *Diodorus*, by the name he gives this iſland, ſeems to point out its ſituation; it being natural to expect to find the *Hyperborean* iſland, ſeated in the *Hyperborean* ſea; ſo *Claudian* [3] calls the ſea, ſo *Ptolemy* terms the ocean, which waſheth the weſtern coaſt of the *Hebrides*. Some learned men are of opinion, that this was the ancient name of the weſtern iſles, and that the name *Hebudæ*, or *Hebudes*, only crept into uſe by the miſtakes of tranſcribers, who, in the manuſcripts they copied, taking *(ri)* for *(u)* introduced that of *Hebudes* inſtead of *Hebrides*; which ſeems to be the name originally given it by the *Phœnicians*. *Iberia* and *Ibernia* were the old names of *Ireland*, called by *Diodorus Siculus*, *Iris*, and by the natives, *Erin* [4], from *Hiere*, a *Celtic* or *Iriſh* word, ſignifying the *Weſt*. Agreeable hereto, all this tract of iſles termed the *Hebrides* was of old called *Heireis*; for ſo *Steno Sturlonides* calls them, when he hath occaſion to mention them, in times earlier than the reign of *Canute*, king of *England* and *Denmark*,) a name expreſſing their being *weſtern iſles*, and ſtill preſerved in that of *Haries*; which tho' more particularly uſed with regard to the *ſouthern* part of the *long iſland*, is given frequently, not only to this large one, but to the whole tract of theſe iſlands.

THESE iſles running out in length from north to ſouth [5] for a hundred *Scotch*, or more than one hundred and fifty *Italian*, miles; divided only by ſeveral narrow channels, moſt fordable; full of fine bays and harbours on the weſtern ſide, where the navigation was much the ſafeſt, might well enough by ſailers, who coaſted along that ſide, be reputed as big as *Sicily*. 'Tis evident from the diſcoveries which, at extraordinary low ebbs, about the vernal equinox, have been made, of ſtone [6] walls ſix or ſeven foot high, regularly built, at a conſiderable diſtance from the ſhore, that the ſea hath gained much upon the land: and conſidering how ſhallow, as well as narrow, the channels between the now-ſeparated iſles generally are, it is not at all improbable, but they might in antient times compoſe but one iſland. They were ſo in fact, [7] if we may believe the general tradition of the inhabitants: and they were ſo not many ages ago, if any credit is to be given to that which

[1] *Cataſteriſmi*, c. 9. *Sagitta.*

[2] So called from the *Phœnician* עבר *Eber* [a] *(ultra)* for the ſame reaſon in reſpect of their ſituation, which gave *Spaine* the name of *Iberia:* both lying in the *fartheſt* parts of the known world; the one in the weſt, the other not only in the weſtern, but (as *Diodorus* ſays,) in the northern extremity, being ſeated to the north weſt of *Scotland.*

[3] *Claudian de* iii. *Conſulat. Honorii.*

[4] *I. e.* a weſtern country, ſee *Camden's Britannia, Ireland, initio.*

[5] *Martin's deſcription of the weſtern iſles of Scotland*, p. 1. and *Philoſoph. tranſact.* n. 4.

[6] *Ib.* p. 15, 38. *Ib.* p. 1.

[7] *Martin's voyage to St. Kilda.*

[a] *Bochart's Phaleg.* p. 105, 191.

prevails

prevails in the iſle of St. *Kilda*; where it is univerſally believed, that all the ſpace between this iſland, and that of *Haries*, was one continued tract of dry land in the time of the famous *female warriour*; from whom a valley in St. *Kilda* is denominated, and whoſe houſe of ſtone without lime is ſtill ſubſiſting, and even inhabited during the ſummer. This at leaſt is certain, that the whole tract of theſe iſles is called by the inhabitants the *Long iſland*, and by all ſtrangers and ſeafaring men, *Lewis* [1] or *Haries*; ſo that *Diodorus* might in his deſcription thereof, juſtly call it, from its ſituation, the *Hyperborean iſland*; nor is it an unuſual thing in antiquity, to ſpeak of ſuch a tract of iſles, as if they were a ſingle iſland. Thus *Schetland* or *Hetland* contains thirty iſles, and yet is often ſtyled the iſle of *Schetland*; and though the *Scilly* iſlands, called by the ancients, *Sigdeles*, *Silures*, and *Caſſiterides*, are no leſs than one hundred and forty-five in number; yet they are called by *Solinus*, the iſland *Silura*; and by *Pliny*, the iſland *Caſſiteris*. The *Hebrides* (we are aſſured by Mr. *Martin* [2]) are temperate in reſpect of cold, the warmth of the ſea breezes not allowing the ſnow to lye upon the ground to chill the air; the ſoil fruitful, affording excellent paſtures for cattle, and extraordinary crops of corn for the inhabitants; who muſt have been ſtill happier formerly in theſe reſpects, whilſt their woods and foreſts ſubſiſted; which (though at preſent they have nothing of them left beſides the name) were much cultivated and carefully preſerved by the *Druides*; and ſheltering them from the winds that now ſweep their vallies and plains, afforded them a delightful abode.

The ſame genius for [3] poetry, the ſame taſte of muſic reign among the preſent inhabitants of both ſexes, as did among their anceſtors; and the harp is in as much requeſt there as ever. *Apollo*'s grove indeed is no more to be ſeen, having undergone the common fate of their foreſts: but among a vaſt number of other druidical monuments, his *winged temple* ſtill remains entire at *Claſſerniſs*, in the iſle of *Lewis* or *Haries*, and ſo ſingular in the circumſtances of its ſtructure [4], that it well deſerved to be engraved and printed by the author of the *deſcription* of theſe iſlands. The body of this temple (ſo the tradition of the place calls it,) is of a circular figure like the other temples of *Apollo*; conſiſting of twelve large columns, about ſeven foot high, two broad, and ſix diſtant from one another, with one in the center thirteen foot high, and ſhaped (as if dedicated to the ocean) like the rudder of a ſhip, from whence [5] the chief Druid uſed to deliver his inſtructions to the people. But what is ſingular in this, diſtinguiſhing it from all other temples, is, that there are four wings ſtretching out from its ſides, and pointing directly eaſt, ſouth, weſt, and north, to repreſent the four principal winds: as poſſibly the twelve pillars compoſing the body of the temple, might be deſigned as an emblem of the zodiack. The avenue to it is ſtill more extraordinary; conſiſting of two rows of columns of the ſame ſize with the former, and at an equal diſtance from one another; the breadth of the avenue being eight foot; and the ſtones ranged in each row, being nineteen in number; ſerved to repreſent the famous cycle of nineteen years, diſcovered firſt by the *Druids*; as the feſtivals inſtituted by them in commemoration thereof, and in honour of *Apollo*, celebrated at the beginning of each cycle, gave occaſion to the fable of that deity's appearing at ſuch times among the *Hyperboreans*; *Diodorus* [6] telling us, that the like fable of *Jove*'s appearing among the *Egyptians*, was owing to the like feſtivals being inſtituted and kept in honour of that deity. At a quarter of a mile's diſtance from this, there is another temple, probably dedicated to the moon, agreeable to the practiſe of

[1] Or *Lod-huis*, as it was anciently called, the word ſignifying the *habitation* of *Leod*, (or perhaps *Lewthen* mentioned by *Daniſh* writers) whoſe being lord or governor of the iſland, might perhaps occaſion the old name of *Haries* to fall into diſuſe.

[2] Deſcript. p. 2, 3, 15, 31, 36, 42, 53, 139.

[3] Ib. p. 14, 19, 200, 285. [4] Ib. p. 9.

[5] Ib. p. 102. [6] L. i. *ad finem*.

Delos;

Delos; where the temples of *Apollo* and *Diana* were not far aſunder: and it doth not appear that the *Britains* uſed to have temples ſo near each other, except in caſe of theſe two deities; as in [1] thoſe by the ſide of *Loch-ſtenis*, on the *Mainland* of the *Orkneys*, where there is a *ſemicircular* temple for the worſhip of the moon, (at the change, or in her firſt quarter, when ſhe appears in the form of a creſcent,) at a ſmall diſtance from that of *Apollo*. This joint-worſhip of the two children of *Latona*, ſo reſembling that of *Delos*, might occaſion the fable of *Latona*'s being born among the *Hyperboreans:* and that of the deſcent of theſe iſlanders from the *Boreades*, if not purely mythological [2], (as *Jamblicus* tells us many things were ſaid of *Abaris* in that manner,) and deſigned only to expreſs their ſituation in the fartheſt quarter of the north; may yet be accounpted for by a miſtake (eaſily pardonable in a foreigner,) of the word *Borreadhach* [3] or *Buireadhach*, a ſtyle belonging to the heads or chiefs of tribes; the word ſignifying (in the *Earſe*, the peculiar dialect of this people, and different from the *Armorican* and other *Celtick* dialects) *great* and *warlike* men; from the root *borr*, denoting *majeſty* or *greatneſs*; theſe *great ones* being, according to the *Druids* ſyſtem, at once preſidents in religion, and lords of the country, and enjoying both dignities by an hereditary lineal deſcent. [4] Agreeable hereto, ſome of the preſent chieftains in theſe iſlands can trace up this deſcent higher than moſt princes can do theirs, even to [5] thirty-five or thirty-ſix generations; and are ſubmitted to by their vaſſals with ſo entire an affection, and ſo implicite an obedience, ſo different from what we ſee in any other part of the world, that it looks like the firſt and main part of their religion, to pay it to the eldeſt inheritor in blood of the firſt or eldeſt line of the family of their ancient chieftains. This is ſo very ſingular, that it ſeems utterly unaccountable, in any other manner, than by ſuppoſing it tranſmitted from father to ſon, among a people that has little intercourſe with any other, from the very times, when their *Lairds* were *Druids*, and had a ſovereign power in religion, as well as in civil and judicial matters, united in their perſons.

THE conformity in religious worſhip between the people of *Delos*, and thoſe of the *Hebrides*, produced a very early correſpondence between them; for theſe are the *Hyperborei* mentioned by *Herodotus* [6], as utterly unknown to the *Scythians*, (who had no intercourſe with the *Britiſh* iſles,) but much ſpoken of at *Delos*; whither they uſed to ſend, from time to time, (probably every nineteen years,) "ſacred preſents of their firſt fruits, wrapped in bundles of wheat ſtraw; ſuch "as were made uſe of by the *Thracians* in their ſacred rites and ſacrifices to "*Diana*. Theſe were ſent at firſt by perſons expreſsly deputed for thoſe religious "embaſſies; who were generally two young virgins, attended by five men, "having the like ſacred character, to conduct them to *Delos*, where they were re-

[1] *Martin's weſtern iſles*, p. 365.

[3] In the poetical and mythological way of expreſſion; it was not unuſual to call *Harpers*, ſons of *Phœbus*; ſmiths, of *Vulcan*; hunters, of *Diana*; kings, of *Jove*; ſoldiers, of *Mars*; and to ſpeak of thoſe who in any thing reſembled the Gods, as if they were their ſons. It was full as natural for them to ſpeak in like manner, of people who lived on the banks of the ſea or rivers, as if they were children thereof: and to give the ſtyle of ſons of *Boreas* to ſuch as dwelt in a *northern* ſituation. 'Tis in this ſenſe, that *Callimachus* calls *Opis*, *Loxo*, and *Hecaerge*, ſome of the *Hyperborean* ſacred embaſſadors, the *daughters* of *Boreas*: (*Hymn. in Delum*, v. 293.) ſo *Homer*, before he fell blind, was always called *Meleſigenes*, as being born near the river *Meles:* and the *Theſſalian* virgins are called by *Callimachus*, the *daughters* of the river *(Peneus)*. 'Tis in this ſenſe, that I think the *Hyperboreans*, were ſaid to be deſcended of *Boreas*.

[4] *Archæol. Brit.* in the *Iriſh Engliſh dictionary*.

[5] The prieſthood in the moſt ancient times was hereditary in all countries, and was particularly ſo in the *Celtic* nations; where the order of *Druids* did not only deſcend to their poſterity, but the office of *prieſts* was likewiſe hereditary in families; as we ſee in *Plutarch's* relation of *Camma*, the hereditary prieſteſs of *Diana*, a *Celtic* lady of great quality, whom he celebrates as an admirable inſtance of chaſtity, conjugal fidelity, conſtancy, fortitude, and heroic virtue. *Plut. de virtut. mulier. & in Erotic.*

[6] *Deſcript. weſtern iſles*, p. 100.

[7] Lib. iv. n. 32.

" ceived with the greateſt honours." That ancient hiſtorian hath preſerved the names given by the *Delians*, to the maidens employed in two of theſe embaſſies: And deſcribes the particular places of their interment in the grove of *Diana*. The *Delians* ſprinkled the aſhes of their altars on the ſhrine of *Argis* and *Opis*; cauſed *Olen* the *Lycian*, famous for his poetical genius, and author of many of their ancient ſacred hymns, which continued to be ſung in their religious feſtivals, till the time of *Herodotus*, to compoſe one likewiſe, in which the names of theſe virgins were mentioned, and their praiſes celebrated; aſſembled choirs of their women to ſing them; and engaged the *Ionians* and other inhabitants of the *Greek* iſlands, to do the ſame in their choirs and aſſemblies. The laſt deputies of this kind ſent by the *Hyperboreans*, were *Hyperoche* and *Laodice*; at whoſe funerals the young men and women of *Delos* cut off their hair and beard, and before their reſpective marriages offered it upon their tombs with great ſolemnity. Theſe honours, extraordinary as they were, did not ſatisfy the *Hyperboreans* for the detention of their embaſſadors at *Delos*, from whence they never returned: ſo that either reſenting the uſage, or not caring to loſe more of the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons of their country, they took afterwards another method of ſending their ſacred preſents to the temples of *Apollo* and *Diana*; delivering them to the nation that lay neareſt them on the continent of *Europe*, with a requeſt that they might be forwarded to their next neighbours: and thus (ſays *Herodotus)* they were tranſmitted from one people to another, through the *weſtern regions*, till they came to the *Adriatic*; and being there put into the hands of the *Dodoneans*, the firſt of the *Greeks* that received them, they were conveyed thence by the *Melian* bay, *Eubœa*, *Caryſtus*, *Andros*, and *Tenos*, till at laſt they arrived at *Delos*.

THERE is not a fact in all antiquity, that made a greater noiſe in the world, was more univerſally known, or is better atteſted by the graveſt and moſt ancient authors among the *Greeks*, than this of the ſacred embaſſies of the *Hyperboreans* to *Delos*; in times preceding, by an interval of ſome ages, the voyages of the *Carthaginians*, to the north of the ſtreights of *Gibraltar*; to which poſſibly the reports about that people might give the occaſion. The account already given of them, in the words of *Diodorus Siculus*, is taken from an hiſtory expreſsly wrote on the ſubject of theſe *Hyperboreans*, by a writer, who of all the ancients, may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to have known them beſt; by *Hecatæus*, the moſt ancient of the *Greek* hiſtorians that wrote in proſe, (except perhaps *Cadmus Mileſius*, in whoſe time however he lived) writing in the reign of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*; flouriſhing in the 65th *Olympiad*, and being cotemporary with *Pythagoras*, if not with *Abaris* himſelf; in whom theſe ſacred embaſſies ſeem to have ended. But as ſome later writers among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, deſtitute of the knowledge, which was revived from time to time by thoſe embaſſies, ſeem to have confounded the inhabitants of the *Hyperborean iſland*, with the *Hyperborei* of the continent; it may not be improper to take notice of what others of the moſt ancient and judicious of the *Greek* authors ſay upon the ſubject, with regard to the ſituation, the genius, the points of knowledge, and the religious doctrines of the *Hyperboreans*, who held ſuch a correſpondence with *Delos*.

As to their ſituation, we have obſerved them placed by *Herodotus*, in the *weſtern extremity* of *Europe*; their ſacred preſents being brought through the *weſtern* countries poſſeſſed by the *Celtæ*, till they came to the *Adriatic* ſea, and were delivered to the *Dodoneans*. [1] *Pindar* repreſents them, as inhabiting beyond the ſource of the *Danube*, i. e. in the *weſt* among the *Celtæ*; whence *Hercules* fetched the wild olive to grace the brows of the victors at the *Olympic* games: and the

[1] *Olymp. Ode* iii. and viii.

Greek Scholia on the place interpret this by a paſſage, which they quote from the poet *Pherenicus*, wherein thoſe *Hyperboreans* are ſaid to inhabit the utmoſt parts of the earth, and to be deſcended of the *Titans*; as the *Celtæ* were according to *Callimachus* [1], and other ancient writers. [2] *Protarchus*, *Poſidonius*, *Apollonius*, and *Stephanus* aſſign them the like *Celtic* ſituation; whilſt others [3] place them in the ocean between the weſtern coaſt of *Europe* and the eaſtern ſhore of the *Antipodes*: and *Heraclides Ponticus*, who lived about the time of *Rome's* being taken by *Brennus*, is quoted by [4] *Plutarch*, for ſaying, that the report which came from the *weſt* into *Greece* of that diſaſter, repreſented the city as taken by an army of foreigners that came from the country of the *Hyperboreans* near the ocean. The author of the *Argonautica*, aſcribed to *Orpheus*, but generally ſuppoſed to be wrote by *Onomacritus*, an *Athenian* cotemporary with *Piſiſtratus*, ſays, that the *Argonauts* ſailing from the northern parts of the *frozen ocean*, or *dead ſea*, towards *Gades*, and viſiting the *long lived people* [5] and *Cimmerii* in their way, paſſed, before they came to the coaſt of *Iernis*, or *Ireland*, through the *Cronian* or *Saturnian* ſea; which can be no other than the *Hyperborean*, (as *Claudian* and *Ptolomy* call it) in which the *Hebrides* are ſeated. This will help to explain and point out to us, the ſcene of two very extraordinary relations, which we read in the works of *Plutarch*.

THIS learned [6] *Greek* tells us, that *Demetrius Tarſenſis*, an eminent grammarian, who had been ſent by the emperor to diſcover the iſles about *Great Britain*, and the unknown part of the coaſt, upon his return from thence to *Delphos*, met with ſome learned men, to whom he related the following adventure. Having obſerved, "that there are a great many iſlands lying ſcattered about *Britain*, (like the *Spo-*" *rades* of the *Greeks)* all uninhabited, but ſome of them ſaid be the abode of he-" roes and *Genii:*" (terms uſed by the ancients to denote the ghoſts or ſouls of perſons deceaſed) he added, "that coming to another, which lay very near thoſe " deſert iſles, but had in it a few inhabitants; though ſuch only as were reputed " ſacred and inviolable, by the *Britains*, there happened preſently after his arrival, " a terrible confuſion, with frightful appearances in the air, and violent ſtorms, " attended with thunder and lightning; that when all was over, the iſlanders told " him, ſome being more excellent than any purely human, had then expired and " occaſioned all that diſturbance: and that there was indeed an iſland thereabouts, " in which *Saturn* was ſleeping under the cuſtody of *Briareus*; (ſleep being the " bond contrived to detain him) with abundance of *Genii* or *Dæmons*, who having " ſerved him whilſt living for companions, now waited upon him in the quality " of ſervants and attendants [7]." To the like purpoſe the ſame author [8] in another treatiſe, having introduced his diſcourſe by the mention of *Homer's Ogygia*, the famous iſland of *Calypſo*, five days ſail from the *Roman* ports in *Britain*, obſerves that, "there were three other iſlands, about the ſame diſtance, lying towards the

[1] *Hymn. in Delum*, ℣. 174. [2] *Not. in Antonin. Metam.* c. 20. [3] *Not. in Pindar. Olymp.* Ode iii. [4] *In Camillo.*

[5] It is ſaid of theſe *Macrobii*, or *long lived people*, that they lived to a vaſt age, without any ſickneſs, and when they began to find any decay, being ſatiated of life, they threw themſelves from top of a rock into the ſea, the abode of the *Deorum genitor*. The long lives of the *Hebrides*, and the continued health which they enjoy to the laſt, ſcarce ever interrupted by any ſickneſs, is a fact notorious enough at this day; and it is not unlikely but they had formerly ſuch a way of ending them, ſince in the *Iſle of Man*, which generally ſhared in the common fate of thoſe iſles, and agreed with them in cuſtoms, their method, even till *Camdens's* time, of putting condemned criminals to death, was by putting them into a ſack, and throwing them into the ſea.

[6] In his diſcourſe *De defectu Oraculorum.*

[7] Mr. *Rowlands* (in *Mona Antiqua)* is willing to take this iſland for *Angleſey*, but it neither hath ſo many deſert iſlands about it as the *Hebrides*, nor doth it lie in the *Cronian* ſea, as the other; which hath the advantage of *Mona* in thoſe reſpects, as well as in the remains, ſtill to be ſeen there of the *Druids*. [8] *Plut. de facie in orbe Lunæ.*

" north weſt; in one of which the Barbarians ſay, *Saturn* was ſhut up by *Jove*, " ſleeping in a deep den between rocks, (from the top of which birds flying fed " him with *Ambroſia)* and had the guard of thoſe iſles, as well as of the *Cronian* " or *Saturnian* ſea adjoining; being attended by *Genii*, who had in their life time " been his companions, whilſt he ruled over heaven and earth; that every thing " *Jove* deſigned, was revealed to *Saturn* in his ſleep, and from his dreams the " *Genii* divined and foretold future events; that the inhabitants kept every thir- " tieth [1] year a ſolemn feſtival in honour of *Saturn*, when his ſtar entred into the " ſign of *Taurus*; that in after ages ſome of *Hercules's* companions (or *Greek* and " *Carthaginian* travellers) came at the ſtated times to thoſe feſtivals, and ſacrificed " to *Hercules*, as well as *Saturn*; that ſome of theſe ſtaying there, made uſe of " the opportunities which the iſland afforded for ſtudying *Aſtrology*, *Geometry*, and " all other parts of natural philoſophy; and that others, taking it into their heads " to go away, had been ſometimes hindred by the *Genius* of the place, who ap- " peared to them not only in dreams and by ſymbols; but viſible, ſo as to be " ſeen and heard in the plaineſt manner." Whether this hath any relation to the *ſecond ſight*, ſo frequent in thoſe weſtern iſles, even to this day, and generally ſuppoſed to be one of the remains of the *Druidical* ſuperſtitions, or no; what follows in the ſame tract, will ſcarce allow us to doubt of the *Druids* preſiding in thoſe iſlands; where their favourite doctrine of the tranſmigration of ſouls was generally received. " For they held, that the *Genii*, if they did not diſcharge their " duty carefully, were thruſt again into human bodies; and *Saturn*, as well as " thoſe with him, were of the beſt kind of *Genii*, and ſaid of themſelves, that " they had been in ancient times, in *Crete*, the *Idæi Dactyli* (or *Curetes)* in *Phry-* " *gia*, the *Corybantes*; and in *Lebadia* of *Bœotia*, the *Trophoniadæ*; and of other " the like religious inſtitutions throughout the world, whoſe rites and myſteries " ſtill ſubſiſted." The inſtitutions here mentioned were of the ſame kind as that of the *Druids*, but this relation being given by theſe *Druids*, who were probably the Barbarians abovementioned, it is perhaps for this reaſon, that they did not mention themſelves. Such was the ſituation of the *Hyperborean* iſland; agreeable to that which the author of the ancient commentary upon *Horace* aſſigns to the *Fortunate Iſlands*, the abode of juſt and devout men, and the ſeat of the *Elyſian Fields*, and departed ſouls; which *Tzetzes*, in his notes on *Lycophron*, places among the *Britiſh* iſles, betwen the weſt of *Britain* and *Thule* [2].

As for the genius, cuſtoms, and manners of the *Hyperborei*, who inhabited it, all antiquity agrees in repreſenting them, as an harmleſs, innocent, religious and happy people [3]; living a ſimple life, according to nature, on the fruits of trees and of the ground; temperate, ſcarce ſubject to any diſeaſe, very long lived, and vigorous even to the laſt of their days; which is well known to be the caſe of the inhabitants of the *Hebrides*, even in this age; though the different manner of life, introduced among them of late, hath made them fall off from their ancient [4] longevity, and from that ſtrength and vigour of body, which was remarkable in them ſixty years ago. They lived in woods and groves, devoting the chief of their time to the worſhip of their deities; peaceable in their nature, and as *Pherenicus* and others ſay, troubled with no quarrels, infeſted with no wars; a circumſtance

[1] Thirty years made an age in the *Druids* computation, and was their longeſt meaſure of time. *Plin.* l. xvi. c. 44.

[2] See *Camden's Britannia* in the leſſer *Britiſh Iſlands*. The fabulous relation there added about the wafting over of departed ſouls into one of theſe iſlands may refer to ſomething formerly uſual and credited in thoſe iſles, as the corpſe or ſepulcral lights ſeen a little before the death of people in *Wales*, and the ſecond ſight in the *Hebrides*, are in thoſe parts; which, unaccountable as they appear, are yet too well atteſted, by an infinite number of facts, to admit of any diſpute.

[3] *Not. in Pindar. Olymp.* iii. and *Pyth.* x.

[4] *Martin's Voyage to St. Kilda*, p. 71.

which

which does not agree to the *Hyperborei* or *Scythians* on the continent; but which *Diodorus* tells us, was the peculiar happineſs of *Britain* in general, and muſt be more particularly ſo, of theſe remote iſles of the *Hebrides*.

Of all the deities adored by the *Hyperboreans*, *Apollo* or the *Sun* was the moſt diſtinguiſhed by the honours they paid him; for which reaſon [1] *Pindar* makes him after he had finiſhed the walls of *Troy*, haſten away to the *Hyperboreans*, among other places where there were temples dedicated to his honour: And abundance of monuments of his worſhip, are ſtill to be ſeen in thoſe iſlands. The manner of it, as deſcribed by the ancients, deſerves likewiſe notice: The harp, pipe, and flagellet, or whiſtle, (inſtruments unknown to the *Scythians*, who, as [2] *Anacharſis* relates deteſted the uſe of all inſtrumental muſick in religion) were employed in their worſhip of [3] *Apollo*; whilſt choirs of young men and women, with garlands of laurels (a tree unknown in *Scandinavia* and *Ruſſia)* decking their brows, and binding their hair, danced to the muſick, and joined their voices to the harmony; ſinging the praiſes of their deity, and concluding the ſervice with a common feaſt in his honour.

The peace and innocence that reigned in theſe iſlands, and the happy manner of life led by the inhabitants, gave occaſion to the ancients to form thence their notions of the *Elyſian fields*, the habitation of deceaſed heroes, and the iſles of the happy. Thus [4] *Homer* repreſents them, as ſeated in the *utmoſt bounds of the earth*, and fanned by *Zephyrs* or *Weſtern breezes*, blowing from *the ocean*: in which he is followed by [5] *Heſiod*, [6] *Pindar*, *Euſtathius*, and others, who place theſe iſles either in or beyond the *Weſtern ocean*, and conſider them as the receptacle of the heroes of the *Theban* and *Trojan* times, who lived there in perfect quiet and ſecurity under the government of *Cronus* or *Saturn*; from whoſe ſuppoſed abode there the *Cronian* ſea that waſhes them ſeems to be denominated. This poetical notion gave occaſion to other authors to exerciſe their imagination likewiſe on the ſubject; to embelliſh it with their own fictions, and to confound what was ſuppoſed of the ſtate of heroes after their death, with what was related of the happy condition of the inhabitants of the *Hyperborean* iſland. It was this which firſt gave the hint for forming that notion; as probably their being ſeated in the *weſtern*, which the ancients deemed the *lower* part of the earth, and the *Druids*, or the people in general, deriving their deſcent from *Pluto*, might be the reaſon why the *Hades*, which *Homer* repreſents *Ulyſſes* as viſiting, was placed in the ſame ſituation [7].

It is at leaſt certain that this prince of poets, and father of geographers (in which laſt light *Strabo* conſiders him) ſays expreſly, that it was in the fartheſt part of the weſtern ocean, in an iſland inhabited by the *Cimmerii* (as the *Britiſh* iſles were) [8] that *Ulyſſes* made that viſit; and *Euſtathius* upon the place obſerves, that the old *Scholia* interpret theſe *Cimmerii* to be a nation, not of *Aſia*, but of *Europe*; who dwelt in the *north weſt* extremity of this laſt named part of the world upon the ocean; underſtanding magic and necromancy; and dealing in prophecies, according to the *cuſtom of their anceſtors*. Theſe being arts, in which the *Druids*, whoſe *Viſcum* diſtinguiſhed the golden branch, without which as *Virgil* obſerves, no heroe could be admitted into *Hades*, or be allowed to viſit the *Elyſian fields* [9], were very converſant and celebrated for their ſkill in them by all antiquity, there is little room left to doubt, but the *Cimmerii* were a nation, in which that order of men flouriſhed: And we ſhall have reaſon to make the ſame

[1] *Olymp.* viii. [2] *Plutarch in convivio* vii. *Sapientum.* [3] *Pindar Pyth. Ode* x. *Diodor. Sic.* l. ii. c. 91. [4] *Odyſſ.* δ. *v.* 563. *& ſeq.* [5] *Heſiod. Oper. & Dies, v.* 163. *& ſeq.* [6] *Olymp. Ode* ii.

[7] The ſea on the weſt of *Scotland*, was of old called the *Sea of Hell*. See *Hearne's Notes on W. Newbrigenſis*, p. 749. [8] *Odyſſ.* κ v. 13. *& ſeq.* [9] *In Æneid.* vi. 5, *& Plato in Phædo.*

judgment, with regard to the *Hyperborei*, when we have conſidered the various points of knowledge, which diſtinguiſhed thoſe, who uſed to ſend their ſacred embaſſadors and preſents of firſt fruits to *Delos*.

It is a fact univerſally acknowledged, that philoſophy was firſt profeſſed and underſtood by the barbarous nations: And that the polite *Greeks* borrowed the greateſt part of their knowledge, in moſt points of it, from thoſe barbarians. [1] *Diogenes Laertius* quotes *Ariſtotle* and *Sotion* for this fact, and among the moſt ancient and knowing of theſe inſtructers of the *Greeks* he reckons the *Magi* of *Perſia*, the *Chaldæi* of *Aſſyria*, the *Gymnoſophiſts* of the *Indians*, and the *Druids* of the *Celtæ*. He is ſupported in this notion by *Plato*, *Pliny*, *Clemens*, and *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, *Celſus*, *Origen*, and the agreeing opinion of the moſt learned authors, who have wrote expreſsly on the ſubject. The *Druids* were as ancient as any of the other ſects, and as much celebrated for their knowledge; their chief ſeat was in theſe *Britiſh* iſles; thither every body went from *Gaule* and *Germany*, as well to learn the ſciences, as to be inſtructed in their diſcipline: And there they not only underſtood them beſt, but (as *Cæſar* tells us) their inſtitution itſelf was *originally* formed. It is from them, in all probability, that the *Greeks* received ſeveral of their uſages in the worſhip of their deities, and ſome of their moſt important doctrines, as well with regard to religion, as to the ſciences, which had ever been the ſubject of the *Druids* ſtudies. Whatever they entertained of theſe, antecedent to the travels of *Thales* and *Pythagoras*, and their other ſages to *Egypt* and *Babylon*, (with the laſt of which they had no correſpondence, till after *Cyrus* had reduced the *Leſſer Aſia*,) muſt naturally be aſcribed to the *Druids*: And yet, though it is ſo generally owned, that they did actually communicate various points of their philoſophical diſcoveries and religious principles to the *Greeks*, there doth not appear in hiſtory any veſtige of the manner wherein they did it, unleſs it was by the canal of the *Hyperborean embaſſies*.

The commerce carried on in the *Mediterranean* ſea, afforded the *Greeks* an eaſy correſpondence with *Egypt*; but as in thoſe early days, the *Phœnicians* had not extended their navigation beyond *Gades*, (for which reaſon the *Hyperborei* were deemed [2] inacceſſible,) there was no paſſing to *Britain*, but through a vaſt number of different *Celtic* nations, either in *Gaule*, or in *Germany*, of whoſe language the *Greeks*, the *Aſiatic Hyperborei*, and the true *Scythians* were entirely ignorant. This language was the *Celtic*; which being ſpoke from the extremity of *Britain*, to the further end of *Illyricum*, on the confines of *Greece*, rendered the paſſage thither practicable to the *Hyperborei*, or inhabitants of the *Weſtern iſles*; who having the ſame common original with the other *Celtæ*, and ſpeaking the ſame tongue, ſo as to underſtand each other, notwithſtanding the diverſity of its dialects, found little difficulty in travelling through countries, where hoſpitality was exerciſed in the higheſt degree; where the laws provided more carefully for the ſecurity of ſtrangers, than of the natives themſelves; and the perſons of travellers were reputed ſacred.

In the account given of the *Hyperborean iſland* by *Hecatæus*, and *Diodorus*, it appears that the inhabitants thereof, uſed the harp, the pipe, and the whiſtle, (or *fiſtula*,) in conſort with the vocal muſic of choirs of virgins dancing, in their worſhip of *Apollo*, to whom they were particularly devoted; and we find the very ſame inſtruments uſed at *Delos*, in the ſacred rites obſerved in honour of that deity; whoſe ſtatue, there erected, bore in its left-hand the three [3] *Graces*; each holding a muſical inſtrument, the firſt an harp, the third a pipe, and the ſecond, which ſtood in the middle, a fiſtula in her mouth. None of the *Scythians*, (as hath

[1] *Proœm. init.* [2] *Pind. Pyth. Od.* x. *& in not. ib.* [3] *Plut. de muſica.*

been obſerved) would admit of any muſical inſtrument in divine worſhip; and though the *Thracians* uſed the harp, and the *Phrygians* the pipe, being people either originally *Celtic*, or incorporated with them, yet I do not find that either of theſe uſed all the above-mentioned inſtruments. It is the more likely that the *Delians* borrowed them from the *Hyperboreans*, who ſent their offerings to *Delos*, accompanied with harps, pipes and whiſtles; becaſe they certainly derived from them the offering of cakes, wheat, barley, and other firſt fruits of the ground and trees; the *Hyperboreans* being the firſt that ever offered them at *Delos*, (as [1] *Callimachus* aſſures us,) and *Opis* and *Hecaerge*, the firſt of the *Hyperborean* virgins that brought them thither. They had there alſo an unbloody altar, the moſt ancient of any they had, for the receiving of ſuch oblations; which, for that reaſon, was frequented by *Pythagoras*, and was called Βωμὸς Δυσεβῶν, *Ara piorum* [2], deſcribing the *Hyperboreans* by that title. This muſt appear ſtill more probable, when we conſider that the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos* derived likewiſe from them the greateſt of its prerogatives, and that which contributed moſt to its being [3] frequented, and applied to by all the neighbouring nations. For [4] *Pauſanias* quoting an ancient hymn, compoſed for the *Delphians* by *Bæo*, a native of the country, aſſures us, that the famous oracle of that place was ſet up and perfected by *Pagaſus* and *Agyeus*, who came thither from the *Hyperboreans*; as the temple itſelf was afterwards ſaved from the fury of *Brennus* and his army, by the ſpectres of two other *Hyperboreans* [5], *Hyperochus* and *Amadocus*.

However ſurprizing this may appear, it is yet leſs extraordinary than the doctrines which theſe *Hyperboreans* firſt brought into *Greece*, and publiſhed at *Delos*; doctrines which inſpired a wonderful veneration for the place, even into the minds of barbarians, and proved the ſecurity of the inhabitants, as well as of the temple, on two remarkable occaſions. In the year of the battle of *Marathon* [6], the *Perſians*, with a fleet of ſix hundred galleys, waſted the iſles of the *Ægean* ſea, burning the temples of the gods, and carrying away the inhabitants into captivity. The *Delians* fled on this occaſion, for fear of the like calamity; till *Datis*, commander of the *Perſian* fleet, ſent them word, that they had nothing to fear, either for themſelves, or their temple; it being his own inclination to protect both as ſacred; and he had expreſs orders for that purpoſe from his maſter *Darius Hyſtaſpis*. The *Delians* accordingly returned home; and *Datis*, not ſuffering his fleet to put into *Delos*, landed himſelf on the iſland, and offered three hundred pounds of frankincenſe upon the altar, appointed for ſuch oblations; which (as is above-related) was the unbloody altar of the *Hyperboreans*. When *Xerxes* afterwards invaded *Greece*, he took the like care of the temple and people of *Delos*; ſending *Gobryas* thither, a prince of the royal blood of *Perſia*, whoſe family ſucceeded [7] hereditarily to the order and dignity of the *Magi*, to take care of the iſland, and ſecure the inhabitants, as well as the temple, from all inſults and depredations. The reaſon of this unuſual care of the *Perſian* monarchs, in the height of their reſentment and rage againſt the *Greeks*; is related by [8] *Plato* or *Æſchines*, both of them diſciples of *Socrates*, from the mouth of another *Gobryas*, grandſon to the former, of the ſame order of *Magi*, as his anceſtor, and a man of very great learning.

It was this laſt *Gobryas*, who aſſured the author of *Axiochus*, that it was owing to the doctrines of the *Hyperboreans*, brought by *Opis* and *Hecaergus* to *Delos*,

[1] *Callim. Hymn. in Delum*, v. 283.—295, & *not. Spanheim.* tom. ii. p. 495. *Clem. Alexand. Strom.* vii. p. 717. *Porphyr. de abſtin.* l. ii. p. 172.

[2] There is the leſs reaſon to wonder at the high opinion entertained of the *Hyperboreans* by the *Delians*, becauſe it will ſoon appear, that they derived their own religion from them, and that the *Hyperborei* were the founders of the temple of *Delos*.

[3] *Hom. Hymn. in Apollin.* p. 320, 321.

[4] *In Phocic.*

[5] *Ib. in Attic.*

[6] *Herodot.* l. vi. n. 98.

[7] *Diog. Laert.*

[8] *Platonis Opera*, T. iii. p. 371. *in Axiocho.*

engraved

engraved in tables of braſs, and preſerved in the temple there; that the place was treated with ſo much reſpect and reverence by the *Perſians*. The principal of theſe doctrines were, "That the earth was ſeated in the middle of the world, "and that the heavens were globular; that the ſoul and body were of diſtinct "natures, and when the union between them was diſſolved, and they parted from "each other, the ſoul went to an inviſible place, but ſubterraneous, in which "*Pluto*'s capacious palace was ſeated, environed by the rivers *Acheron* and *Co-*"*cytus*; that when ſouls had paſſed theſe, they were brought into the *fields of* "*truth*, where there was no room for lying; before impartial judges, before "*Minos* and *Rhadamanthus*, who interrogated them about their life, converſation, "and ſtudies, whilſt in the body; that ſuch as had followed the ſuggeſtions and "guidance of their good genius, and had imitated the gods, were placed in the "ſeats and abode of the pious; where they were entertained with plenty of "every thing that was agreeable, ſchools of philoſophers, theaters of poets, "choirs of dancers, muſic and feſtivals, and never ending joy, and a life abound-"ing with all manner of immortal delights; and that ſuch as had lived in wicked-"neſs, were carried away by the furies through *Tartarus* to *Erebus* and *Chaos*, the "ſeats deſtined for the impious and profligate, where they were puniſhed for ever "with all kind of torments." Such was the account given by *Gobryas* of the doctrines of the *Hyperboreans*, plainly aſſerting thoſe great truths of religion, the immortality of the ſoul, a future judgment, and the rewards and puniſhments of another life, in an age when they were not known to the *Greeks*, and long before the time of *Thales*, who is acknowledged to be the firſt of the philoſophers that taught the immortality of the ſoul to his countrymen.

We may obſerve, that the images made uſe of by the *Hyperboreans* to repreſent the happy ſtate of pious ſouls after their ſeparation from the body, are drawn from ſubjects that were the principal parts of their delights, or the moſt ſolemn acts of their religious worſhip in this world; ſuch as the fineſt fruits of every ſeaſon, theaters of poets, choirs of dancers, muſic, banquets and feſtivals. To theſe is added in the relation, *ſchools of philoſophers*, which, in that quarter of the world, could be no other than thoſe of the *Druids*; as ſeems further hinted in what *Gobryas* adds immediately after, that the *Myſtæ*, (or perſons initiated into any inſtitution) who were employed in ſacrificing to the gods, had a *preſident* over them; on occaſion whereof he exhorts the perſon, with whom he held this diſcourſe, *to aſpire to that honour*, ſince he derived *his deſcent from the gods*, as *Plato* did from *Neptune*, if not from *Hercules*, who before his deſcent into *Hades*, had been initiated into the *Eleuſinian* myſteries [1]. The author of the *Dialogue* concluding the relation here given, applies himſelf to *Axiochus* in the following words: "Theſe things I heard from *Gobryas*; and I am fully of opinion, that the ſoul of "man is immortal, and when it goes from hence, lives in another place, whether "it be above or below the earth, free from all pain and trouble; take care there-"fore to live piouſly, that, when life is thus paſſed, you may attain to happineſs."

The doctrine of the tranſmigration of ſouls hath been already mentioned, and what hath been quoted in the laſt paſſage about the poſition of the earth, and the ſpherical form of the world, ſhews us that the *Hyperboreans* had ſome ſkill in aſtronomy; and their knowledge in that ſcience muſt, in the early ages before *Hecatæus*, far ſurpaſs that of any other nation, ſince they had long kept a ſolemn feſtival every nineteen years to commemorate the diſcovery of that famous *Cycle*,

[1] It appears from *Plato's Phædo*, that the ancients thought it neceſſary to be initiated into ſome myſteries, or admitted into ſome order of prieſts that had the care of them, before they could paſs into *Hades*, and be received into the ſociety of the gods, with whom they ſeem to imagine none could be admitted to dwell, who were not philoſophers, or thus initiated.

which

which ſome ages after, was introduced among the *Greeks* by *Meton*. The like feſtival obſerved (as above-related) every thirtieth year in honour of *Saturn*, ſhews likewiſe, that they were well acquainted with the term of the revolution of that planet. But no point of knowledge diſtinguiſhed the *Hyperboreans* more, than their talent for predictions; which enabled them to ſet up the oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, and perhaps at ſome other places in the *Greek* ſtates and colonies. Of their country, and of *Gaulic* or *Celtic* original, perhaps of the order of *Druids*, (ſince none elſe among the *Celtic* nations could offer ſacrifices) were the founders of two cities in different parts of the world, famous above others (as *Cicero* ſays) for the arts of divination[1]. Such were the *Galeotæ* of *Sicily*, and the *Telmeſſians* of *Caria* or *Lycia:* The former of theſe were a tribe, derived from *Galeus*, the ſon of *Apollo*, and *Themiſtes*, daughter to *Zabius*, prince of the *Hyperborei*, who foretold that the tyrant *Dionyſius* ſhould come to reign as a monarch; and paſſed for great prophets in *Sicily*, their reputation being ſo generally eſtabliſhed, that *Archippus* and *Heſychius* ſay, they were reputed the wiſeſt and moſt ſagacious of all prophets and diviners. *Telmeſſus*[2] was likewiſe an *Hyperborean*; and coming from his own country with *Galeus* to *Dodona*, they were ordered by the oracle to go the one towards the eaſt, the other weſtward, and to build altars in places where an eagle ſhould carry off the entrails of their ſacrifices; as they did accordingly, the one near *Hybla* in *Sicily*, the other at *Telmeſſus*[3] in *Caria*. *Abaris*, who built a temple in *Greece*[4], was very famous for all the arts of divination, whether by the entrails of beaſts, the flight of birds, the interpretation of dreams, or otherwiſe: And his oracles foretelling plagues, earthquakes, and many things in the heavens, were in great requeſt among the *Greeks*, who collected them together in volumes, which were preſerved to the time of *Apollonius*. *Porphyry* and *Jamblichus*[5] mention a diſpute on the ſubject of divination, between *Phalaris*, who rejected it entirely, and *Abaris*, who maintained, that men might, by the ſtrength of their own reaſon and knowledge, diſcover wars, diſeaſes, plagues, earthquakes, and other general calamities; and that it was practicable upon certain obſervations to predict them; becauſe they were ordered by the gods, and there was, undoubtedly, a *divine providence*.

In ſuch general calamities, recourſe was had to extraordinary methods of atoning for the ſins of the people, and appeaſing the wrath of the incenſed deities: But theſe being underſtood by few in *Greece*, the people of *Cnoſſus* in *Crete* applied for aſſiſtance to *Abaris*, who being a prieſt of *Apollo*, was well verſed in all the methods of luſtration and purgation uſed among the *Hyperboreans*. He exerciſed his ſkill to their great benefit, as they ſuppoſed; and did the ſame at *Sparta*[6] with ſo good ſucceſs, that all *Greece* was perſuaded it was owing to his purgations, that the *Lacedæmonians* were never after infeſted with any plague, but ſeemed ſecure for ever againſt the like peſtilential diſtempers.

The arts of (what was by the ancients called) *Magic* had ſo cloſe a connexion with thoſe of divination, and ſuch a dependance upon a knowledge of the hidden powers of nature, and of the ſecret virtues or uncommon effects of natural things, that there is little occaſion to take notice of any particular ſkill aſcribed to *Abaris*, either in that reſpect or in natural philoſophy. It is more material to obſerve, that the points here mentioned as known to the *Hyperboreans*, and by which they were eminently diſtinguiſhed, whether with regard to the doctrines of the immortality

[1] *Stephanus in v.* Γαλεῶται. *Cic. de Divinat.* l. i.

[2] A *Celtic* name, ſcarce differing from that of *Talmaſche*, which the earls of *Dyſert*, and many in *Scotland* now bear.

[3] *Ariſtander*, the ſoothſayer and diviner of *Alexander* the Great was of this city. *Plutarch. in vita Alex. M. initio.*

[4] *Pauſanias in Lacon. Suidas in v.* Ἄβαρις. *Apollon. Hiſt. Com.* c. 4. *Firmic. de err. profan. Rel.* [5] *Vita Pythag.* c. 32. [6] *Apollon.* c. 4. *Hiſt. Admirand.*

and tranſmigration of ſouls, a judgment after death, and the rewards and puniſhments of another life, or to the rites of expiation, the arts of prediction, augury and divination, to diſcoveries in the ſcience of aſtronomy, as well as in phyſiology, and obſervations of natural cauſes and effects, were all of them the conſtant ſubjects of the ſtudies, reflections, and inſtructions of the *Druids* in the *Britiſh* iſlands. This is a fact, which we learn from *Cæſar*, *Strabo*, *Diodorus*, *Pliny*, *Dio*, *Herodian*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and all who have wrote on the ſubject of the *Druids*; ſo unanimous a conſent of authors leaves no room to diſpute their teſtimony.

It muſt be obſerved further, that no Northern nation on the continent had, in thoſe early ages, any notion or tincture, either of the doctrines, or ſciences above mentioned; and what ſome are willing to imagine of the learning and theology of the *Goths*, is ſo far from having any juſt foundation, that [1] *Procopius* gives us a very remarkable inſtance of their utter averſion to all learning, even in the ſixth century, whilſt they were maſters of *Italy*. [2] *Jornandes*, their moſt ancient hiſtorian, allows them to be utterly ignorant in thoſe reſpects, till a few years before *Cæſar's* expedition into *Britain*; when *Sylla* being dictator at *Rome*, *Diceneus Boroiſta* came into *Gothia*, and taught the princes and nobility all kinds of philoſophy. He particularly mentions ethics, to mollify their barbarous manners, and engage them to live in conformity to the laws; aſtronomy, making them underſtand the bigneſs of the ſun, the increaſe and decreaſe of the moon, the courſe of the planets, and the twelve ſigns of the zodiac, phyſiology, natural philoſophy, and theology. Theſe inſtructions cauſed him to be ſo much admired by all the nation, that he commanded even their princes; and chooſing the nobleſt of their youth to inſtruct in divinity, he perſuaded them to worſhip ſome deities, and to erect chapels in their honour, inſtituting an order of prieſts, called, from the dreſs of their head, *Pileati*, to take care of religion, and preſide in matters of judicature. This being the caſe of the *Goths*, as well in *Sweden*, as upon the coaſts of the *Baltic* in *Germany*, there is no colour of probability for ſuppoſing them to be the *Hyperborei*, celebrated by *Hecatæus*, *Pauſanias*, and others of the ancients.

It remains ſtill to examine into the antiquity, as well of the *Hyperborean* doctrines, as of their practiſe of ſending ſacred embaſſadors into *Greece*, with offerings to the temples of *Apollo* and *Diana* in that country. *Abaris* ſeems to have been the laſt of thoſe embaſſadors, and was far advanced in years when he came into *Greece*, as [3] *Jamblicus* and *Porphyry* affirm; who, to do honour to the founder of their ſect, make him converſe with *Pythagoras* at *Crotona* and *Agrigentum* a little before the death of *Phalaris*; which happened, according to [4] *Dodwell*, in the 4th year of the 68th, but, according to [5] *Petavius*, in the 57th Olympiad. [6] Others ſay *Pythagoras* was a diſciple of *Abaris*, whilſt he was very young, and before he went into *Egypt*; which he did at the age of twenty two, making ſo long a ſtay, either there, or at *Babylon*, that, when he returned thence to *Samos*, he was near ſixty, and compleatly ſo, when he ſettled at *Crotona* in *Italy*. *Euſebius*, in his *Chronicon*, places the voyage of this *Hyperborean divine* (as *Apollonius* calls him) into *Greece*, in the 54th Olympiad; herein agreeing with *Pindar* and others, who make him cotemporary with *Cræſus*. Some fix it to the twenty firſt; whilſt others place it as high as the third Olympiad; particularly [7] *Hippoſtratus*, the firſt *Crotonian* diſciple of *Pythagoras*; who could not well be ignorant of that philoſopher's converſation with *Abaris*, if it happened after the former's ſettling at *Crotona*. In this diverſity of opinions, that which being advanced by the lateſt of the

[1] *Hiſtor. Goth.* l. i. p. 143. [2] *De rebus Got.* c. 11. [3] *Vit. Pythag.* c. 19.
[4] *De ætat. Phalarid.* c. 28. [5] *Rationar. Temp.* p. i. l. ii. p. 100. [6] *Suidas v.* Πυθαγόρας. [7] *Harpocration, v.* Ἄβαρις.

Pythagoreans, who wrote their maſter's life ſeven hundred years after his death, placeth the age of *Abaris* later than any of the other, doth yet make him elder than *Pythagoras*; ſo that it is more likely this [1] author of the name of *Philoſopher* in *Greece*, ſhould receive the doctrine of the tranſmigration of ſouls, from *Abaris*, than that he ſhould communicate it to ſuch a contemplative and ſtudious order and ſucceſſion of men, as the *Britiſh Druids*, by the canal of that *Hyperborean* divine. This will appear ſo clear as ſcarce to admit of a diſpute, if we conſider that the doctrine of the tranſmigration of the ſoul is founded upon that of its immortality; and that *Thales*, the maſter of *Pythagoras*, was the firſt *Greek*, that ever taught the belief of the latter: And *Pythagoras* himſelf is extolled by his followers, as the firſt of the *Greeks*, that broached the former. And yet we have ſeen, that the doctrine of the immortality of the ſoul was taught many ages before their time by the ſacred deputies of the *Hyperboreans*; who appear likewiſe from other accounts to have believed that of the tranſmigration.

THERE was a long interval of time between the voyage of *Abaris* into *Greece*, and the ſending of the former embaſſadors to *Delos*: during which the *Hyperboreans* tranſmitted their ſacred offerings through the *Celtic* countries from one nation to another, till they arrived at *Apollo's* temple. That it was in very ancient times, when that cuſtom of ſending embaſſadors firſt commenced, may very juſtly be concluded from the nature of their oblations: [2] Theſe being cakes, flower, and the firſt fruits of the ground and trees, the moſt ancient ſacrifices of any, as they were alſo the firſt that offered [3] them; being for that reaſon called [4] *Oulophori* and *Amallophori*. The names of ſeveral of theſe ſacred deputies of both ſexes are preſerved by the *Greek* authors: the women diſtinguiſhed by the names of *Opis*, *Ecaerge*, *Argis*, *Arge*, *Achæa*, *Loxo*, *Hyperoche*, and *Laodice*, all names of *Diana* given to thoſe her votaries to do them the greater honour; whilſt the men were called *Pagaſus*, *Agyeus*, *Eryſicthon*, *Opis*, *Ecaergus*, *Amadochus*, *Laodochus*, and *Hyperochus*; names or titles belonging to *Apollo*. They were all celebrated in the hymns of the *Delians*, and in the ſongs of the inhabitants of the *Cyclades*; and it is to thoſe hymns, ſeveral of them compoſed expreſly to perpetuate their memory, that *Homer* alludes in his hymn to *Apollo*. [5] *Olen* the *Lycian*, the author of ſome of thoſe hymns, was the firſt *Greek* poet that wrote in hexameter verſe, and the firſt prophet of *Apollo*, that either ſung himſelf, or inſtructed *Phæmonoë* the firſt propheteſs, to deliver the oracles in that meaſure, and he being older than *Homer*, who followed the example he had ſet him of writing in heroic verſe, the *Hyperborean* embaſſies muſt be ſtill more ancient. [6] *Dodwell* thinks that *Homer* flouriſhed about the 23d Olympiad, (which agrees very well with the relations of thoſe who make *Abaris* acquainted with *Steſichorus* the ſon of *Heſiod*) and brings very good reaſons to ſupport his opinion. But allowing him to be full as ancient as the author of his life, printed at the end of *Herodotus*, repreſents him, and to be born 168 years after the *Trojan* war, the *Hyperborean* embaſſies were yet more ancient than that war, and prior even to the building of *Thebes* by *Cadmus*. It was in times antecedent to thoſe events, that [7] *Homer* ſays the oracle of *Delphi* was founded; and [8] *Pauſanias* aſſures us, it was founded by *Pagaſus* and *Agyeus*,

[1] *Shuckford* maintains, that *Pythagoras* did not pretend to deliver any doctrine of his own to his diſciples, but only ſuch ancient opinions as he had gathered from others, and theſe he communicated to them in the ſame manner as he had received them from his authors. *Sacred and profane hiſtory connected*, vol. i. p. 52, 53.

[2] *Dr. Taylor's Diſſ. on the Marmor. Sandvicenſe. Servius ad Æn.* xi. ℣ 858. *Plin.* l. xxxi, c. 41. *Porphyr. de abſtinent.* l. ii, p. 65. *Herodot.* l. iv. n. 32.

[3] *Callim. Hymn. in Delum*, v. 290.

[4] *Euſtath. ad Iliad.* δ ℣ 1220. *Athenæus* l. xiv. p. 618.

[5] *Pauſan. in Phocic.* p. 320. [6] *De Cyclis veterum, Diſſert.* v. [7] *Hymn. in Apollin.* ℣ 225.

[8] *In Phocic.* p. 320.

two

two of the *Hyperborean* deputies; this being perhaps the reaſon why *Apollo Pythius* was called *Apollo Hyperboreus*[1]. It is very probable that theſe were not the firſt deputies ſent by the *Hyperboreans* into *Greece*, becauſe it appears from the laſt quoted hymn, that there was a temple of *Apollo*, and a grove ſacred to *Diana* at *Delos* before there was any oracle at *Delphi*; which yet was very famous at the time of the *Trojan* war[2]. Thoſe places at *Delos*, dedicated to the worſhip of *Apollo* and *Diana*, ſeem to have been erected or founded by *Opis* and *Arge* or *Ecaerge*, the firſt of the *Hyperborean* virgins that came to *Delos*; for this I take to be the meaning of what[3] *Herodotus* relates of the *Delians*, affirming that thoſe two virgins *came thither with the gods themſelves*; and this muſt be in very ancient times, ſince *Orion*, a diſciple of *Atlas*, was killed by *Diana* for offering violence to *Opis*[4]. In this caſe it will not appear ſtrange that *Latona* ſhould be deemed a native of the *Hyperborean* iſland; that the *Hyperboreans* ſhould be called by[5] *Callimachus* the *Nurſes* or foſter parents of *Apollo* and *Diana*; that ſuch extraordinary honours ſhould be paid from time to time in all ages by the *Delians* and *Ionians* to thoſe two virgins and their ſhrines; or that there ſhould be ſuch a perfect reſemblance in their choirs, muſic, aſſemblies, feſtivals, and other rites of worſhip, between the *Delians* and *Hyperboreans*.

It is very likely that *Opis* and *Ecaergus*, whoſe names agree ſo exactly with thoſe of the two firſt virgins, that there is no difference, except in the termination neceſſary to diſtinguiſh the ſexes (as in the caſe of the names of *Laodice* and *Laodicus*, *Hyperoche* and *Hyperochus*, impoſed on others of thoſe ſacred deputies) came along with *Opis* and *Ecaerge* in the firſt expedition or embaſſy of the *Hyperboreans* to *Delos*. Thus it appears that thoſe important doctrines of the immortality of the ſoul, a future judgment, the rewards and puniſhments of another life, were publiſhed in *Greece* by the *Hyperboreans* before the time of *Cadmus*. It was probably from them, that what we ſee in *Homer's* works, ſavouring of thoſe doctrines, was derived; and from ſome knowledge or tradition of their being of the *Cimmerian* or *Celtic* race, that he placed his *Hades*, the receptacle of the deceaſed heroes whom *Ulyſſes* viſited, among the *Cimmerii* in theſe *Weſtern* or *Britiſh* iſlands. The ſame deputies were the perſons who firſt diſcovered to the *Greeks*, the ſpherical form of the globe, and the poſition of the earth in the centre of the world. So early had the *Hyperboreans* made diſcoveries in aſtronomy and mathematics; ſciences, of which the *Greeks* were utterly ignorant till after the times of *Thales*[6].

The religious doctrines here mentioned are confeſſedly thoſe of the *Druids*; the points of ſcience and knowledge, above related, can be aſcribed to none in all the northern or weſtern parts of the world, but to that order of divines, whoſe chief ſeat was in the *Britiſh* iſles; where to this day there are places bearing the name of the *Druids*, and which were once their habitation; as memorials alſo of their ſtudies are preſerved in ſome elevated ſituations proper for obſervations, ſtill called the *aſtronomers abodes*, and the *aſtronomers ſtones* or *circle*. Whoever likewiſe conſiders, what is ſaid before touching the ſituation of the *Hyperborei*, will find it impracticable to place their iſland in any other quarter of the world, than where that, which, after the *Phœnician's* commerce hither, was known to the *Greeks* by the

[1] So *Ælian*, l. ii. ſays he was called.
[2] *Homer's Illiad.* l. x. v. 405.
[3] *Herodot.* l. iv. n. 32.
[4] *Apollodor. de Deorum origine*, c. 1.
[5] *Hymn. in Del.*
[6] Mr. [a] *Pezron* undertook to prove, that the *Greeks* derived what they called the ſphere of the Barbarians from the *Celtæ*: And not ſeeing how this can be proved any other way, than by ſuppoſing the *Hyperborei* to be *Celtæ*; I conclude it to have been his opinion.

[a] *Pref. to l'Antiquité des Celtes.*

name of *Great Britain*, is ſeated; and more particularly in the north weſt parts thereof, in thoſe remote iſles, which afforded the *Druids* all the retirement and quiet they could deſire, called the *Hebrides*.

THE *Hyperborei* had for a long time laid aſide their cuſtom of ſending ſacred embaſſadors to *Delos*; when *Greece* increaſing daily in reputation for learning, they thought it proper to ſend a perſon thither, to diſcover what improvements had been made in knowledge, and to renew their ancient correſpondence. It required a man of dignity, experience, prudence, judgment, and ſkill in various ſciences, to anſwer the ends of ſuch an embaſſy: No other was qualified to converſe with the ſages of *Greece*, to ſound the depths, and draw from them the ſecrets of their knowledge; no other was fit to repreſent ſuch a body of men as the *Druids*. They accordingly, for this purpoſe, made choice of *Abaris*, whoſe character is ſo very amiable, that it is no wonder the author of *Mona Antiqua* [1] is willing to adopt him for his countryman; fancying his true name in *Welſh* to be *Ap-rees* [2]. But I think it more agreeable to the manner of the *Greeks*, in impoſing names on ſtrangers, to derive it from *Ebris* or *Abris*; which may as well denote a native of the *Hebrides* [3], as *Arcas*, an inhabitant of *Arcadia*, *Tros*, a *Trojan*, or *Corybas* and *Suffes*, one of the *Corybantes* and *Suffetes*.

HE was certainly a man that did honour to his country, and worthy of a contention, like that of the *Greek* cities, about the birth of *Homer*. *Porphyry* [4] and *Jamblicus* ſay, that he was a prieſt of *Apollo*; that he came to *Athens* and *Delos*; travelled over all *Greece*; and then paſſed to *Crotona* in *Italy*, to viſit *Pythagoras*, with whom he ſtaid a conſiderable time, and contracted an intimate friendſhip. This celebrated philoſopher, ſo cautious in all other caſes of communicating his knowledge to people, till after ſeveral years experience of their capacity, virtue, and prudence, is repreſented by them as having no reſerve at all with regard to *Abaris*, imparting to him readily all his notions of nature and theology, and reaſoning with him on the various ſubjects of his knowledge and learning. It is not unlikely, but *Abaris* might firſt unboſom himſelf to *Pythagoras*, the only infallible way of drawing out ſecrets of this kind from the moſt reſerved; and might communicate to him ſome of the improvements made by the *Druids*, in the ſciences to which they generally applied their ſtudies; and perhaps thoſe doctrines of the immortality and tranſmigration of ſouls, of which *Pythagoras* was ſo extremely fond, and was in *Greece* reputed to be the firſt author.

WHAT *Jamblicus* ſays of *Abaris's* preſenting *Pythagoras* with the famous arrow, which *Apollo* had hid among the *Hyperboreans*, after he had killed the *Cyclops* with it, (in memory whereof the name of *Sagitta* was given to one of the conſtellations on the north of the *Zodiac*,) may poſſibly hint, that he communicated to him ſome aſtronomical obſervations and diſcoveries, with regard to the eclipticity of the *Zodiac*, and the periodical motions of the ſun, moon, and other celeſtial bodies, of which the *Greeks* were in thoſe days generally ignorant; as the *Egyptians* too were, till the 64th *Olympiad*, when their country, being reduced by *Cambyſes*, they began to acquire ſome knowledge in thoſe points from the *Babylonians*, whoſe aſtronomical obſervations had (according to *Beroſus*) commenced in the time of *Nabonaſſar*. But this ſame arrow conſidered in another

[1] *Ib.* p. 76.

[2] It might as well be derived from *Barray*, the denomination of two or three of the *Weſtern Iſles*, of which he might probably be the lord, or from *Ab*, in *Erſe*, a lord, and *Haris*, the name of the largeſt of thoſe iſles, or *Heires*, formerly the common name of the whole tract of thoſe iſlands, or from *Aber-is*, the *confluence of a river*, whence ſeats of gentlemen were of old denominated.

[3] עבריח *Abari*, (*fines*, i. e.) *the ends of the earth*, as uſed in *Pſalm*, ii. 8. and xxii. 8. and lix. 14. whence *Bochart.* in his *Phaleg.* ſays, the *Phœnicians* gave the name of *Iberia* to *Spain*.

[4] *In vita Pythagoræ.*

[2] *Lloyd's Iriſh Dict. in Archæol. Brit.*

light,

light, and employed to a different purpoſe, had alſo a different ſignification. For the *Greeks* not able to conceive how it was poſſible for *Abaris* to paſs through ſo many different nations, as dwelt between *Greece* and the *Britiſh iſles*, which at that time, not having been viſited by the *Phœnicians*, were deemed inacceſſible; it was a common report among them, that he had been carried through the air over ſea and land, mounted upon this celebrated arrow [1]. Some even of the learned *Greeks*, particularly *Herodotus* took this literally; whereas it was only a mythological way of deſcribing the force of *Abaris*'s eloquence and talents of perſuaſion, which procured him a friendly reception, and an eaſy paſſage through thoſe various nations, all of them *Celtic*, and ſpeaking his native language. In this caſe, *Himerius* [2] tells us expreſsly, that *Apollo*'s arrow was *eloquence*; the very ſame accompliſhment which occaſioned *Mercury's* being repreſented *winged* [3].

STRABO tells us, that *Abaris* was much admired by the *Greeks* for his politeneſs, juſtice, and integrity; and notwithſtanding the diſadvantages of the times wherein he lived, it may ſtill be ſaid, that, conſidering him in all reſpects, few ages have furniſhed a compleater character. "He came to *Athens* not clad in ſkins "like a *Scythian*, but with a bow in his hand, a quiver hanging on his ſhoulders, "a plad wrapped about his body, a gilded belt encircling his loins, and trowſers "reaching from the waiſte down to the ſoles of his feet." Thus is it that *Himerius* [4] deſcribes his dreſs, which ſufficiently ſhews his country; it being to this day, in all reſpects, (except as to the weapons, in which the invention of gunpowder hath altered the faſhion,) the very habit of the *Highlanders* of *Scotland*. "He was eaſy in his addreſs; agreeable in his converſation; active in the diſ-"patch, and ſecret in the management of great affairs; quick in judging of "preſent occurrences; and ready to take his party in any ſudden emergency; pro-"vident withal in guarding againſt futurity; diligent in the queſt of wiſdom; fond "of friendſhip; truſting very little to fortune, yet having the entire confidence "of others, and truſted with every thing for his prudence." What is ſtill more amazing, and ſhews a wonderful genius; for otherwiſe it is not to be conceived how a ſtranger ſhould, in the ſhort time of his travels, before he came to *Athens*, make himſelf ſo great a maſter of the moſt improved language upon earth, as to ſpeak it with facility and elegance, is, that when he opened his lips, perſuaſion dwelt upon his tongue; and the ſame author aſſures us, "He ſpake *Greek* with a "fluency, that you would have thought he had been bred up in the *Lyceum*, and "had converſed all his life with the *academy* of *Athens*." Such was *Abaris!* ſuch our *Highlander!* and ſuch our *Druid!* Can courts form a finer gentleman? Can *Greece* or *Rome* boaſt of producing a man in all reſpects more extraordinary?

THE reſt of the *Druids*, though all men of quality like *Abaris*, bred under the ſame diſcipline, inured to the ſame way of living, confirmed by habit, as well as inſtruction, in the ſame moderation as to their diet, command of their natural appetites, candour of mind, and ſimplicity of manners, cannot yet be ſuppoſed to equal him either in the ſtrength of his genius, knowledge of the world, ſolidity of judgment, wiſdom of conduct, or extenſiveneſs of knowledge, by which he was ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed: It is reaſonable, however, to conclude from the very nature of the thing, that a body of ſuch men, under ſuch an inſtitution, continually employed in the ſearch of knowledge, the conſtant ſubject of their reflections, diſcourſes, and inſtructions; and communicating their diſcoveries from age to age, without any interruption to their ſucceſſors, muſt have made great

[1] *Celſus* thought this deſigned only to repreſent the ſwiftneſs of *Abaris's* motions in his travels, as equal to that of an arrow. *Orig.* c. *Celſ.* l. iii. n. 31.

[2] *Ap. Photii Bibl.* p. 1131. *Eloquentia telum eſt Apollinis.*

[3] *Mercurius Deorum Nuntius, geſtat talaria alata, iiſque per aera fertur*, ſicut teſtatur Homerus eo loc. ubi inquit ἴπτη πλεκόσπλα, *i. e. verbo alata. Phurnut. de Nat. Deor.* c. 16. *de Mercurio.*

[4] *Orat. apud Photium in Biblioth.* p. 1135.

 improve-

improvements in phyſic, aſtronomy, mathematics, phyſiology, and other ſciences, to which their ſtudies and converſations were chiefly directed. They were a regularly conſtituted body ſubject to certain rules, and united under one [1] head; to whoſe authority all the reſt were ſubject and paid a ready obedience, in all matters, relating to their diſcipline, or ſubmitted to their cogniſance.

Of the chief *Druids*, and the diſtinctions in the order.

XII. It was near the ſeats of the chief *Druids*, as well in *Gaule* as *Britain*, that the general councils of thoſe nations reſpectively were ordinarily held once a year, at a ſtated time, when they aſſembled in the conſecrated groves adjoining to thoſe habitations. Thither alſo, at the ſame time, reſorted all perſons concerned in cauſes, either left undecided by the ordinary *Druids*, who adminiſtred juſtice in the provinces, by reaſon of their difficulty and importance, or not determined to the ſatisfaction of the parties, for a final ſentence to be pronounced by the *Head Druid*, aſſiſted by his brethren aſſembled in council. There is to be ſeen at this day, in *Angleſey*, the round *cirque*, or conſiſtory, wherein they ſate, ſtill known by its ancient name [2] *Bryn-gwyn*, or *Brein-gwyn*, ſignifying, in the language of the country, *a ſupreme* or *royal tribunal*. There was likewiſe the great ſeminary, for the education of ſuch the *Druid's* children, as were capable of being formed to their diſcipline; and of the ſons of princes, and the chief nobility, that were deſirous of entering into it, all brought up under the eye of the *chief Druid*, and the immediate care of the preſidents, and other *Druids* appointed for their inſtruction in the colleges or conventual ſocieties there eſtabliſhed. There are ſeveral places in *England*, which from the reſemblance of their names to that of *Drue*, may be thought to have ſerved for the reſidence of *Druids*; but perhaps only of thoſe ordinary ones, who were judges in provinces. *Stanton Drue*, near *Penſford* in *Somerſetſhire*, where a Druidical temple, called the *Weddings*, is ſtill to be ſeen, ſeems the likelieſt of any to have been a ſeminary; but it will not be unreaſonable to ſuppoſe it to have been an inſtitution of the *Belgæ*, after their ſettlement in that part of *Britain*, and when they came to be embarked in wars with the old natives. I form the like notion of *Stone-henge*, and ſuppoſe it to have been erected by the *Belgic Britains*, to ſerve for the chief place of their religious worſhip, and civil judicature, and for the holding of the general councils or aſſemblies of all their colonies, which uſually met in temples [3]. It was very conveniently ſeated for that purpoſe in the centre of thoſe colonies; it is the only *Britiſh* temple, in which there is any chizzelling or workmanſhip about the ſtones, and therefore the lateſt of their building. I am apt to think it was erected by *Divitiacus*, in whoſe time architecture was very well underſtood in *Gaule*, as appears by the magnificence of the *Gallic* cities and buildings; particularly of that ſtupendous temple in *Auvergne*, the ruin whereof was ſo much lamented by [4] *Gregory* of *Tours*, which perhaps had an ornament full as extraordinary as its ſtructure, in the famous ſtatue of [5] *Mercury*, which ſurpaſſed in greatneſs all other ſtatues in the world, took up *Zenodorus* ten years time in making, and coſt the *Arverni* infinite ſums of money.

When the *chief Druid*, from the ſuperiority and ſingularity of his dignity, called, by way of excellency, the *Drue* or *Druid*, died; he was preſently ſucceeded in his office by another *Druid*, who, if the chief of the eldeſt line of *Pluto's* race, or perhaps, if a king, prince, or otherwiſe eminent above the reſt in nobility, (for this ſeems to be the meaning of *Cæſar's* words [6], *excellit dignitate,*) was of courſe inveſted with that dignity. But if there were ſeveral equally qualified in

[1] *His omnibus* unus *præeſt. Cæſ.* l. vi. [2] *Mona Antiq.* p. 89. [3] *Dr. Stukeley's Stonehenge deſcribed*, c. 3. p. 17. c. 12. p. 69. [4] L. i. n. 32. [5] *Plin. Nat. Hiſt.* l. xxxiv. c. 7. [6] *De Bell. Gall.* l. vi.

this

this reſpect, the ſucceſſion was in ſuch caſe determined by the votes of the *Druids*, who were ſometimes ſo divided in theſe elections, that war and bloodſhed concluded the conteſt. Diſputes could not well be avoided on ſuch occaſions in a numerous body, as (*Cæſar* ſays) the *Druids* were; and it was probably their number, which rendering it neceſſary to obſerve a method in the diſtribution of the exerciſe of their functions, gave occaſion to *Strabo*[1], *Diodorus*[2], and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, to diſtinguiſh them into the three orders or claſſes of *Druids*, *Vates*, otherwiſe called *Eubages* or *Sarronides*, and *Bards*, aſſigning to theſe laſt, the ſinging of the valiant actions of illuſtrious men in heroic verſe to their harps; to the ſecond, the offering of ſacrifices, the practice of divinations, and lectures in phyſiology; and to the firſt, the ſtudy of moral, as well as natural philoſophy and theology. But however proper it might be to diſtinguiſh perſons with regard to their age and talents, and to allot them accordingly their ſeveral provinces; to the young men in whom imagination is lively, and memory in its higheſt perfection, that of compoſing, reciting, and ſinging heroic poems; to the elder, the ordinary care of religion, and the buſineſs of judicature; whilſt the moſt diſtinguiſhed in age and dignity employed themſelves in the ſtudy of divine things, and in exerciſing their prieſtly functions only on weighty occaſions, and the moſt ſolemn feſtivals, they ſeem ſtill to have been all of one and the ſame order and diſcipline. *Cæſar*, who knew them beſt of any writer that hath mentioned them, and *Tacitus* conſider them in this light, and ſpeak of none but *Druids*; and though *Lucan* takes notice of the *Bardi* reciting verſes in the praiſe of great men ſlain in war, yet he mentions the *Druids* ſinging likewiſe, and ſays not a word of the *Vates*. Nor do we ever find more than one order of men in any of the like inſtitutions; ſuch as the *Magi* in *Perſia*, the *Curetes* in *Crete*, the *Corybantes* in *Phrygia*, and the *Cabiri* in *Samothrace*.

XIII. As to the people of *Britain*, *Cæſar* and *Tacitus* aſſure us, that they agreed in temper, manners, and cuſtoms with thoſe of *Gaule*; but this is to be taken only in the general, and to be underſtood rather of the ancient inhabitants of *Gaule*, than of thoſe that lived in *Cæſar's* time, when the *Britains* were what the *Gauls* had been formerly. Theſe laſt had, by their neighbourhood to the *Romans*, and by a greater intercourſe with other nations than fell to the ſhare of the *Britains*, reformed ſeveral of their old, and introduced ſome new cuſtoms: And in ſuch caſes, the inhabitants of theſe iſlands will be found to agree more with the *Germans*, who being colonies likewiſe of the *Celtæ*, and reſembling them in moſt things, did yet retain thoſe cuſtoms of their anceſtors, (and no other,) which had been in uſe before they removed from their mother country. They were much alike in the make of their perſons, and remarkable for the tallneſs of their ſtature, the ſimplicity of their manners, the openneſs of their hearts, and the frankneſs of their temper. The ſame generous ſpirit of hoſpitality[4] prevailed among them; their houſes being ever open to all the world without diſtinction, and a ſure protection to all ſtrangers; whoſe perſons were deemed ſacred, and any violation thereof was puniſhed in a ſeverer manner, than in the caſe of a native. The *Gauls*, perhaps on account of the ravages committed by them in their expeditions into other countries, are charged by the *Greeks* and *Romans* with avarice; which I do not find imputed to the *Britains:* But both are accuſed of ſcandalous violations of chaſtity, and the latter of a promiſcuous, and even of an inceſtuous, concubinage. But this may poſſibly be founded only upon a report of the *Belgæ*, with whom they

Of the manners and cuſtoms of the *Britains*.

[1] L. iv. [2] L. v. [3] L. xiv. [4] *Nic Damaſc. apud Stobæum. Serm. de leg. & conſuet. Tacit de mor. German. Mela* l. iii. c. 3. *Cæſar*, l. vi.

were at war, and upon a miſtake ariſing from the cuſtom of whole families lying together upon ſkins of beaſts on the ground in the ſame room; they having no partitions or ſeparate apartments in their houſes. There is the greater reaſon to think this was really the caſe; becauſe *Strabo* [1], one of the exacteſt and moſt valuable authors among the ancients, ſays no ſuch thing of them; though he mentions this very charge as imputed to the *inhabitants* of *Ireland*; who, he adds, *are more ſavage than the* Britains: nor doth he credit it, even as to the *Iriſh*, for this very good reaſon; becauſe he could not depend upon his informers.

THEY had two unhappy defects; which betrayed them into great inconveniencies, [2] curioſity and [3] credulity; being troubleſome in their enquiries after other people's buſineſs; liſtening eagerly after news; taking every thing they heard, (however improbable or abſurd) for granted; and ſpreading it with an haſty diligence, without either examining the truth, or conſidering the conſequences, of the report. The miſchiefs that aroſe hence were ſuch, as obliged the wiſeſt ſtates in *Gaule* to provide by expreſs laws, that no private perſon ſhould ever talk of ſtate affairs, nor offer to tell another any report he heard; and to order information to be given thereof to the magiſtrates, that they might publiſh what was fit to be known, and debate in council what meaſures were proper to be taken for the public quiet and ſafety. They were not fond of talking much in company; but in the few words they uſed, were apt to be too [4] full of themſelves; and their contempt of others diſpoſed them to fall into a paſſion upon every trifling occaſion. When once wrought up into a fit of wrath, or upon any ſudden, though ill grounded report, they took haſtily [5] the raſheſt reſolutions, and were impetuous as a whirlwind in their execution; but unſtable as water, they quitted them, when they began to cool or found a difficulty in their way, with as much levity, as they had engaged in them with fury: acting even on other occaſions, where they had leiſure enough to think cooly, with the ſame [6] inconſtancy in their meaſures and variableneſs in their deſigns.

BOTH nations were naturally ingenious; [7] quick in their apprehenſions of things; eaſily inſtructed in any uſeful ſcience; and formed as it were for eloquence; though, in point of docility and a genius for learning, [8] *Diodorus* ſays the *Britains* had the advantage. They were both equally brave; had the ſame warlike diſpoſition, and the ſame contempt of death; intrepid in the midſt of the greateſt dangers, and capable of attempting the moſt deſperate enterprizes. Whether it was, out of magnanimity, like that of *Alexander's*, who would not ſteal a victory; or from an overweening opinion of their own ſtrength and valour; a vanity to which they were extremely ſubject, and from which they had often ſuffered, being generally beaten by the military arts and ſkill, rather than the courage of the *Romans*; yet they were not to be cured of it by any experience; they obſtinately reſolved [9] never to carry any thing in war, but by open force; and, glorying in that maxim, ſcorned to make uſe of any ſtratagem. It was common to them, with the *Thracians*, from a mixture of whoſe and the *Gomarian* blood they were deſcended, that their women, were as much diſtinguiſhed for their courage as the men [10]; accompanied them to the field; animated them to the combat; and often ruſhed themſelves undaunted, though unarmed, into the midſt of the battle, catching at the ſwords of the enemy: But it was peculiar to the *Celtic* nations not to march, move, or fight, without the advice of the women, to [11] conſtitute them

[1] Lib. iv. p. 202. [2] *Cæſ.* l. iv. c. 1. [3] *Martial*, l. v. *Epig.* 1. *Cæſ.* l. vi. [4] *Diod.* l. v. [5] *Cæſ.* l. iii. c. 2. [6] *Cæſ.* l. iv. c. 1. *Lamprid. in Severo. Treb. Pollio in Gallien.* [7] *Strabo*, l. iv. *Hier. ad Ruſtic. Juv. Sat.* 15. [8] Lib. 5. [9] *Cæſ.* l. i. c. 3. *De Bello African*, c. 9. *Strabo* l. iv. [10] *Diod.* l. v. *Cæſ.* l. i. c. *ult. Plutarch in Mario.* [11] *Plutarch*, l. *de virtute mulierum.*

judges of the contraventions of public treaties and the laws of nations; to admit them to their councils of war; and to conſult them on the moſt important occaſions of public concern.

LUXURY, the diſhonour of human reaſon, the corrupter of virtue, and the bane of all ſtates generally infected with it, was not ſo much as heard of in *Britain*; and it is remarked of the [1] *Gauls*, that they could no more bear to ſee a fat man, than the *Lacedæmonians*; nor was any thing more ſcandalous among them than to be corpulent. Both people were content with a plain and ſimple diet, and were very temperate in the uſe of it: Some fleſh meat, of which pork [2] was their greateſt dainty, but chiefly milk, apples, and bread, were their ordinary food; though the *Gauls* regaled themſelves alſo with [3] cheeſe, which the *Britains* had not learned to make; ſo little curious were they in point of eatables. They kept hens, geeſe, and hares for their amuſement, but never eat them; though [4] *Pliny* ſpeaks of a kind of geeſe in *Britain* that were the greateſt dainty in nature, at leaſt to the *Romans*. *Cæſar* doth not offer to gueſs at the reaſon of that abſtinence; but we learn from *Dio's* account of the inſurrection of *Boadicea*, that the *Britains* made uſe of hares for *Divination*; and they might perhaps employ hens and geeſe for the ſame purpoſe. The laſt named author obſerves of the *Caledonians*, that they would not eat fiſh, though they had an infinite plenty thereof in their country; agreeing herein with the *Pythagoreans:* Though whether the reſt of the *Britains* did the ſame, is not any where obſerved, nor is there any account of their uſing them in augury, as was practiſed in *Syria* and *Lycia*. [5] *Pythagoras* bought a draught of fiſh, and then put them into the water to ſwim away: And his followers would never touch them on any account; perhaps, becauſe the moſt harmleſs of animals. *Homer* never ſpeaks of the *Greeks*, not even of *Ulyſſes* in all his voyages, as eating fiſh. The *Egyptians* and *Syrians* thought it a point of holineſs to abſtain from them; which might be owing to a general opinion prevailing among the ancients, that the ocean was the [6] *habitation of the gods*, and conſequently, every thing that lived there was ſacred, There are ſtill ſubſiſting in the *Hebrides* monuments of the worſhip paid by the *Britains* in thoſe iſles to the ocean: And the abſtaining from fiſh was a natural conſequence of that ſuperſtitious veneration. There was no wine in theſe countries; water was the ordinary drink of the *Britains:* But when any occaſion called upon them to indulge a little, they had ſome of a ſtronger kind, drawn from barley, apples, and honey, to raiſe their ſpirits. They were not addicted to exceſs; but if in a flow of good humour, and giving a looſe to mirth, they chanced to go inſenſibly beyond the bounds to which cheerfulneſs may reaſonably be carried, they were too apt to adopt the *Thracian* cuſtom, and [7] quarrel in their liquor: The *Britains*, however, were ſo habitually regular and temperate, that [8] *Plutarch* ſays, they only began to grow old at an hundred and twenty,

THEY wore the hair of their head very long [9] and ſpreading; but kept their beard cloſe ſhaved, except on the upper lip; where, perhaps imagining that whiſkers looked terrible, they let it grow to an inconvenient length; ſo as to be, [10] eſpecially at their meals, exceedingly troubleſome. The hair of the *Gauls* was generally a bright red, or golden colour; and they uſed art to make it more ſo; thinking that colour beſt became warriours: And for a like reaſon they took pains to make it buſhy, thick, and briſtly [11], like horſe hair, not for ornament but terror. It was from the ſame motive that the *Britains*, who did not imitate them in that

[1] *Strabo*, l. iv. [2] *Ib.* [3] *Cæſ.* l. vi. [4] *Nat. Hiſt.* l. xxxii. c. 2. [5] *Plutarch Sympoſ.* l. viii. [6] *Grævii Lect. in Heſiod*, c. 13. [7] *Diod.* l. v. [8] *De placitis Philoſophiæ.* [9] *Plin.* l. iii. c. 20. *Lucan*, l. i. *Cæſ.* l. v. [10] *Diod.* l. v. [11] *Clem. Alexand. Pæd.* l. iii. c. 3.

practice, made uſe of woad [1] to paint their bodies of a blue or purple colour, in order to appear more terrible to their enemies. This was a ſingularity, in which they differed from all the other *Celtæ*, whether in *Gaule* or *Germany:* And by the *Tyrian* colour which they affected, it ſeems to be derived from the *Phœnicians*, who frequented *Britain*. It muſt however be owned, that the *Phrygians* were the firſt inventers of the purple dye; that [2] *Epimenides*, one of the *Curetes*, who lived in *Solon's* time, and contrary to cuſtom of his country, wore long hair, like the *Celtæ*, had alſo his body all marked with characters; that the [3] *Daci*, deſcendants of the *Gomarian Sacæ*, and the *Sarmatæ* their neighbours, had theirs too marked in the ſame manner; that the [4] *Thracians* thought it noble and honourable to be thus marked, and ignoble to be otherwiſe; and a colony of theirs is diſtinguiſhed by the title of the painted [5] *Agathyrſi*. But if the *Gauls* had ever received this faſhion, it is very certain they had left it off before any of their colonies ſettled in *Germany:* And in *Cæſar's* time, neither they, nor the *Belgæ* of the ſouth parts of *Britain*, painted their bodies; ſo that the *Picts* of the *Britiſh* ſoil, mentioned by the orator *Eumenius*, could be only the *Brigantes*, the *Iceni*, and other nations of the old *Britains*. The ſtriped plaid, the belt about their loins, and trowſers of various colours, reaching from the waiſt to the anckles in the form of breeches with ſtockings, were common to them all; only the *Gauls* abounding in gold and ſilver, were more ſumptuous in theirs, having their belts gilt or covered with ſilver, and [6] wearing generally chains of gold about their necks, and bracelets of the ſame metal about their arms; which the poverty of their *Britains* did not allow any of them, under the rank of kings and princes to do; the reſt contenting themſelves, with the ſingle ornament of a ring on the middle finger. The *Gauls* had a like advantage, in the [7] largeneſs of their houſes, over the *Britains*, whoſe cabbins were very mean, made up of reeds and wood, or of ſods and hurdles: But the gentlemen of both countries agreed in chooſing the ſame ſituations for their manſions, near rivers, for the conveniency of water, or on eminencies ſurrounded with woods, to be more in the way for their favourite diverſion of hunting.

THE only finery, which the *Britains* ſeem to have affected, was, in reſpect of the chariots, which they uſed in war [8], like the antient *Greek* heroes at the ſiege of *Troy:* And had them in great numbers; adorning them curiouſly with figures of carved work and painting. Whether it was the elegance of the workmanſhip, or the particular make of the *Britiſh* chariots, different probably from thoſe uſed in *Gaule*, leſs liable to he overturned, or more eaſy to be ſtopped and wheeled about on the declivity of hills, and in paſſing through woods or narrow roads, that recommended them to the *Romans*; they were very deſirous to be accommodated with them; and *Cicero* [9] adviſed *Trebatius*, who, being in *Cæſar's* firſt expedition into this iſland, had wrote him word there was no gold or ſilver to be got here, to bring back with him at leaſt a *Britiſh* chariot. They were drawn generally by two horſes; and beſides the driver, carried a ſingle warriour. [10] The kings, princes, and nobles of the *Britains* fought in them; ſurrounded by their ſervants, vaſſals, and dependants; and from thence darted their javelins againſt the enemy. The unuſual noiſe of the wheels was apt to frighten the horſes of the hoſtile cavalry; and the ſharp ſcithes, ſtretched out from both ſides of the wheels, to which they were faſtened, and cutting every thing in two that came in their way, made a terrible havock in a body that was once put into diſorder; ſo that [11] *Frontinus*

[1] *Cæſ.* l. v. *Plutarch in Solon.* [2] *Laertes in vit. Epimenid.* [3] *Plin.* l xxii. c. 1. [4] *Herodot.* l. v. c. 6. *Stephan. de urb. v.* Ἀγάθυρσοι. [5] *Virgil Æneid.* iv. [6] *Propert.* l. iv. *El.* xi.—*Diodor.* l. v. *Silius Ital.* l. iv. [7] *Strabo*, l. iv. [8] *Diodor.* l. v. *Mela*, l. iii. c. 6.—*Propert.* l. ii. *Eleg.* i. & l. iv. *El.* iii. [9] *Epiſt.* l. vii. [10] *Tacit. vita Agric.* [11] *De ſtratagem.* l. ii.

tells

tells us, *Cæſar* was forced to make uſe of ſtakes or palliſades to ſtop their advancing in ſuch exigencies. The claſhing [1] of their arms, the hoarſe diſmal ſound of their barbarous ſort of trumpets, and the mighty ſhouts which the *Britains* conſtantly ſet up, the moment they were going to engage, ſerved, in ſome inſtances, to anſwer the ſame purpoſe of terror. It was to animate one another, or to ſhew their own intrepidity, that they advanced towards the enemy, dancing, like the *Curetes* of old, and ſinging the valiant deeds of their anceſtors. They charged with an [2] impetuoſity that was ſcarce to be reſiſted; but if the enemy baffled them in their firſt onſet, they were ſoon put into confuſion, and could not recover themſelves from their diſorder; an effect of the want of diſcipline, not of courage. For they were undoubtedly fearleſs, perhaps fond of dangers, and deſpiſed death ſo much, as often to fight naked; the *Gauls* doing that out of a bravado, which the *Britains* were forced to ſubmit to out of neceſſity.

The *Gauls*, eſpecially their cavalry and chieftains, affected a magnificence in their [3] arms. They had coats of mail ſtudded with nails, hooks, and rings, or plated with iron, and helmets of braſs, adorned with plumes of feathers and ſculptures of various kinds of birds and animals, frequently gilded: Though ſometimes, inſtead of pompous, they made uſe of frightful appendages, ſuch as the real horns of beaſts ſtanding prominent from their head-pieces, and figures repreſenting the grinning or open-jaws of lions and tygers, and other furious creatures. The ſhields of their foot were very [4] long, ſerving almoſt to cover their whole body; thoſe of the horſe were not ſo large or heavy, and generally decorated with carved or painted repreſentations of ſome actions, ſpecimens, or ſymbols of valour. Their ſwords were broad and long [5], but without points, ſo that they were of little uſe in a cloſe engagement; yet to ſerve them in ſuch caſes, they always had another which was ſhorter: Beſides darts and javelins, they had likewiſe battle axes cutting both ways, and in faſhion like an halbert.

The *Britains* were not ſo well provided either with offenſive or defenſive weapons; they had indeed the broad [6] ſword without a point, as well as the ſhorter dagger, and ſuch javelins and arrows as they uſed in their hunting; but the common people were ill provided in this reſpect, their darts being generally ſticks of wood, burnt and ſharpened at both ends, and a long ſtaff [7] edged towards the end with flint, or headed with a piece of copper, from four to five inches long, and half as much broad, which they uſed inſtead of halberts; theſe were their offenſive weapons. A light round target, either made of wood, or generally of twigs interwoven together, covered with ſkins or leather, and ſtudded with nails, was all they uſed for their defence; having neither coats of mail, nor helmets, as *Tacitus* [8] aſſures us, in his account of the battle with *Caractacus*; where we ſee, likewiſe, that the *Britains* obſerved the *Gallic* cuſtom of fighting in companies of each particular clan or nation by themſelves, unmixed with any other.

In arts, wealth, and plenty of all things, the uſual conſequences of commerce, and a civilized manner of living, the *Gauls* had much the advantage of the *Britains*. All the trade of this iſland was carried on by the *Belgæ*, ſeated in the maritime provinces over-againſt *Gaule*, or by foreign merchants, who never came further within it, than thoſe ſouthern countries. The chief native commodities of the country were *tin*, with which *Cornwall* and *Devon*; and *cattle*, with which all parts of *Britain* abounded; beſides [9] lead, iron, corn, hides, ivory bridles, col-

[1] *Diod.* l. v. [2] L. vi. *& paſſim.* [3] *Diod.* l. v.—*Plutarch in Mario. Varro de lingua Latin.* l. iv. [4] *Virg. Æneid* viii.—*Polyb.* l. iii.—*Liv* l. xxxviii. [5] *A Gell.* l. ix. c. 11.—*Polyb.* l. iii.—*Liv.* l. xxii.—*Dio.* l. xxxviii. [6] *Tacit vit. Agric.* [7] *Nennius & Mona Antiqua*, p. 89. where there is a deſcription thereof, and in Mr. *Bagford's* letter before *Leland's collectanea*, vol. i. [8] *Tacit Annal.* l. xii. n. 35. [9] *Strabo*, l. iv.

lars, amber, and glaſs-veſſels, baſkets, with other ſmall wares, and dogs of various kinds, for fighting as well as hunting. *Solinus* adds the jet ſtone, and *Mela*, gems and pearls; which though not of ſo clear and bright a colour as thoſe of the *Eaſt-Indies*, ſerved to adorn a corſlet, which *Julius Cæſar* [1] preſented to the temple of *Venus*, as an offering to the deity, from whom he was willing to derive his deſcent. Theſe were exported to the mouths of the *Rhine*, the *Seine*, the *Loire*, and the *Garonne*; whence, in return, were brought ſalt, brazen work, and earthern wares; trade being then carried on by the exchange of commodities, rather than money, of which the *Britains* had very little, uſing, inſtead of it, to take braſs and iron by weight, till the *Romans*, making them tributary, introduced the art of coining. They had no ſhips of burden fit for trade, and carrying merchandize, but only [2] ſmall barks made of ſlight planks and oſier, covered with hides and leather; till the *Roman* conqueſt brought them to a more ſocial way of living, than than they had known before, and ſhewed them the advantages of commerce.

BEFORE that time, the greateſt part of *Britain* lay uncultivated, covered with woods full of marſhes undrained, and heaths over-run with ling and buſhes; the *Old Britains* not underſtanding huſbandry, and finding land enough to feed their cattle, which were all their ſubſtance, without being under any neceſſity of making improvements. The *Belgic* colonies, when they came over hither, firſt began to till the ground, to build houſes ſubſtantial enough to laſt for a conſiderable time, as well as contiguous to each other, and to live together in towns and villages; ſetting the others an example which they did not care to follow. The *Britains* ſtill went on in their old way, living diſperſed; the Gentlemen in the high grounds and woods, where they firſt fixed their manſions; and the common people in the lower ſituations, that afforded paſture for their cattle, which they drove from place to place, according to the ſeaſon of the year, and the nature of the ſoil, keeping them in the marſhy and wet countries in the ſummer, and removing to ſuch as lay high, and were dryer during the winter. Thus *Weſtmoreland* and *Somerſetſhire*, being moiſt and moraſſy countries, ſerved the *Brigantes* and *Dumnonii* for the ſummer paſtures, as *Cumberland* and *Cornwall*, having a dryer ſoil, did for their winter: And Mr. *Baxter* [3] aſſigns the like to the other conſiderable nations that inhabited this iſland, and who took the ſame method; which was in thoſe days common enough in the world, and practiſed even by the *Romans* [4] in *Calabria* and *Lucania*.

THIS keeping of cattle, whoſe milk was the principal part of their ſuſtenance, was the ſole employment of all the common people among the *Britains*, except ſuch as were retainers to the Gentlemen, and lived upon their demeſnes: Thus they led a life not unlike that of the ancient *Nomades*; and being obliged to frequent removes, they lived either like them under tents, which might eaſily be carried from one place to another, or elſe erected little cabbins of the branches of trees, daubed over with mud to cover them, for the time they ſtayed in any quarter of a country. Hence it came, that though numbers of them might be thus employed in the ſame quarter; they had no cities or towns, except ſuch tranſitory ones as are deſcribed by *Strabo* [5], who ſays that "woods ſerved them inſtead of "cities; for cutting down a number of trees, they incloſe a circle, and put up huts "in it for themſelves, and ſtalls for their cattle to ſerve them for a little time." Theſe cabbins were only for a preſent ſhelter, whilſt their cattle fed in a certain place, and not deſigned for a continual abode; there not being in ſuch an unſettled manner of life, any encouragement to build houſes proper for a fixed habitation. Nor is this uncomfortable way of living, to be imputed ſo much to an

[1] *Solin.* c. 53. [2] *Plin.* l. iv. [3] *In Gloſſ. Antiq. Britan.* [4] *Juſtin.* l. viii. c. 5. [5] L. iv.

habit of idleneſs, which they might have contracted, as to an unavoidable neceſſity, reſulting from the ſituation of things at that time in their part of this iſland. For divided as it was into an infinite number of ſmall territories and petty principalities, and utterly deſtitute of all knowledge; though the common people were all free to employ themſelves in what manner they pleaſed, (the very ſervants of the gentry being *ingenui)* ingenious in their nature, frugal by long habit, and might have been induſtrious on occaſion, it was ſtill impracticable for them to apply themſelves to any other buſineſs before the *Romans* came over.

XIV. It hath been already obſerved, that the form of government in *Britain*, was much like that in *Gaule*; where of the three orders of men, that compoſed the ſeveral ſtates in it, the *Plebeians* had no manner of power, nor were admitted to any of the councils for ordering public affairs; the government reſting entirely in the hands of the nobility and gentry of each ſtate. Of their clans or tribes.

Plutarch and *Appian* ſay, there were in *Gaule* four hundred different *gentes* or nations, the ſmalleſt containing 50,000, the largeſt 200,000 men; but notwithſtanding their numbers, they ſeem to be only ſo many tribes of people, like thoſe into which all the northern nations of *Europe* and *Aſia* were diſtributed. Of the ſame nature were the *Clans* of *Scotland*, and the *Septs* of *Ireland*; who planting and inhabiting conſiderable tracts of ground, the ſeveral territories thus poſſeſſed by them, and held under one chieftain, came, from the names of their reſpective ſuperiors, to be called, in the firſt of thoſe kingdoms, the countries of *Clan-Chattan*, *Clan-Donald*, and in the latter, the countries of *O Neal*, *O Farrel*, *O Connor*, *&c.* There were alſo in *Wales* the like denominations of territories[1]. There are many particulars relating to the *Celtic* nations, which the ancient authors, who have wrote of them, do not ſufficiently explain; and in ſuch caſes, the beſt light we can have, muſt be taken from the ſtate and conſtitution of things as they appeared among ſuch of the *Celtic* colonies, as were never ſubdued by the *Roman* arms, and remained ſeveral ages after their times unmixed with any other people; which was the caſe of *Ireland*, and the north of *Scotland*. There will be ſtill leſs room to doubt of ſuch accounts, as are thus drawn from countries that underwent no alteration in their conſtitution, if they appear to be both agreeable to the reaſon of things, and conſiſtent with the authentic relations of thoſe ancient writers. It is very reaſonable to think, that when *colonies* (from a corruption of which word that of *Clan* is derived) paſſed into any country to people it, they ſettled in diſtinct tribes and families. This is a matter of fact warranted by the *Moſaic* account of the plantation of the world, and is agreeable to the uniform relations of the moſt ancient *Heathen* writers. Nor is it leſs reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that upon each tribe or family's ſettling in a certain territory, the head of it, keeping what he ſaw fit for himſelf, allotted to the ſeveral branches diſtinct portions and dividends of land, which they were to cultivate and improve, and which thereby became their property, with ſome dependance however, or ſubordination to the *chief* of the family, who was naturally the judge to determine all diſputes that might ariſe between the ſeveral proprietors. Such deciſions multiplying as new caſes aroſe, and ſerving for precedents to others, formed, in time, a body of common or cuſtomary law peculiar to each tribe; for before laws come to be fixed and eſtabliſhed, different deciſions are an unavoidable conſequence of different judges, proceeding purely by the light of their own reaſon, and without the direction of any preſident; and families growing daily more numerous, thoſe that were governed by different laws and uſages, were conſidered as ſo many diſtinct nations called by

[1] *Mona Antiqua, Sect.* v. and x.

the *Greeks* ἔθνη, by the *Romans gentes*[1] or *civitates*. Such were the many *gentes* or nations in the army of the *Ordovices*, under the command of *Caractacus*[2], the leaders whereof went about their ſeveral *corps*, haranguing and encouraging their men; who, to ſhew their reſolution, *bound themſelves every one by oath, according to the religion of their country*, i. e. taking it with the rites and ceremonies uſed among their reſpective tribes in ſwearing.

Such probably were the nations of *Gaule*, which the above-named authors make to be no fewer than four hundred: But as theſe *Clans*, when the country grew too much crouded with numbers, and every one was tempted to encroach on his neighbour's territory, were too weak to defend themſelves alone; they formed ſeveral unions with one another, under certain regulations. Such aggregate bodies, united under the ſame government by a *ſenate* or common council compoſed out of them all, were by the *Romans* termed *civitates* and *nationes*; and of theſe there were ſixty-four, as appears by the inſcription upon the altar at *Lyon*, dedicated in the name of all the nations of *Gaule* to the honour of *Auguſtus*. Notwithſtanding this union, the heads of the *Clans* ſtill kept up their ancient power and authority within their ſeveral diſtricts: And laboured continually to extend their influence, by increaſing the numbers of their *clients* or dependants, and by making alliances with other chieftains, that had the like authority in their countries. The *gentry* or *nobleſſes*, called by *Cæſar equites*, (becauſe out of them, each attended by two ſervants on horſeback, like the men of arms in latter times, was compoſed the *Gallic* cavalry, ſo much eſteemed by the *Romans*) were indeed capable of being choſen into theſe ſenates, as we learn accidentally from a paſſage in *Cæſar*[3], and were called alſo to ſome extraordinary councils or parliaments of the whole united community, when matters of the greateſt conſequence which affected all in common, were to be taken into conſideration; particularly in the caſe of war and peace, and of ſubſidies, where a general contribution was neceſſary, agreeable to the well-known method among the *Germans*; *de minoribus rebus principes conſultant, de majoribus omnes*. But the chief ſway in all theſe aſſemblies lay in the hands of the heads of *Clans*, thoſe little potentates in their ſeveral territories; for theſe I take to be what *Cæſar* and *Tacitus* call *principes* among the *Gauls* and *Germans*: And for this reaſon *Strabo*[4] ſays, that moſt of theſe united people of *Gaule* were governed by *Optimates*, by the chief of their nobility. All honourable embaſſies, and the chief dignities of the ſtate were reſerved to theſe princes; ſo that it required an extraordinary degree of merit, and the intervention of *Cæſar's* authority[5] with the *Ædui*, to raiſe up *Viridomarus*, one of the lower gentry, to the poſt of a magiſtrate: And it is plain from the hiſtory of his wars in *Gaule*, that all the general councils of that country, held at different times and places, whether in his preſence or abſence, were compoſed only of theſe princes, except the armed council convened upon the inſtances of *Induciomarus*. Of this laſt it is obſerved,[6] that all who were come of age, and had received their arms according to the faſhion of the country, like that of the *Germans* deſcribed by *Tacitus*, with regard to the *Comites* of the princes, (to whom the *Gallic Equites* ſeem to anſwer,) had a right to ſit with their arms in their hands: but all the reſt were extraordinary councils, convened not at the ſeat of the arch *Druid* near *Dreux*, where the ordinary annual general council was held, but at other places; and ſummoned upon ſpecial occaſions of the greateſt importance, yet in none of them do the *Equites* ſeem to be preſent.

[1] *Cicer. de Div.* l. i. *init. Gens in natione, quæ univerſalis.* [2] *Tacit. An.* xii. n. 34, 37.

[3] *De Bello Civili*, l. i. where ſpeaking of the horſe that came from *Gaule* to his aſſiſtance at *Lerida*, he ſays, that, among them, *erant complures honeſti adoleſcentes*, ſenatorum filii & equeſtris ordinis, *erant legationes civitatum, erant legati.*

[4] L. iv. [5] *De Bello Gallic.* l. vii.

[6] *Ib.* l. vi.

THERE was one terrible inconvenience attended this kind of conſtitution; it was ſubject to eternal factions, to factions (as *Cæſar* ſays) not only in every ſtate or united community, in every country, quarter, or territory, but almoſt in every houſe and family. This laſt particular of the factions that reigned ſo generally in families, is not eaſy to be accounted for, but by ſuppoſing that the cuſtom of *Gavelkind* prevailed as much among the *Gauls*, as it did among the *Old Britains*; and that whilſt the rights of the chieftain remained, with the capital manſion, to the eldeſt ſon, the reſt of the lands were equally ſhared between him and the other children, and conſequently the intereſt of the family divided. What favours this conjecture, is, that though *Cæſar* had few occaſions to mention brothers, yet when he does, as in the caſes of *Cotys* and *Vedeliacus*, *Eporedrix* and *Litavicus*, *Divitiacus* and *Dunmorix*, they ſtill ſeem to be equal in point of power and fortune. The reſt of *Cæſar's* obſervation is verified by the whole tenour of his hiſtory; where we read continually of cabals and factions, not only of the princes to engroſs the power of the ſeveral ſtates in which they had an intereſt, but of thoſe ſtates uſing all their arts to gain over others to their party, and contending to get the ſovereignty of *Gaule* into their hands, and to have the direction of all the general councils: A point which had been conteſted for many ages, firſt by the *Averni* and *Ædui*, and afterwards by the *Sequani* and *Rhemi*.

THEY ſeem to have taken the moſt care in guarding againſt any body's uſurping the royalty, by providing (as hath been obſerved) that two perſons of the ſame family ſhould not, whilſt both were living, be either created magiſtrates, or be admitted into the ſenate; and yet when this law was violated by *Vedeliacus*, they were forced to apply to *Cæſar's* authority, to put an end to the difference that aroſe upon that occaſion. But ſuch bodies are never able either to provide againſt factions among themſelves, or to prevent the miſchiefs thence ariſing; becauſe perhaps they are always governed, and their proceedings directed by a few puſhing men, who may not think it their intereſt to take effectual meaſures for ſuch a purpoſe. This proved of great advantage to *Cæſar*, who knew ſo well how to manage and keep up thoſe various factions in *Gaule*, and to make them ſubſervient to his deſigns; that it was chiefly by their aſſiſtance he reduced a potent, warlike, rich, and populous country; which, had it been united, would alſo have been invincible.

XV. IT cannot be imagined that the *Old Britains* ſhould be more united among themſelves, or in a better condition to defend their liberties. The keys of the iſland, all the ſouth parts of it next the continent, were in the hands of another people, whom, out of good nature, they had received in their diſtreſs; and who having got footing among them under the character of refugees, made war afterwards upon them as enemies. They had indeed their ſupreme councils like their neighbours; and as thoſe of *Gaule* met annually near *Dreux*, ſo the *Britiſh* aſſembled as conſtantly at the *Bryn-gwyn* [1], or ſupreme tribunal, ſtill remaining near the chief *Druid's* ſeat in *Angleſey*. Religious places were generally choſen for ſuch aſſemblies, and it is the more reaſonable to preſume this was the place of their meeting; becauſe the *Britiſh* poets from the age of *Talieſſin*, down to the fifteenth century, make uſe of the words *Gorſedd-y Bryn-guyn*, i. e. *the aſſembly of the royal* or *ſupreme tribunal*, to ſignify, the *parliament houſe*, or place of their aſſembly. It was an inſtitution that ſerved well enough to preſerve an harmony between different nations, that knew nothing either of money or luxury, and led a frugal, ſimple, quiet life, without thinking of the reſt of the world, with whom they

State of *Britain* when *Cæſar* invaded it.

[1] *Mona Antiqua*, p. 89. *& ſeq.*

had

had no intercourſe, and conſequently were not ſo ſubject to thoſe factions, which diſtracted more opulent and ambitious people on the continent. But ſtill there was an eſſential defect in their conſtitution, ariſing from the vaſt number of petty ſovereignties and little *Clans*, under their particular *reguli* or *chieftains*; which *Strabo*, *Diodorus*, *Tacitus*, *Dio*, and others, all agree, had their ſeveral diſtricts of government all over *Britain*, and who in extraordinary emergencies, (ſuch as an invaſion from abroad, a thing ſcarce heard of before,) could not eaſily be brought together to act in concert with united forces againſt the common enemy. Many of theſe little principalities indeed had united together, probably on *Divitiacus's* attacking them, and formed a few conſiderable ſtates: Sometimes under kings, as the *Cattieuchlani* or *Cattivellauni*, the *Iceni*, and the *Brigantes*; and ſometimes without any ſingle head, but chooſing a commander or general, when on any occaſion it was found requiſite, as the *Silures* and *Ordovices*. But ſtill none of thoſe who lay remote from the danger, ſeem to have been at all affected with the fate of ſuch as were immediately attacked, or to have ſent them any aſſiſtance; except only the *Ordovices* in the behalf of their neighbours the *Silures*. Thus waiting till it came to their turn to be invaded, they expoſed themſelves to be eaſily reduced one after another, according to the juſt obſervation of *Tacitus*: *Dum ſinguli pugnant, univerſi vincuntur*.

They were likewiſe very ill ſupplied with arms, unprovided of money and warlike ſtores, ignorant of diſcipline, and without any military ſkill or experience, the neceſſary conſequence of a long courſe of peace, interrupted no where except on the borders of the *Belgic* colonies; in a country generally level and open, without any incloſure, without a ſingle town or fortification from one end of it to the other, that might ſerve for a place of rendezvous or retreat on occaſion, without any advantage of natural ſituation that might contribute to ſecure them from an enemy, but what a river offered in ſome quarters, woods in others, and mountains in the weſtern and northern extremities; and in a word, deſtitute of all means of defence, but what their native courage and love of liberty inſpired on a ſudden. In theſe circumſtances were they ſurprized with the news of an invaſion, and called upon to make head againſt all the power of *Rome* in the height of her grandeur, and perfection of her military diſcipline, againſt the wiſeſt general that ever was upon earth; and againſt an army of Veteran troops, formed by him to be all in their ſtations, as much heroes as himſelf; troops that had juſt before triumphed over prodigious armies of *Germans* and *Gauls*, the two braveſt and moſt powerful nations in *Europe*, and were a terror even to the great *Pompey*[1], and all the other *Roman* generals and forces; whoſe hearts, ever till then utter ſtrangers to fear, yet failed them, notwithſtanding their equality in point of diſcipline, and their great ſuperiority in numbers, when they were to encounter a body of men, whoſe prodigious actions and uninterrupted ſucceſs, had gained them the reputation of being irreſiſtible. Such were the manners, the religion, the government, and the condition of the ancient inhabitants of *Great Britain*, when *Julius Cæſar* undertook the conqueſt of this iſland.

[1] *De Bell. Civil.* l. iii.

A GENE-

A GENERAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK II.

Containing the History of ENGLAND from the Invasion of *Julius Cæsar*, till the *Romans* quitted BRITAIN.

I. BRITAIN was yet scarce known, so much as by name, to the *Romans*; though they had carried their arms over the greatest part of the habitable world; and had reduced the finest provinces in the three known parts of the continent under their obedience. Their view in making these conquests, was not more to extend their empire and increase their revenues, than it was to raise their military glory; the great object to which all their measures were directed; and which seems to have been the reigning passion, as well of the state itself, as of the generals that commanded, and of the soldiers that served in their armies. They were formed for war, like the *Lacedæmonians*, by the very constitution of their republic: But though a passion so adapted to the nature, the maxims, and the politics of the state, and so proper to advance its grandeur, may well enough be deemed a branch of that public spirit, without which no country can be great or happy; yet the noblest passions, when they grow boundless, become romantic, and produce effects, infinitely mischievous to the public, and that sometimes make even heroes appear ridiculous. *Rome*, labouring under the weight of her own grandeur, and corrupted by the wealth of her conquered provinces, could not yet be satisfied without extending her conquests to the ocean. She had indeed carried them thither on the side of *Mauritania*, and the south west of *Spain*; but still the provinces that lay more northward on the western ocean, tempted the ambition of a people, who thought their glory could not be compleat without making it on that side, the only boundary of their empire.

Cæsar's first expedition into *Britain*.

The ancients had no notion of any new undiſcovered countries lying beyond the waters of the ocean; which they ſuppoſed encompaſſed the earth on all ſides, and was itſelf impaſſable: But to ſtop ſhort in their conqueſts, before they reached that boundary, which nature had ſet to the world, was not either conſiſtent with the glory of their heroes, or ſufficient to ſatisfy that noble emulation, which put them upon vying with one another, in the greatneſs of their enterprizes, and extent of their conqueſts. *Alexander the Great*, when he had pierced farther into the *Eaſt*, than either *Bacchus* or *Hercules* had done, and had ſubdued all before him to the *Ganges*, ſtill languiſhed for a ſight of the [1] ocean; as what was yet wanting to make his name immortal: Nor could the mutiny of his ſoldiers, the dangers of an unknown navigation, without any pilot to direct his courſe; or the great loſs of ſhips and men, which, through the violence of the tide and their inexperience of its nature and times of flowing, he actually ſuſtained, before his fleet entered the *Indian* ocean, divert him from perſiſting in his purpoſe, of gratifying that vain and unprofitable curioſity. The great [2] *Pompey*, having received the ſubmiſſion of *Tigranes* king of *Armenia*, and, by the reduction of *Iberia* and *Albania*, extended the *Roman* dominions to the *Caſpian* ſea, declined purſuing *Mithridates* in his kingdom of the *Boſphorus* on the *Palus Mæotis*; where he had levied a numerous body of forces in order to penetrate through *Pannonia* into *Italy*: And contrary to the opinion of all the experienced officers in his army, leaving that dangerous enemy to recover new ſtrength after his defeat, marched back with his forces into the *Leſſer Aſia*, in order to reduce *Syria*, *Judæa*, and *Arabia*; for no other reaſon, but that it might be ſaid, he had carried the *Roman* armies, as far as the *Red Sea*, a branch of the vaſt ocean, which ſurrounds the globe.

These two examples, the one of a prince, whoſe heroic actions ſeem firſt to have awakened his admirable genius, and to have fired his mind with a generous emulation; the other of his rival in power, could not fail of putting *Cæſar*, who was inferior to neither in military ſkill and thirſt of glory, upon ſignalizing himſelf in the ſame manner, that his fame might not in any reſpect be inferior to that of the others. Thus when he was [3] prætor, *Spaine* being aſſigned him for his province, he ſubdued *Luſitania* and *Gallicia*; and when he was afterwards conſul, the government of *Gaule* being given him for a term of years, he had, by a ſeries of amazing victories, reduced not only the inland parts, but all the maritime provinces of that country from the *Pyrenees* to the *Rhine*; adding hereby a tract of coaſt for above a thouſand miles in length, to the *Roman* empire, and providing for the ſecurity of his conqueſts, by bounding them all the way with the *weſtern ocean*. Theſe were ſolid acquiſitions, much more glorious for the conqueror, than *Alexander's* viſit to the *Indian Ocean*, or *Pompey's* march to the *Red Sea*, in which through the ready, but temporary, ſubmiſſion of the king of *Arabia Petræa*, he met with no oppoſition. Yet *Cæſar* not ſatisfied herewith, and as well to raiſe his glory to a point that would admit of no competition, as to ſtrike the people of *Rome* with an enterprize too daring in appearance for any of them to conceive as feiſable, and deemed the more dangerous, becauſe the country was utterly unknown; reſolved to give laws to the ocean itſelf, (for ſo the croſſing it with a fleet was in thoſe days interpreted,) and to ſpread the terror of the *Roman* arms into *another world*; a term frequently applied to *Britain*.

He did not want pretences for this purpoſe: ſuch as would at leaſt excuſe his conduct to the ſtate; if the ſucceſs did not anſwer his expectation, and juſtify his

[1] *Q. Curt.* l. ix. c. 4. & 9. [2] *Plutarch in vit. Pompeii.* [3] *Plutarch in Cæſare.*

attempt.

attempt. It was an eſtabliſhed maxim in the politics of the *Romans*, to treat all *Auxiliaries* in war as principals, and to allow nobody to aſſiſt their enemies with an impunity. They looked upon ſuch aſſiſtance as an actual declaration of war, which rendered all the forms of denouncing it on their part, about which they were in other caſes ſo very ſcrupulous, unneceſſary. The *Britains* had ſent ſuccours to the *Veneti*, and other *Armorican* cities in their war againſt the *Romans*; and had done the ſame in all other wars of the *Gauls*: their iſland had ſerved likewiſe for a retreat to the ringleaders of the *Belgæ*, whom they had ſpirited up into an inſurrection, and who, being routed in battle, had fled over into *Britain*. To deter others from following their example, in hopes of a like eſcape, from the puniſhments that would otherwiſe be inflicted upon them, and to provide for the future quiet of *Gaule*; *Cæſar* probably thought it neceſſary to deprive them of ſuch a place of refuge. Theſe were reaſons of ſtate, plauſible enough to warrant his invaſion of this iſland, without applying to *Rome* for leave: And he ſeized the occaſion ſo very readily, that it may reaſonably be concluded, he had ſome other motive for the enterprize; and that it was his paſſion for glory, too ſtrong and violent to brook any delay, which made him ſo eager to undertake it, in a juncture, when the affairs of *Gaule*, ſeemed to render his preſence there abſolutely neceſſary.

That country had not yet been accuſtomed to the *Roman* yoke; and though it remained in a full enjoyment of its laws and conſtitution, yet the very thoughts of dependance on another ſtate, ſat uneaſy on a people, that had ever been fond of their liberty, and impatient of any ſubjection. There had been, the year before, a general revolt of all the maritime provinces, from the mouth of the *Rhine* to the furtheſt parts of *Aquitaine*[1]; and all the other nations of *Gaule* were diſpoſed to join in it, if *Cæſar* had not, with an activity and expedition in which he had no ſuperior, ſuppreſſed it in a great degree, almoſt as ſoon as it broke out, and before the others had time to concert meaſures for putting their deſigns in execution. But the *Morini* and *Menapii* ſtill held out: And[2] during the precedent winter, a body of four hundred thouſand *Uſipetes* and *Tenchteri*, two *German* nations, had made their way over the *Rhine*, and were invited by the cities of *Gaule* to advance further into the country, in order to favour the general inſurrection which they meditated. *Cæſar* indeed, ſurprizing this mighty army, when moſt of their cavalry was abſent on an expedition, had cut it all in pieces: And to improve the terror, which ſuch a victory ſtruck into all the nations of *Germany*, particularly the *Suevi*, who had the reputation of being too powerful for the immortal gods to reſiſt, and were exceeding troubleſome to all their neighbours, built a bridge, a thing unheard of before, croſs the *Rhine*; and falling upon their territories, burnt and deſtroyed all before him, without finding any where the leaſt oppoſition. In this manner he ſpent the greateſt part of the ſummer: And having done enough, as he imagined, to keep the *Gauls* from riſing, and the *Germans* from ſending them ſuccours; at leaſt for a time, till they recovered from the terror which poſſeſſed them at preſent; he returned, at the latter end of it, into *Gaule*, reſolved upon his expedition to *Britain*.

Winters beginning early in theſe northern parts of the world, he could not but think the ſeaſon too far advanced for ſuch an enterprize[3], and very improper for making a new campaign: But he ſtill conceived it would be of great uſe to him, were he only to viſit the iſland, and diſcover the genius and condition of the inhabitants, the nature of the country, the ſituation of places, and the conveniency of its ports for landing; to all which the *Gauls*, were generally ſtrangers; no body caring to venture thither but merchants, nor they any further than the

[1] *Cæſ.* l. iii. [2] *Ib.* l. iv. *init.* [3] *Ib.* l. iv.

maritime

maritime countries over againſt *Gaule*, with which they held a commerce. To inform himſelf in theſe and other particulars, he ſent for merchants from all quarters, of whom he enquired after the largeneſs of the iſland, the number, ſtrength, cuſtoms, manner, and conſtitution of the various nations that peopled it; their arms, diſcipline, and methods of making war, and the fitteſt harbours to receive a multitude of larger veſſels: But could get no intelligence from them of any kind, not even as to the ports, which they muſt neceſſarily frequent, on account of their traffic. Not to be entirely in the dark as to theſe points, before he made his deſcent, he diſpatched *C. Voluſenus*, in a light galley, to make what diſcoveries he could upon the coaſt, with orders to return as ſoon as poſſible: And then advanced with his forces into the country of the *Morini*; where the paſſage to *Britain* being ſhorter, than from any other part of the continent, he had appointed the fleet to rendezvous, which was to ſerve him in his expedition.

Whilst he was there, waiting for the arrival of his tranſports, he met with ſome things, that ſeemed favourable to his enterprize; though *Voluſenus*, not daring to land and truſt himſelf to the inhabitants, had returned to him, with only ſuch obſervations, as he had been able to make by a view of the land, the creeks, and havens, from his ſhip, in the five days that he had ſpent in coaſting along the ſhore of *Britain*. The merchants, ſo reſerved to *Cæſar*, had given early intelligence of his deſign to their correſpondents among the *Belgic colonies* ſettled in that iſland; which had cauſed a general alarm: So that ſeveral of thoſe ſtates, to prevent the execution of it, by gaining time, till the winter came on; or to be better prepared than they were for an oppoſition, ſent embaſſadors to him, with offers of ſubmiſſion to the *Roman* empire, and of hoſtages to enſure the performance of their promiſes; offers, which could not fail of being well received by the *Roman* general, and of drawing from him ſuitable aſſurances in return. *Cæſar* diſmiſſed the deputies, after recommending to them to perſevere in the ſame ſentiments: And ſent along with them *Comius*, whom he had made king of the *Atrebates* in *Gaule*; with inſtructions to go to as many *Belgic* ſtates in *Britain* as he could, to perſuade them to a ſubmiſſion, and acquaint them with his reſolution of coming thither immediately. He had a good opinion of the fidelity of a man, whom he had ſo particularly obliged; and had tried his valour, capacity, and conduct on ſeveral occaſions: He judged him on theſe accounts, worthy of his confidence, and fitter than any other to be charged with ſuch a commiſſion; becauſe of the great credit he had among his countrymen in *Britain*.

There happened at the ſame time another incident, which was full as ſeaſonable, and ſerved to leſſen his apprehenſions of a diſturbance in *Gaule* during his abſence. A great part of the *Morini*, whom it was too late to attack in their mooriſh and woody country, and yet was dangerous to leave behind in a ſtate of enmity, being terrified to ſee him with an army in their neighbourhood, ſent deputies to him, with excuſes for their paſt conduct, and profeſſions of a ready obedience to all his commands. He demanded of them a great number of hoſtages; which being accordingly delivered, he received their ſubmiſſion: And having got together about eight hundred merchant ſhips, ſufficient to tranſport the foot of two legions, he embarked them immediately; aſſigning the few galleys he had for carrying over their officers. There were eighteen other tranſports which could not make the place of the general embarkation, being detained, in another port, eight miles off, by contrary winds: Theſe *Cæſar* diſtributed to his cavalry; and having left a garriſon in the port, either of *Vitſand* or *Boulogne*, to ſecure it till his return, and ordered the reſt of his forces to march againſt the *Menapii*, and into thoſe quarters of

of the *Morini*, which had not ſubmitted, proceeded with the firſt fair wind on his expedition to *Britain*.

He ſailed from the coaſt of *Gaule* about midnight, and [1] on *Auguſt* 26. *A. U. C.* 699. (when *Pompey* and *Craſſus* were conſuls,) or the 55th year before the Chriſtian *Æra*, about ten in the morning, arrived with the van of his fleet off the *Britiſh* coaſt, in a place where the ſea was pent in by ſteep hills; which ariſing high above the water, lay yet ſo near it, that darts might be eaſily flung from thence upon the ſhore, and were all covered with the forces of the enemy. *A. U. C.* 699.

Cæsar ſaw plainly this was no proper place for landing: And reſolving to wait at anchor, till the reſt of his ſhips came up, called in the mean time a council of war; in which he acquainted his officers with what he had learned from *Voluſenus*, and gave them directions about the manner, wherein they were to make their deſcent; particularly with regard to the ſurf of the ſea, whoſe motion was quicker, and more uneven, than what they had been uſed to in the *Mediterranean*. About three in the afternoon, having the wind and tide with him, he weighed anchor: And ſailing about eight miles further, anchored again in an open and plain ſhore; where the *Britains*, gueſſing at his deſign, were ready with their horſe and armed chariots, followed by their infantry, to oppoſe his landing. The *Romans* had very great difficulties to encounter in making their deſcent; their ſhips were ſo big, that they could not ride but in a deep ſea; the ſoldiers knowing nothing of the ſhore, and encumbered with the weight of their arms, were at once to leap down from their ſhips, to fix their footing in the waves, and to fight with the enemy; whilſt the light armed *Britains*, either ſtanding on dry ground, or advancing a little way into the water, in places with which they were well-acquainted, plied them vigorouſly with their darts, and ruſhed upon them with horſes uſed to that kind of ſervice. *Cæſar* obſerving, that his men, daunted at a manner of fighting, to which they were utter ſtrangers, did not advance with the ſame alacrity and eagerneſs, as they uſed to do in land engagements, ordered his galleys, which had been hitherto intermixed with the ſhips of burthen, though much more eaſy to be managed and quicker in their motion, to draw out from among them, to row forward, to plant themſelves on the ſide, where the enemy lay open and expoſed; and from thence with their ſlings, arrows, and engines, to drive them to a greater diſtance. This had its effect; for the *Britains*, having never ſeen any veſſels of that kind before, were ſtrangely amazed at the ſhape of galleys, the motion of the oars, and the unuſual ſort of engines, that annoyed them: And ſtanding ſtill at firſt out of ſurprize, began preſently to give back a little, to avoid the wounds which they could not return. The *Romans* ſtill heſitated, chiefly on account of the deepneſs of the ſea; when the ſtandard-bearer of the tenth legion, having prayed to the Gods for the ſucceſs of his attempt, and called aloud to the ſoldiers to follow him, unleſs they would betray their eagle to the enemy, threw himſelf into the ſea, and advanced forward with the ſtandard. The *Romans* thereupon, encouraging one another not to ſuffer ſuch a diſgrace, jumped all of them after him out of the ſhip: and their example being followed by thoſe in the other veſſels, as ſoon as they reſpectively obſerved the action, they preſently cloſed with the enemy, and a bloody combat enſued; which was maintained on both ſides with great obſtinacy. Whatever zeal the *Romans* ſhewed, in thus expreſſing their duty to the commonwealth, and the regard they had for their general's honour, it could not be done without a good deal of confuſion; the men, as they got out of their ſhips, running to the next colours that appeared, ſo that not being ranged under their proper enſigns, nor able

[1] See Dr. *Halley's* diſcourſe about the time and place of *Julius Cæſar's* deſcent on *Britain*.

A. U. C. 699.

either to keep their ranks in the water, or ſtand firm on an ouzy bottom, they laboured under great diſadvantages, and made their attack in a ſtrange diſorder. Whereas the *Britains*, knowing all the ſhallow places, when they ſaw any getting out of their ſhips, ran immediately to aſſault them, encumbered and puzzled as they were; great numbers falling upon a few, ſome bearing them down in the water, by the force and ſhock of their horſes, whilſt others, from the ſhore, lanced their darts upon all in general.

Cæsar, ſeeing the inconveniencies ariſing from the height of his ſhips of burthen, ordered all the boats of his galleys, and the little pinnaces that ſerved for ſcouts, to be filled with ſoldiers: And ſent them to ſupport ſuch as he perceived to be overpowered. Thus reinforced the *Romans* got at laſt upon dry ground; and then their armour, which was before a meer burthen, turning to their great advantage, they formed readily into a body, which was continually ſtrengthened with freſh ſupplies: And being able to exert their admirable diſcipline, in which they were infinitely ſuperior to the enemy, charged them with ſo much fury, that they ſoon put their army to flight; though they could not purſue them far, nor improve their victory, as otherwiſe they might, for want of cavalry.

The place where this battle was fought, and the *Romans* made their deſcent, ſeems to have been in the *Downes*, near *Deale*; which agrees very well with the deſcriptions given of it, by [1] *Dio*, as well as [2] *Cæſar*. It could not be *Richborough* or *Sandwich*, as well becauſe the latter of thoſe authors could not, in his account of the place, have omitted taking notice of the river, which there empties itſelf into the ſea; as becauſe they lye too far diſtant from that part of the coaſt, under which *Cæſar* came firſt to an anchor; which is too particularly deſcribed, to allow us to think it could be any other, than that near *Dover*. It is very plain from *Dio*, and agreeable to *Cæſar*'s own relation, that he did not land at any uſually frequented port, as *Dover* and *Richborough* were, nor where he firſt intended: But coming to an anchor off the place, till he was joined by the reſt of his ſhips, which probably were directed thither, he ſailed afterwards, with the tide ſetting towards the north; and paſſing by an head land, kept along the coaſt for about eight miles, till he came to a low plain, and open ſhore; which being commanded by no hills, afforded the conveniencies he before wanted for landing. Sailing all the way cloſe by the land, a man of his knowledge, experience, and exactneſs, could not be miſtaken in the diſtance; the headland which he paſſed is undoubtedly the *South foreland*; the cliffs, running from thence towards *Deale*, anſwer ſo exactly to the deſcription of thoſe which were covered with the *Britiſh* forces, that there is no room to diſpute, but they were the ſame. In a word, all the circumſtances, which we know with any certainty, conſpire to aſſure us that the *Downes* were the place, where *Cæſar* made his deſcent. It is in a manner needleſs to take notice, that this is agreeable to the ancient tradition as well of the *Britains*, who thought *Deale*, or (as [3] *Nennius* ſpells it) *Dole*, to be the place of this battle; as of the *Saxons*, who fixed it at the ſame place, according to an old table, ſet up in *Dover Caſtle*, mentioned by [4] *Camden*; and that this learned antiquary, there alſo obſerved the banks of the naval camp, which *Cæſar* made to ſecure his ſhips, equally againſt the violence of ſtorms, and the attacks of the *Britains*.

The *Britains*, diſcouraged by the loſs of a battle, in which they had engaged with greater advantages on their ſide, than they could ever expect in any other

[1] Lib. xxxix. [2] *De Bell. Gall.* l. iv. [3] *Hiſt. Brit.* c. 14. [4] *Britannia in Kent.* [5] *Dion.* l. xxxix.

ſituation;

ſituation; and terrified by the fame of the wonderful exploits performed in *Gaule* by the ever victorious *Cæſar*; as ſoon as they got together after their flight, ſent embaſſadors not of their own people, but of their friends the *Morini*, to treat of peace; offering to ſubmit to his orders, and to give what hoſtages he ſhould demand, for an aſſurance of their fidelity. They brought with them *Comius* king of the *Atrebates*; who had come over under the character of a friend, with a train of thirty horſe, to prepare the way for *Cæſar*: But had been ſeized at his landing, and detained in cuſtody; till now finding that ſubmiſſion neceſſary, which he had recommended to them by his advice, the *Britains* ſet him at liberty to get better terms for themſelves by his mediation. *Cæſar* complaining of their inconſtancy or inſincerity, in ſending of their own accord deputies over to the continent to ſue for peace, and yet making war upon him ſo ſoon after without any cauſe, aſſured them however of pardon, upon their delivering a certain number of hoſtages, as a ſecurity for their future behaviour. Part of theſe were put into his hands immediately; and the reſt promiſed in a few days, being to be fetched from remoter countries. Thus peace being concluded, the princes or chiefs of the *Belgic Britains* diſmiſſed their followers to their ſeveral homes: And aſſembling from all parts in a general council, put themſelves with their clans or countries, under *Cæſar's* protection; a reſolution which, though it appears to be taken deliberately, and in common, was yet purely the effect of their preſent conſternation, and therefore eaſily broke in an hurry, the firſt moment their fears were diſpelled. A. U. C. 699.

Four days after *Cæſar's* landing, the eighteen ſhips above mentioned, ſailing with a gentle gale from the port, where they had lain wind bound, with the cavalry on board, appeared in ſight of his camp, on the coaſt of *Britain*; when a ſudden ſtorm ariſing, blew with ſuch violence, that none of them could keep their courſe, but were driven, ſome back to the port from whence they came; others more to the weſt of the iſland, where not able to ride it out, they were forced in the midſt of terrible dangers, to put into different harbours on the continent. It happened that night to be full moon, when the tides in the ocean are higheſt; a circumſtance utterly unknown to the *Romans*: So that their galleys, which they had drawn on ſhore, were filled with the flood; at the ſame time that the tranſport veſſels, which lay at anchor off the ſhore, were ſhattered by the tempeſt; it being impoſſible to give them any aſſiſtance or relief. By this accident many of the ſhips were broke to pieces: And the reſt became unſerviceable through the loſs of their ropes, anchors, and other rigging; which could not fail of raiſing a great diſturbance and uneaſineſs in the whole army. They had no other veſſels to tranſport them back to *Gaule*, nor any ſtores for the refitting of ſuch, as were damaged: And as they all knew they were not to paſs the winter in that country, they had made no proviſion of corn for their ſubſiſtence, during that uncomfortable ſeaſon, in *Britain*.

The council of *Britiſh* princes, which had been aſſembled on occaſion of their accommodation with *Cæſar*, was not yet broke up; when advice being brought of the neceſſities and conſternation of the *Romans* upon theſe diſaſters, they conſulted together, what meaſures it was proper for them to take in this juncture. They found by their intelligence, that their enemies were deſtitute of corn, ſhips, and cavalry; and that their troops were but few in number, they concluded, from the ſmallneſs of the camp; which was narrower than ordinary, becauſe *Cæſar* had tranſported the legions without their baggage. They imagined, that if they took up arms again, they might hinder the *Romans* from foraging, prevent their receiving any ſupplies of proviſion, and draw on the war till winter came on, and brought them further advantages; and if they got the better of theſe forces, or cut off

A. U. C. 699. their retreat home, no body would dare to paſs the ſea again to make war in *Britain*. They were too much elated by the ſudden calamity befallen their enemy, which they interpreted to their own advantage, to conſider any thing but what took up their thoughts for the moment, and flattered them in the fond expectations, which their overflowing hopes had raiſed; or to reflect, that the ſea was ſtill open, and might bring ſupplies of corn and ſhipping, as well as cavalry, and other forces from *Gaule*; that a victorious army will always find proviſions for itſelf; that the *Romans* were never ſo eager for the conqueſt of any country, as of ſuch wherein they had ſuffered a diſgrace; and that they had to do with an army inured to hardſhips, and with a general, who never met with a difficulty, to which he was not ſuperior. Their fears being now over, confidence and preſumption preſided in their councils: And ſure of ſucceſs, they reſolved to break the peace. They had reſorted freely to the camp before; but now they withdrew from it by degrees: And ſummoning their followers from the country, chiefly in parts that lay remote from the camp, for the greater ſecrecy, aſſembled an army to ſurprize the *Romans* on the firſt opportunity.

Cæsar knew nothing of their reſolutions: But from the misfortune of his ſhips, and their delay in ſending the hoſtages, ſuſpecting ſomething of that kind might happen, he had taken proper meaſures to provide ſupplies againſt all events. There being ſtill ſome corn out in the fields, he cauſed every day a quantity of it to be brought into his camp; he made uſe of the braſs and other materials of the ſhips that were moſt diſabled, to refit the reſt; and ſent for other neceſſaries, that were wanting out of the continent: The ſoldiers worked with unwearied diligence; and with the loſs only of twelve ſhips, the reſt of the fleet was ſoon put into aſailing condition. Whilſt this was doing, the ſeventh legion went out, as uſual, to forage without any ſuſpicion of war; the country people ſtill remaining in their houſes, and paſſing continually to and fro, between the camp and their own habitations. There was by this time only one place left in the neighbourhood, where the corn was unreaped: And the *Britains* imagining that the *Romans* would come thither to gather it, had hid themſelves in the woods adjoining; from whence, when they perceived the foragers had laid down their arms, and were buſy in reaping, they ſallied forth on a ſudden, and ſurprizing them unprepared for oppoſition, killed a few, put the reſt into diſorder, and ſurrounded them with their horſe and chariots; preventing (as they thought) by this precaution, any intelligence being ſent to the camp, or any ſuccours being brought thence to their relief. But the *Romans* were old ſoldiers: And the advanced guard, poſted before the gates of the camp, obſerving a cloud of duſt greater than ordinary, in the place to which the legion was gone, gave notice of it to their general. *Cæſar* readily imagining how the caſe ſtood, marched towards it without loſing a moment, at the head of the two cohorts that were upon guard; ordering two others to ſupply their places, and the reſt to arm and follow immediately. When he was got at ſome diſtance from the camp, he perceived, that his own men were much preſſed by the enemy, and hardly able, though ſerred together, to ſtand the ſkock; being galled on all ſides with their darts and javelins.

What contributed moſt to the diſtreſs of the *Romans*, was a way of fighting in chariots; which they had never ſeen before, and which the *Britains* uſed in the following manner. They drive at firſt up and down about the field, throwing their darts on all ſides; and by the terror of their horſes, and the rattling of the wheels of their chariots, they frequently put the enemy into diſorder. If they are able to break in among the ſquadrons of horſe, they then leap from their chariots and fight on foot; the drivers in the mean time retiring a little out of the battle, and ranging themſelves in ſuch a manner, that their maſters may readily retire

retire to them, if too hard preſſed by the multitude of the enemy. Thus they have at once the ſeveral advantages, derived from the firmneſs of a body of foot, and the quick motions of the cavalry in a battle; and by conſtant uſe and exerciſe, they are ſo expert in managing their horſes, that they ſtop or turn them ſhort when they are galloping down the ſteepeſt hill, run along the pole, ſtand upon the yoke of the horſes, and throw themſelves in an inſtant back again into the chariot. It was this new way of fighting, which puzzled and confounded the *Roman* ſoldiers; when *Cæſar* came very ſeaſonably to their aſſiſtance. His coming up gave freſh ſpirits to his own troops, and put the *Britains* to a ſtand; but not thinking it a proper time to charge the enemy, and hazard a battle, he contented himſelf with facing them for a while; and then led back the legions into their camp. A. U. C. 699.

The ſtormy weather, that continued for ſome days following, kept the *Romans* within their camp, and hindered the enemy from fighting. The *Britains*, in the mean time, having ſent meſſengers into all parts, to repreſent the ſmall number of the *Romans*, the great booty that was to be got, and the favourable opportunity of ſecuring their own liberty for ever, if they could force the camp, had ſooner than could be eaſily imagined, got together a great multitude of horſe and foot, and advanced to attack the *Romans* in their entrenchments.

Cæsar, though he ſaw that the enemy, if routed, would ſtill eſcape, as they had done before, by their ſwiftneſs, he having only *Comius's* thirty horſe to do execution on them in their flight, would not yet decline the battle: but drawing the legions out of his camp, charged, and ſoon broke their undiſciplined forces. The *Romans* killed a good number of them in the purſuit, and returned to their camp, after burning the houſes in the neighbourhood; which had upon the firſt breach of the peace, been quitted by the inhabitants. Before the ſun went down, the *Britains*, dreading further harms, ſent embaſſadors to treat of peace; and were ordered to deliver, on the continent, a number of hoſtages, double to what had been demanded before. For as the equinox was at hand, *Cæſar* did not think his crazy ſhips fit for a winter navigation; and the ſeaſon being then fair, he embarked his troops, and ſetting ſail after midnight, arrived ſafe with all his fleet on the coaſt of *Gaule*. Such was the iſſue of his firſt expedition into *Britain*, in which, though he only diſcovered a convenient place for landing, and might get ſome informations about the people and condition of the iſland (which ſeems indeed to have been the chief thing he had in view) without ever advancing into the country, or keeping poſſeſſion of one foot of ground: yet as people are apt to form vaſt ideas of every thing that is new, ſurprizing, and unknown, it was magnified at *Rome* [1], as an enterprize of the greateſt glory to the ſtate, by carrying their arms beyond the bounds of the world; and raiſed *Cæſar's* reputation to a greater height, than it had been carried by all his conqueſts in *Gaule*, and truly glorious victories over the *Helvetii*, *Belgæ*, and *Germans*.

His ſecond expedition thither.

II. The *Britains*, forgetting their danger as ſoon as the *Romans* were out of ſight, and flattering themſelves with hopes, that they would never return, took little care to ſend the hoſtages agreed on; two only, out of the many cities or cantons of the iſland, performing that article of the convention. *Cæſar*, who had ſet his heart on another expedition, was not ſorry for this violation of the treaty; and gave orders for building in the winter, a large number of veſſels of a new kind, and a middle ſize, between gallys, and ſhips of burthen, all to go with oars, of a particular make, lower and broader than ordinary, for the eaſier em-

[1] *Dion. l. xxxix.*

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barking and landing of his forces; adapted to all the occaſions of tranſport ſervice; and at the ſame time able to bear the violence of the waves; and contrived ſo as to ſuffer little damage by being aground. His orders were ſo well executed, that, by the following ſpring, ſix hundred new ſhips of this ſort, and twenty-eight galleys were built; which, with his former fleet now refitted, being ſufficient for the embarkation he propoſed, were directed to rendezvous at the *Portius Itius*, (now *Vitſand*,) the moſt convenient port for his paſſage, not being above thirty miles diſtant from *Britain*. Thither he came himſelf with the legions, and had ſummoned the cavalry of all *Gaule*, about four thouſand in number, with the princes of all the cities; intending to leave very few of them on the continent, and to carry the reſt along with him, as a kind of hoſtages, to prevent any diſturbance there in his abſence. He had abundant reaſon to take this precaution; knowing very well the meaſures taken among the *Treviri*, and indeed all over *Gaule*, to raiſe a general inſurrection: which was the rather to be expected, when he was at a diſtance; ſince ſome of their chiefs could not refrain from ſhewing their malevolent and refractory ſpirit, even in his preſence. After twenty-five days ſtay at the port of rendezvous, leaving *Labienus* with three legions, and two thouſand horſe, to take care of *Gaule*, and ſend him proviſions as he ſhould have occaſion; he embarked himſelf with the like number of horſe, and five legions of foot, on board a fleet of eight hundred ſhips of all ſorts; and ſetting ſail, about ſun ſet, with a gentle ſouth-weſt wind, arrived the next day at noon on that part of the coaſt of *Britain*, where he had made his former deſcent, and landed without any oppoſition.

The *Britains* did not want intelligence of his deſign, and of the great preparations he was making for a ſecond invaſion: And notwithſtanding the uncertainty, as to the time, had in order to oppoſe his landing, drawn down a body of troops to the coaſt, on which he had made his former deſcent. But obſerving, from the cliffs, the ſea covered with ſuch a prodigious number of veſſels, they thought themſelves too weak to oppoſe a body of forces, that ſeemed vaſtly ſuperior to that of the year before, and capable of making a deſcent in ſeveral places at once: and had thereupon retired higher up into the country. *Cæſar* having choſe a convenient place for his camp, and left Q. *Atrius* with ten cohorts, and three hundred horſe on the ſea coaſt to guard his fleet, which lay at anchor; advanced with the reſt of his forces about twelve miles within land, to find out the enemy: who having the advantage of a riſing ground near a river, endeavoured to oppoſe his paſſage with their chariots and cavalry. The *Roman* horſe charging them vigorouſly, they retired into the woods, to a place exceedingly well fortified by art and nature; all the avenues to it being ſhut up by a great number of large trees felled, and laid acroſs: and kept themſelves within this faſtneſs, which ſeemed to have been prepared long before for ſome ſuch purpoſe, not offering to ſtir out of the woods, unleſs in ſmall parties. In this fortification the ſeventh legion attacked them, and carrying the place with little loſs, drove them out of the woods: but it being ſo late in the day, that there was ſcarce time enough left to fortify their camp, and they knowing nothing of the nature of the country, *Cæſar* would not allow them to purſue the enemy any farther.

His deſign of doing it the next day was interrupted by advices, which he received from *Atrius*, of the great damage which his fleet had ſuffered the night before by the violence of a ſtorm, againſt which neither the ſeamen could ſtand, nor anchors and cables hold the ſhips; ſo that abundance of them were either ſtranded, or elſe ſhattered by falling foul upon one another. This account obliged him to return to his fleet, where finding, that with a great deal of pains, and the loſs of about forty of the ſhips, the reſt might be refitted; he ſet all the carpenters

of the legions to work, ſent for others from *Gaule*, and ordered *Labienus* to employ his forces in building as many new veſſels as they were able. To guard againſt the like accidents for the future, he thought it beſt to draw all his ſhips on dry ground, and encloſe them in the ſame fortification with his camp: and though it was a work of a prodigious labour, yet being carried on without any intermiſſion, even in the night time, he finiſhed it in about ten days; and leaving there the ſame garriſon he had done before, marched back to the place, from whence he had returned thither. *A. U. C.* 700.

He found at his arrival a great alteration in the face of affairs; the enemy being much ſtronger than he expected, and a very numerous body of forces aſſembled from all parts of *Britain*. In his former expedition, and hitherto in this, he had none to make head againſt him, but the *Belgic colonies* in *Britain*: But they, on the news of the vaſt armament he was making, too powerful for them alone to reſiſt, having applied to the *old natives* for aſſiſtance, it had been readily granted them, in the common cauſe of keeping out a foreign enemy, that deſigned to bring them both into ſubjection. A general council of all the ſtates in *Britain* had been called on the occaſion; and *Caſſivellaun*[1] had been choſen general, to have the command of their united forces, and the ſovereign direction of the war; with as abſolute an authority, as *Vercingentorix* enjoyed ſoon after in the ſame poſt in *Gaule*, and which he ſeems to have exerciſed full as arbitrarily. He was, perhaps, the fitteſt perſon they could have pitched upon for that command, in reſpect of his military ſkill, and experience in martial affairs; for though the ſeveral ſtates, among the original *Britains*, lived generally in peace with one another, ſuch of them as lay on the frontiers of the *Belgic* colonies, had been engaged in almoſt continual wars with them from the time of *Divitiacus's* invaſion. This had been particularly the caſe of the *Caſſi* or *Cattivellauni*, whoſe prince, called in all appearance for that reaſon *Caſſivellaun*, had probably diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the wars, with the *Trinobantes* and *Atrebates*, whoſe lands lay contiguous to theirs, the one on the eaſt, the other on the weſt; and with the other *Belgic* or (as *Cæſar* terms them) maritime *ſtates*, that were by the river *Thames*, divided from their territories. On this account he was the laſt perſon that ſhould have been entruſted with ſuch an authority; it being very reaſonable to apprehend, that as

[1] *Mr. Baxter*, *in Gloſſ. Brit. v.* Cassii, thinks it out of doubt, that the *Caſſii* and *Caſſi*, or *Cattivellauni*, were a *Belgic* people, and it is very likely that they were a colony of the *Velio-caſſes*, that dwelt about *Rouen*, adjoining to the *Caletes*, or inhabitants of the *Pais de Caux*. Thoſe parts of *Normandie*, north of the *Seine*, were full of foreſts; and the colonies thence tranſplanted (whilſt the other *Belgæ* choſe ſituations near the ſea, or on rivers affording conveniencies for commerce) ſeem to have pitched on countries, like thoſe they had left in *Gaule*, for their ſettlements. Thus the former ſettled in *Hertfordſhire*, and the parts adjacent; as the latter, under the name of *An-calites*, did in the hilly quarters of *Oxfordſhire* and *Bucks*, in the neighbourhood of *Henley*; woody countries, where they might gratify their taſte of hunting, and follow the ſame manner of life, which they had been uſed to in their original abodes. This way of living, ſo different from what the reſt of the *Belgæ* obſerved, might make them hold the leſs correſpondence with their countrymen, might diſpoſe them to a readier coalition with the *Old Britains*, whoſe manners agreed with their own, or by their living diſperſed in woods, might make them fall, after the death of *Divitiacus*, an eaſier conqueſt to the *chieftains* of the bordering *clans* of the *Brigantes*. For ſuch, undoubtly, was *Caſſi-vellaun*, (or *Caſs-wallaun*, as he is called by the ancient author of the *Triades*) and either he, or his father, being prince or chieftain of the *Old Britains*, that inhabited *Bedford* and *Northampton* ſhires, had reduced the *Caſſi-vellauni* into ſubjection, as his ſucceſſor or deſcendant *Cunobelin* did afterwards a conſiderable part of the *Dobuni*, as well as of the *Trinovantes*. His dominions being enlarged by theſe conqueſts, he came to be conſidered as a king, and ſeems to have taken his title from that conquered nation, which he had entirely reduced, being for that reaſon called *Caſſi-vellaunus*. So the late king or prince of the *Trinovantes*, is called *Immanuentius*, from [a] *Ymannos*, (*pridem*, *pridie*) and *Nuantius*, the word deſcribing him to be the *late chieftain*, or ruler of the *Nouantes*; and his ſon was probably in his father's life, (before he got poſſeſſion of his territories) deſcribed as his heir, by the name of *Mandubratius*, from *man*, (*little*) *du* (*black*) and [b] *Uraicht*, (a *chieftain*,) but ſuch a one as might hold under another, *i. e. the little black chieftain.*

[a] Dr. *Davies's Dictionary.* [b] *Camden's Britan. in Ireland*, Colgan.

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long and ſettled habits of rancour are not to be ſhaken off in a moment, he might ſtill retain ſome of that animoſity, which continual wars and mutual depredations neceſſarily occaſion; and might by ſome unhappy effect thereof, ſacrifice the intereſt of the common cauſe to his private reſentments.

Whatever reaſon the *Belgic* colonies had to dread any thing of this nature from *Caſſivellaun*, they could not, conſidering the diſtreſs they were in, and ſuing as they did for ſuccours, except to any perſon, whom the old *Britains* thought fit to entruſt with the command of the forces, which they ſent to their aſſiſtance; and which the *Belgæ*, whoſe all was at ſtake, and who lay neareſt the danger, were glad to except on any condition: but they ſoon ſaw their fears were but too well grounded; the firſt inſtance that we find mentioned of *Caſſivellaun's* exerciſe or abuſe of his new authority, being an act of revenge upon one of his neighbours, with whom he had been lately at variance. This was *Immanuentius*, king or prince of the *Trinobantes*; who being, ſince the treaty with the old *Britains*, no longer upon his guard againſt a reconciled ally, as he had been againſt an open enemy, was ſlain by him: and his ſon *Mandubratius* forced to fly for his life into *Gaule*; where he came for refuge to *Cæſar*, a little before his embarkation for *Britain*. This was enough to diſſolve the union between the ancient and the *Belgic Britains*, almoſt as ſoon as it was formed: And it muſt, by deſtroying all confidence between them, have naturally had this effect in any other juncture. But the dread the latter were in of the abſolute power conferred upon *Caſſivellaun*, by the general conſent of all the nations of the iſland; a power as terrible to them, as that of *Vercingentorix* was to the *Gauls*; the ſituation of their affairs at that time, when an invaſion was daily expected; and the impoſſibility of making head againſt the *Romans*, without the aſſiſtance of the other *Britains*, cauſed them to defer proceeding to that extremity, till a more favourable opportunity offered. Thus ſmothering their reſentments for a while, they received ſome benefit from their late alliance; *Caſſivellaun*, on advice of *Cæſar's* landing, marching to their ſuccour with a body of the *Old Britains*; and it was this acceſſion of forces, that made the *Britiſh* army much more numerous than the *Roman* general expected.

Cassivellaun, notwithſtanding his numbers, did not think it adviſeable to come to a general battle; in which the excellency of the *Roman* diſcipline gave the enemy a great advantage: but choſe rather to haraſs them in their marches, and attack them in ſmall parties. Several ſkirmiſhes happened accordingly during *Cæſar's* march; the *Britains*, from time to time, breaking on a ſudden out of their coverts, falling upon the *Romans* with their horſe and chariots, and retiring back to their woods and hills, whenever they were repulſed. This was conſtantly the caſe; the *Roman* cavalry being ſuperior in all theſe actions, and killing abundance of the *Britains*, though not without ſome loſs of their own, by purſuing them too eagerly into their faſtneſſes. Not diſcouraged by theſe repulſes, they ſallied again out of their woods, when the *Romans* leaſt expected it, and were buſy in fortifying their camps; and falling upon the guard, fought with great bravery: But *Cæſar* ſending firſt two cohorts, and afterwards a greater number to ſupport his men, who were put into ſome diſorder by the new ways of fighting in chariots; the *Britains* charged boldly through them, before their ranks, in which intervals had been left to avoid the impetuous ſhock of the chariots, were quite cloſed; and killing *Q. Laberius Durus*, a tribune of the army, retired ſafe to their coverts. It was obſerved in theſe actions, that the *Romans* ſuffered great inconveniencies from their heavy armour, which diſabled them from purſuing the enemy in their retreat, and did not allow them to ſtir in the leaſt from the ſtandard; and that their horſe were expoſed to unuſual dangers, the *Britains* frequently giving way deſignedly; and when they had drawn the horſe at a diſtance from the legions,

leaping from their chariots, and fighting on foot with great advantage; ſo that the *Roman* cavalry were equally in danger, whether they purſued or retired. To this was added another inconvenience; for the *Britains* never engaged in a large body, but only in ſmall and ſcattered parties: which had their ſeveral ſtations appointed, and came up in their turns to relieve each other: freſh men ſtill ſucceeding, and taking the place of ſuch as were fatigued. *A. U. C.* 700.

THE next day, the *Britiſh* forces appeared upon the hills, at a conſiderable diſtance from the camp; and a few of them began to ſkirmiſh with the *Roman* horſe; though with leſs vigour, than they had ſhewed the day before: But about noon, *Cæſar* having ſent *C. Trebonius* with three legions, and all the cavalry, to forage, they poured upon them from all parts, and attacked the legions at the ſame time, that they fell upon the foragers. The *Romans* repulſed them vigorouſly: and their horſe ſeeing themſelves ſupported by the legions, purſued them fiercely; not allowing them time either to rally, make a ſtand, or get out of their chariots, and cutting them down in their flight with great ſlaughter. This was a fatal blow to the *Belgic Britains*; and they found by experience on this occaſion, how little the ſuccours of a reconciled enemy are to be depended on; for all their auxiliaries quitted them upon this diſaſter: and *Caſſivellaun*, whether daunted by his ill ſucceſs, or influenced by ſome remains of his old rancour againſt them, left them to ſhift for themſelves, and retired with his army compoſed of other *Britains*, and collected out of their ſeveral ſtates, into his own territories. The old *Britains* thus deſerted, were not able to ſtand an engagement: and had no reaſonable party left, but to make the beſt accommodation they could for themſelves.

CÆSAR, reſolving to purſue *Caſſivellaun*, advanced with his army to the *Thames*, the boundary of that prince's dominions; who, in deſpair of ſucceſs in a battle, had diſmiſſed the greateſt part of his forces, but yet was determined to diſpute the paſſage of the river; which was fordable by foot only in one place, and could not be paſſed even there, without great difficulty. When *Cæſar* came thither, he found the oppoſite bank lined with a great body of the enemies troops, and fortified with paliſades; and was informed likewiſe by priſoners and deſerters, that there were ſharp ſtakes drove into the bottom of the river; though they did not appear, being covered with the water. He ordered however his horſe firſt to enter the ford, and the legions to follow; who went on with great alacrity, though they could ſcarce keep their heads above the water: and both together charged the enemy with ſo much vigour, that they quitted the bank and fled. *Caſſivellaun* ordering all the people and cattle out of the fields into the woods, kept only four thouſand chariots about him, to obſerve the marches of the *Romans*; lurking generally within the woods or inacceſſible places: but ſallying out with his chariots, when he found a party detached from the main body either for plunder or for forage, and putting them into great danger. This made *Cæſar* abſolutely forbid ſuch excurſions, and not ſuffer the horſe to quit the legions, or to waſte and burn the country, but in their company.

IN the mean time the *Trinobantes*, one of the moſt powerful ſtates in thoſe parts, ſent deputies to *Cæſar*, with tenders of ſubmiſſion, promiſes of obedience, and a requeſt, that he would ſend *Mandubratius* to govern them, and defend him againſt the violence of *Caſſivellaun:* He ſent accordingly *Mandubratius* to them; and having demanded forty hoſtages, and a quantity of corn for his army; they very readily performed both, and were, by his protection, ſecured from the plunder and injuries of the ſoldiers. Several other people of the *Belgic Britains*, ſeeing this good treatment of their neighbours, and what little confidence was to be placed

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in their allies, thought they had no better party to take; and made likewiſe their ſubmiſſion; particularly the [1] *Ceni magni*; (whoſe ſeat cannot, according to *Cæſar's* relation, be fixed any where ſo naturally as in *Surrey*) the [2] *Segontiaci* of *Hampſhire*; the *Bibroci* of *Berks*; the *Ancalites* in the hilly parts of *Oxfordſhire* and *Bucks*; and the *Caſſii* of *Hertfordſhire*. *Cæſar* being informed by the deputies of theſe people, that *Caſſivellaun's* town (ſo the *Britains* called a thick grove with a lawn in the middle of it, ſurrounded with a ditch and rampart to ſecure it from the ſudden incurſions of an enemy) was not far off, ſeated among woods and moraſſes, and filled with great numbers of men and cattle, reſolved to attack him in all his ſtrength; and marching to the place, found it very ſtrongly fortified, both by art and nature. He ſtormed it however in two places: and the *Britains* not able long to withſtand the force of the *Romans*, fled out of the place by different ways; loſing great numbers of men in the purſuit, and leaving a vaſt quantity of cattle a prey to the enemy.

Whilst the war was carrying on in theſe quarters, *Caſſivellaun* in hopes of obliging *Cæſar* to quit the country and return to take care of his navy, ſent inſtructions to *Cingetorix* and *Taximagulus*, two *Kentiſh* potentates, *Carvilius*, chief of the *Carvilii* in *Wilts*, and *Segonax*, a prince of the *Segontiaci* in *Hampſhire*, to aſſemble all their forces and ſurprize the naval camp of the *Romans*. They endeavoured to execute his orders: but as ſoon as they appeared before the camp, the gariſon, not waiting an aſſault, ſallied out and routed them without any loſs or difficulty, ſlaying many of them, and taking their chief general *Cingetorix* or *Lugotorix* [3] priſoner. *Caſſivellaun* was much affected with the news of this defeat, and ſtill more with the defection of the *Belgic Britains:* and now diſcouraged by ſuch a ſeries of loſſes, which left him without any farther reſource, to prevent the ravage of his territories, he ſent embaſſadors to *Cæſar* to treat of a ſubmiſſion, by the mediation of *Comius* of *Arras*. *Cæſar*, for fear of ſome commotions in *Gaule*, had determined to paſs the winter on the continent; and conſidering, that, as there was but little ſummer left, the war might be protracted till it was over, thought it proper to accept his ſubmiſſion, on condition of a certain annual tribute to be paid by *Britain* to the *Roman* people. *Cæſar*, having received the hoſtages he demanded for the performance, and charged *Caſſivellaun* not to offer any injury to *Mandubratius* or the *Trinovantes*, marched back with his army, and a great number of captives to the ſea ſide; where he found his ſhips refitted, but very few arrived from *Labienus*. As the equinox was near, he choſe to croud his ſoldiers cloſer together, rather than wait longer for more ſhipping: And ſetting ſail about nine at night with a fine gale, landed early the next morning in

[1] I take the *Ceni Magni*, to be the inhabitants of the ſkirts of the vaſt foreſt of *Anderida*, extending over the hills of *Surrey*, who lying neareſt to *Kent*, might for that reaſon be called the *Ceni*, or firſt of the *Magni*, (as the number of towns in that part of *Surrey*, ſtill paſſing by the names of *Kenton*, *Kennington*, *Cheane*, &c. ſeem to intimate,) and to be part of the ſame kind of people, who dwelt in the adjoining borders of *Hampſhire*, and in the ſkirts of the ſame foreſt, called *Mean-uari*, from whom the *Hundred of Mean*, the towns of *Eaſt* and *Weſt Mean*, *Meanſtock*, &c. borrow their names. Theſe living diſperſed in woods, ſeem to be denominated from their buſineſs, and the herds of goats, which they fed in that wild foreſt; *Mean* or *Mean-nan*, being in *Celtic* and *Iriſh*, a *Kid*; and *Mean-uari*, ſignifying, *Viri Caprarii*, *(Goatherds.)* The ancient town of *Ghiete-tun*, now *Gatton* in *Surrey*, ſhews, that the hills there were ſtocked with goats formerly, and the like may be preſumed from the names of the mannors of *Gates-hull* or *Goats-hill*; *Bucklan*, from *Buch*, a *he-goat*, and *Lan*, *ſeptum*, *Waverley* or *Gaverley*, from *Gaer* or *Gavar*, *capra*, and *Lle*, *locus*; *Godel-mynn* from *Codel*, *conventus*, a *drove*, and *Mynn*, *hœdus*. See *Lloyd's Compar. Vocab. v.* Caper, Hoedus, *Iriſh Dict. v.* Meanan, *Archæol.* p. 221. *v.* Codel, &c.

[2] See *Baxter's Goſſ. Ant. Brit. v.* Segontiaci, Bibroci, Ancalites, Cassii, Cattivellauni.

[3] *Lugotorix*, whoſe name implies, that he was the *toparch* or *chieftain* of the country, lying on the banks of the river *(i. e.* the *Thames)* in *Kent*, from *Lug*, *liquor*, *aqua limpida*; *Oto*, *ripa*, and *Rix*, *primus*, *rex*, *ductor*. See *Baxter v.* Cingetorix, Lugotorix, Ottodini. So *Cadel*, prince of *Powis*, a country through which the *Severne* runs, was ſurnamed *Deyrn-lug*, from *Deyrn* or *Theyrn*, *tyrannus*, a *king*, and *Lug*, a *river*. See *Nennius*, c. 34.

Gaule, having had the good fortune not to loſe ſo much as a ſingle tranſport which had ſoldiers on board, in either of his expeditions. The laſt of theſe, was in *A. U. C.* 700, when *Lucius Domitius*, and *Appius Claudius* were conſuls, *i. e.* in the fifty fourth year before the *Chriſtian* æra. *A. U. C.* 700.

THE only authors among the ancients, whoſe works have been preſerved to our times, that have given us any conſiderable particulars of theſe invaſions, are *Cæſar* and *Dio Caſſius*; and it is from them that this relation is taken. It appears plainly upon the whole, that the diviſions of *Britain* paved the way for her ruin; that the diſſentions which reigned between the *Belgic* and the *ancient Britains*; the vindictive temper of *Caſſivellaun*; the abuſe of his power in the ſlaughter of *Immanuentius*, and oppreſſion of the *Trinovantes*; his carrying off the auxiliary corps of ancient *Britains*, retiring with them to his own territories; leaving all the *Belgic* provinces expoſed to the ravages of the enemy, (which naturally reviving their former animoſities and throwing the *Belgic Britains* into deſpair, put the *Trinovantes* upon ſetting the firſt example of a defection, and the reſt upon making their ſubmiſſion) where the true cauſes of this iſland's falling an eaſy prey to the *Romans*. It was in truth, a much eaſier affair, than it is generally thought, or hath been hitherto repreſented; and however ſurprizing it may appear, it is nevertheleſs very certain, from authorities liable to no exception, that *Cæſar's* ſecond expedition took up no more time than his firſt[1], and that all the tranſactions of his

[1] *Cæſar* had not as yet reformed the *Roman Kalendar*, ſo that the equinox, was then ſuppoſed to fall out later in the year, than it was afterwards ſettled; and yet after he arrived in *Gaule*, from his firſt expedition, he ſent *Labienus* to reduce the *Menapii*, and ſuch of the *Morini* as had not ſubmitted; which was done before he put his army into winter quarters. He ſtill ſtaid in that country, till after *New-year's-day*, when [a] *L. Domitius* and *Appius Claudius* entered on their conſulſhip; and then ſeeing the *Britains* had not ſent the hoſtages, ſtipulated by their treaty with him, he gave orders for providing a fleet, in order to a ſecond invaſion. After this, he ſet out for *Italy*, and there held the *Diets* or *Comitia* of the ſtates of *Gallia Ciſalpina*, and thence croſſing the *Alpes*, went into *Illyricum*, and made preparations to attack the *Piruſtæ*, who had waſted a great part of the province, but now ſeeing their danger, ſent deputies to excuſe what had been done, and to promiſe ſatisfaction. *Cæſar* ordered them to bring a number of hoſtages by a certain day; which being done by the time appointed, he named commiſſioners to examine into the damages, and rate the ſatisfaction to be made to the injured parties. Then holding a convention of the *Illyrian* ſtates, he repaſſed the *Alpes* into *Gallia Ciſalpina*, and from thence into the *Tranſalpine Gaule*, where he viſited all the winter quarters of his army, to ſee in what forwardneſs the ſhips were, which he deſigned to make uſe of in his *Britiſh* expedition; and having given orders for what was further to be done, he appointed his fleet to rendezvous at the *Portus Icius*; and aſſembling his forces, marched with four legions, and eight hundred horſe, into the country of the *Treviri*; a long march from the ſea coaſt, or parts of *Gaule*, where his ſhips were building by the legions. There he received the ready ſubmiſſion of *Cingetorix*, and not long after the unwilling one of *Induciomarus*, upon the delivery of two hundred hoſtages, whom he had particularly named; chooſing this party, how little ſoever it was to be depended upon, rather than be obliged to ſpend all the ſummer in reducing him by force. He then convened all the princes of the *Treviri*: and having taken the beſt meaſures he could for the peace of the province, marched back with his army to the *Portus Icius*, where he was detained twenty-five days, by contrary winds. At laſt a favourable gale ariſing, he ordered his forces to embark, when a new incident occaſioned a further delay. *Dumnorix*, general of the *Æduan* cavalry, a man of the greateſt power in his own country, and of great credit in all other parts of *Gaule*, the likelieſt perſon to ſpirit up all the *Gallic* ſtates to a general inſurrection, ſtole away from the camp with the troops he commanded; and *Cæſar* was forced to ſend a great part of his horſe after him, who uſing great diligence in the purſuit, overtook him, and killing him on his refuſal to return, brought back the *Æduan* cavalry; after which the embarkation was quietly made without any further delay. This, however, is ſuch a ſeries of tranſactions, all after the beginning of the year, that whatever allowances are made for *Cæſar's* celerity, in the diſpatch of buſineſs, it cannot yet be ſuppoſed, that it ſhould be all done before the end of *July*. That it was not, ſeems very clear from *Tully's* letters, whoſe brother *Quintus* went with *Cæſar*, in his laſt expedition to *Britain*. In one of thoſe to *Atticus*, *Lib.* iv. *Ep.* xv. dated *July* 27. "After ſending him an account of what paſſed at *Rome*, particularly of the candidates for the tribuneſhip, one of which was ſupported by the conſul *Domitius*, and telling him, that if the courier did not ſet out, till after the election was over, the next day, (*July* 28.) he would let him know the iſſue of of it; he adds, that he gueſſed from his brother *Quintus's* letters, that *Cæſar* was got by that time into *Britain*, and was very anxious till he heard what was doing there." As the carriage

[a] L. v. *init.*

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laſt campaign here paſſed within the compaſs of the ſingle month of *Auguſt*. He left no garriſon, and made no ſettlement in the iſland, nor did his ſoldiers carry off either gold or ſilver, or any booty, beſides their captives: and all the advantage ariſing to the *Roman* ſtate from this expedition, conſiſted in the glory of carrying their arms beyond the ocean, and in a tribute agreed to be paid, which could not be conſiderable. This ſeems to be ſtipulated in the name of all *Britain* by *Caſſivellaun*, in virtue of the ſupreme power delegated to him by a *general Aſſembly* of the *States* of the country: but as he had not time to conſult them on the occaſion, it muſt be done without their particular conſent. It may therefore well be queſtioned, whether this tribute was ever duly paid; or, if it were at firſt, whilſt the terror of *Cæſar's* arms, and the fame of his victories over many hundred thouſands of *Gauls* the following year, were freſh in their memory, there is good reaſon to think it was ſoon dropped; at leaſt by the old *Britains*, who being con-

of letters, from the coaſt of *Britain* to *Rome*, generally took up a month; *Cicero* could not know, at that time, that *Cæſar* had lain wind-bound twenty-five days, after he was at the ſea ſide ready to embark, and it may therefore reaſonably be ſuppoſed, the latter did not arrive in *Britain*, ſo ſoon as *Cicero* imagined, on the 27th of *July*. In a letter to his brother *Quintus*, *Lib.* iii. *Ep.* i. *Cicero* acknowledges the receipt of four of his brother's letters from *Britain*, the laſt dated *Auguſt* the 10th, and the other three very ſhort ones, wrote all at the ſame time, about his private affairs, as they came into his head, upon *Oppius*, *Cæſar's* ſecretary's being hindered by buſineſs, or perhaps by the winds, from diſpatching the expreſs at the moment he deſigned; but with ſo little in them about *Britiſh* affairs, that all which *Marcus* could gather from them was; that there was little or nothing, either to rejoice at or fear with regard to the affairs of *Britain*. Theſe letters of *Quintus*, (which his brother received about *September* the 12th at *Arpinum*,) ſeem to be wrote after *Cæſar* had driven the *Belgic Britains* from their intrenchment in the wood, before they were joined by *Caſſivellaun*, and when he was returned back to his camp on the ſea coaſt, to repair his ſhattered navy; which took him up ten days, beſides thoſe ſpent in marching back to the coaſt, and in returning to his other encampment, twelve miles diſtant. *Quintus* wrote from *Britain* on *Auguſt* the 22d, another letter to his brother, who ſeems to have received it at the ſame time, with a letter wrote ten days after, *(viz.)* on *September* the 1ſt by *Cæſar*, or perhaps the day after, for in *Epiſt.* i. *ad Quintum Fratrem*, l. iii. which is dated *September* the 29th, the day after *Gabinius* entred *Rome* by night, he ſays expreſsly, that he received *Cæſar's* on *September* the 28th, and that of *Quintus*, as he was folding up his letter of the 29th to ſend away; but adding to it, on that occaſion, he ſays, that *Cæſar*, in his letter of *September* the 1ſt, had acquainted him, that *he was then come back to the ſea*. There he waited ſome time, in expectation of *Labienus's* ſending him ſixty more tranſports from *Gaule*; but they not coming ſo ſoon as he expected, being driven back by ſtorms, or contrary winds, he crouded his men together on the ſhips he had, and landed in *Gaule* on *September* the 26th, as *Cicero* tells *Atticus* in his letter, (*Ep.* xvii. *ad Atticum.* l. iv.) which ſeems to be wrote on *October* the 25th, before he ſet out for his *Villa* near *Tuſculum*. It appears from hence very plain, that *Cæſar*, after the repairing of his ſhips, and the fortifying of his naval camp, could not have above twenty days left for his expedition againſt *Caſſivellaun*: The boundary of whoſe territories on the *Thames* was eighty miles from the ſea coaſt, where the *Romans* landed. He ſeems to have marched from the place of his engagement, with that *Britiſh* general, by *Lenham*, *Maidſtone*, *Keſtonheath*, and *Woodcoate*, to *Otlands* and *Cowayſtakes*, where the ſharp ſtakes, of the thickneſs of a man's thigh, covered with lead, and driven hard into the bottom of the river, to embaraſs the *Romans* in their paſſage of the ford, were in *Bede's* time ſtill remaining. The reſt of theſe few days were ſpent in marching through the weſtern borders of *Middleſex* to *Verolam*, and in reducing *Caſſivellaun*: And *Cæſar's* march terminating there, it is not reaſonable to think it could have any effect on the *Iceni*, a potent ſtate of the *Old Britains*, whoſe country lay too far off, to allow us to imagine, they ſhould ſend deputies to court a ſubjection, whilſt the enemy kept at ſuch a diſtance. This contributes to ſhew, that the *Ceni Magni*, who, influenced by the example of the *Trinobantes*, a *Belgic* colony like themſelves, and the good uſage they received from *Cæſar*, were the next people that ſubmitted to him, can be no other than the inhabitants of *Surrey*. *Cæſar* had paſſed through part of their country; and the whole of it lay expoſed to the ravages of his ſoldiers; it was therefore natural for them to prevent the miſchief by a timely ſubmiſſion. The author of the *Britannia Romana*, p. 17. thinks there is a miſtake in the word, and that it ſhould be read *Iceni-Regni*, ſo as to mark two different people; but the ſame difficulty ſtill ſubſiſting, in this caſe, with regard to the *Iceni*, my notion is, that if the word be really *Regni*, it ſhould be read *Ceniregni*, or (as *C*, was always in thoſe days pronounced like *K*,) to humour the pronunciation, *Keniregni*, i. e. *Citeriores Regni*, the *firſt* of the *Regni*, or the *upper Regni*, for ſo the clans of the *Regni* ſeated on the *Downs*, or hills of *Surrey*, were, in compariſon of the others; who inhabited the ſea coaſt of *Hampſhire*, with the adjoining borders of *Suſſex*, and were divided from the *Cantii*, by the vaſt foreſt of *Anderida*; whereas the *Regni* of *Surrey*, who, as *Ptolemy* ſays, lay between the *Cantii* and the *Atrebates*, were contiguous to the former, and the firſt of their nation in *Cæſar's* way. That the word *Cen*, *Ken*, or *Kyn*, ſignifies both *firſt* and *upper*, we are aſſured by the learned *Britain*, author of *Mona Antiqua*, p. 21.

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cerned in no trade, had not the ſame dependance on the *Romans*, as the *Belgic* colonies had on account of their commerce; there being no vent for the native commodities of this iſland at that time, but in the *Roman* empire. This rendered it very eaſy for the *Romans* to levy upon them their proportion of the tribute, by ſeizing their effects, and laying a duty on their merchandize: and it is the more probable that they took this laſt method: becauſe ſome of the authors of thoſe times, call the money levied upon *Britains*, a duty or cuſtom, whilſt others term it a *tribute*.

State of *Britain* from thence to the invaſion by the emperor *Claudius*.

III. After the death of *Julius Cæſar*, the *Romans* were ſo embroiled in civil wars, that they could not look after their remote conqueſts: and when thoſe wars were ended, *Britain* lay ſtill neglected. The emperor *Auguſtus*, in the 6th of his reign, and the 26th year before *Chriſt*, having paſſed into *Gaule*, and regulated the tributes of the ſeveral nations of that country, entertained the deſign of making an expedition hither, probably for the like purpoſe: but was hindered from putting it in execution, by the breaking out of the Cantabrian war, and the revolt of the *Salaſſi*, a people of *Piedmont*. The deſign however alarmed the little potentates of *Britain* to ſuch a degree, that, to divert the ſtorm, they ſent embaſſadors to *Auguſtus* to ſue for peace, and to bring preſents and oblations to the capitol: and they ſucceeded ſo far as to prevent an invaſion; the *Romans*, as [1] *Strabo* obſerves, not thinking it worth while to be at the expence of conquering a country, which had not force enough to attack them in their own territories. They conſidered likewiſe, that the conqueſt of it might expoſe them to great inconveniencies from the neighbouring iſlands, and they could reap little advantage from it in other reſpects; ſince they received greater ſums by the duties on the *Britiſh* merchandize exported into *Gaule*, and the foreign commodities imported into *Britain*, without employing troops to levy them, than they could expect from a tribute, deducting the charge of a garriſon, which in ſuch caſe would become neceſſary. Theſe duties not being heavy, the *Britains* ſubmitted to them eaſily: and continuing independent in other reſpects, lived in amity with *Rome*, during the reigns of *Auguſtus* (who was more intent on ſecuring the dominions he already poſſeſſed than of adding new territories to the empire) and of his ſucceſſor *Tiberius*, who followed the maxims of his predeceſſor. Thus when *Germanicus*, after his glorious campaign againſt the *Cheruſci*, and his victory over *Arminius*, in the plains of *Wegeſac*, on the banks of the *Weſer*, had embarked his men on the *German* ocean: and *A. D.* 16. his fleet being diſperſed by a ſtorm, ſome of his ſhips were driven into deſert iſlands, others either wrecked on the coaſts, or forced to take refuge in the ports of *Britain*, probably in thoſe parts which were poſſeſſed by the old *natives*; the *Britiſh reguli* [2], or chieftains, aſſiſted and received the diſtreſſed *Romans* with great humanity, and ſent them back in ſafety to their general. In conſequence of ſuch friendly diſpoſitions, there was a continual intercourſe between the people of *Britain*, and the ſubjects of the *Roman* empire; the principal of the *Britiſh* nobility reſorted frequently to *Rome* itſelf, and ſome of them were there educated. The *Roman* publicans, ſettled here for collecting the cuſtoms of merchandize, had all the opportunities they could wiſh of obſerving the nature, ſituation, and condition of the country, as well as the circumſtances, ſtrength or weakneſs, diſſenſions, views, and intereſts of the various clans and people that inhabited this iſland. Thus *Britain*, terrible whilſt it was unknown, became familiar to the *Romans*; who now finding it an eaſier matter, than they once imagined, to reduce it into the form of a province, ſoon forgot the political maxims of *Auguſtus*: and though the con-

[1] L. ii. c. 4.

[2] *Tacit. Annal.* ii. n. 17.

A. D. 16. queſt thereof was ſcarce reconcileable to the intereſts of the ſtate, and could contribute little to its profit or revenue; yet there was ſomething in the name or glory of a conqueſt, and in the ſound of the word *Britannicus*, glaring enough to ſtrike the fancy, and tempt the vanity of a worthleſs emperor. *Caius Caligula*, vain and bluſtering, but withall a rank coward in his nature, ſudden, impetuous, uncertain, and extravagant in all his actions, propoſed, once in a freak, to paſs over into *Britain* upon the following occaſion. *Cuno-belin*, prince of the *Cattivellauni*, who had, ſince *Julius Cæſar's* time, extended their territories ſo, as to bring the *Trinovantes*, (among whom *Ptolemy* places *Camulodunum)* the *Dobuni*, and other clans of people under their vaſſalage, was, by this acceſſion of dominion, the moſt powerful prince in the iſland. He lived in a good correſpondence with the *Romans*, taking care to have the duties of merchandize regularly paid; as appears from ſeveral of his coins [1] ſtruck in the ports where the *Roman* cuſtomers and minters reſided, with the word *Taſcia* inſcribed, to expreſs their being (as the word denotes in *Britiſh) tribute pennies*. He had many ſons, three of which are mentioned by the *Roman* hiſtorians, *Adminius*, *Caratacus*, and *Togodumnus:* the laſt of theſe he made governour of the *Dobuni*, as his name imports; the ſecond probably preſided over thoſe quarters of the country of the *Cattuvellauni*, that lay next the *Silures*, and poſſeſſed them in property after his father's death; if he did not, by the excluſion of *Adminius*, the eldeſt of the brothers, ſucceed him in all his other dominions. *Adminius* ſeems, in *Cunobelin's* lifetime, to have preſided over the *Trinovantes:* and either for raiſing ſome diſturbances in the ſtate, and rebelling againſt his father, or for ſome other miſdemeanors, was by him driven [2] out of *Britain*; and flying for refuge to *Caligula*, put him upon making a conqueſt of the iſland [3].

A. D. 39. Caligula aſſembling an army of 200,000 men, and marching firſt againſt the *Germans*, paſſed the *Rhine:* but without coming to any action, or ſo much as ſeeing an enemy [4], repaſſed it again immediately, in order to plunder *Gaule*, and from thence croſs the ſea with his forces to *Britain*. When he came to the ocean, he drew up his army in battalia: and having taken a ſhort turn upon the ſea in a galley, gave orders on his coming aſhore for a charge to be ſounded, and the ſignal of battle to be given. No enemy appearing, the ſoldiers were commanded to gather all the cockles and ſhelfiſh they could find; which he called the ſpoils of the ocean, and ſent to *Rome* by land, with the galleys which had attended him at ſea, to ſerve as ornaments of his triumph. All that he did worth notice, during his ſtay on the coaſt, was, the building of a watch-tower near *Boulogne*, as a monument of his imaginary victory, and to ſerve for a guide, by night, to ſhips at ſea; which being at firſt called *Turris-ardens*, and ſince, by the common people of the country, termed corruptly *Tour Ordans*, or *Tour d'Ordre*, was repaired by *Charlemagne* [5], and is ſtill ſubſiſting a [6] noble monument of *Roman* antiquity.

[1] In *Camden's Britania.*

[2] *Sueton. Calig.* c. 44.

[3] Some [a] imagine he was made king of the *Trinovantes* by *Claudius*; and, in ſupport of their opinion, alledge a copper coin found in *England*, and engraved among others by *Camden*; on which, though a great part of the letters are defaced, there is ſtill legible on one ſide in *Greek*, ΒΡΕΤΑΝΝΙΚΟΣ; and on the other, there is an half ſhip, with theſe words, ΜΕΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΕΤΙΜΙΝΑΙΟΥ ΒΑ... (i. e. *Baſileos, king.)* The reſt of the inſcription being illegible, they endeavour to ſupply it by the reading of another medal, in the very ſame character, publiſhed by *Octavius Strada*, which hath the ſame inſcription with the addition of ΛΟ, the initial letters of *London*. But as Mr. *Spanheim* [b] has aſſigned a different reading to the laſt of theſe medals, there is no arguing from ſo uncertain a foundation; though nothing is more natural than to think that *Claudius*, upon the conqueſt of thoſe parts of *Britain*, which had belonged to *Cunobeline*, ſhould put *Adminius* in poſſeſſion of ſome part of his father's territories, and that when he erected *Camulodunum* into a colony, taking away the lands from the *Britains*, and dividing them among the *Roman* Soldiers, who ſettled there, (as his coins prove he did) *London* ſhould then become the *Britiſh* metropolis of the *Trinovantes*.

[4] *Dio.* l. lix. *Oroſ.* l. vii. c. 5. [5] *Aimon.* l. iv. n. 99. [6] *Bucher. de Belg.* l. iv. c. 10.

[a] *Burton's Antoninus*, p. 158.

[b] *De uſu Numiſmatum*, vol. ii. p. 325. *Ed. Amſterd.* 1717.

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A CONDUCT ſo full of vanity, folly and extravagance; ſuch a ſenſeleſs ſhew of embattled armies facing the ſea inſtead of an enemy, and ſuch a ridiculous parade of a mock triumph, followed by the ſervile acclamations and flatteries of a corrupt and abject ſenate, rendered the ſtate of *Rome* as deſpicable, as the perſon of the ſovereign. The *Britains* ſeeing ſuch a prodigious number of forces not daring to venture over the ocean to attack them, and all the mighty preparations and furious menaces of *Caligula* thus vaniſh into ſmoke, ceaſed any longer to dread the *Roman* power: and flattered with a notion, that they were for ever ſafe from any invaſion, ſuffered themſelves to be ſuprized in the height of their ſecurity and confidence, by the moſt indolent and ſtupid of his ſucceſſors. *Claudius* lived to come to the empire, becauſe no body thought him fit for that dignity, or indeed capable of diſcharging the leaſt office, or of managing any publick buſineſs whatever: He had neither parts nor judgment to qualify him for government, or even keep him from the univerſal contempt of mankind. He was likewiſe infinitely timorous, fond of eaſe, pleaſure, and trifles; unthinking, without application, without ambition, had neither a deſire nor thought of empire; but void of all paſſions himſelf, and without any will or ſentiments of his own, he adopted implicitly all that were inſpired into him by thoſe that were about his perſon; who always found in him not an aſſuming prince, but an obſequious miniſter, ever ready to execute their pleaſure. Theſe favourites, ſlaves in their original, their temper, and their ſentiments, tho' enfranchiſed, advanced to honours and courted more than their maſter by all that wanted to make their fortunes, had a mind for their own credit, that their pupil ſhould give himſelf an air of unexpected activity; and make a figure in the world by ſome conqueſt, that would add to the pomp of his titles. *Beric*, a conſiderable *Britiſh* chieftain, and ſome others of the ſame nation, had upon their ill ſucceſs in the civil wars, which the princes of *Britain* (ſecure as they fancied themſelves from all foreign dangers) had made of late upon one another, been forced to quit their country, and fly to *Rome* for protection. Theſe exiles magnifying their own intereſt among the *Britains*, and repreſenting the great facility of the enterprize, it was reſolved to undertake the conqueſt of this iſland; and to ſend over an army hither under the command of *A. Plautius*, a man of ſenatorial dignity, and a wiſe experienced officer; with inſtructions to give notice, if he met with more than ordinary difficulties, that *Claudius* might come over in perſon to his aſſiſtance. *A. D.* 39.

IV. [1] WHEN *Plautius* came with his forces to the ſea in *Gaule*, they expreſſed a ſtrong averſion to being tranſported (as they ſaid) into another world: and were ready to mutiny on the occaſion. This cauſed ſome delay in their embarkation; which proved in the end of no diſſervice; as the news of it, confirming the *Britains* in their notion, that the *Romans* never durſt attack them in this iſland, kept them from drawing their forces together to oppoſe his landing; ſo that he made his deſcent without oppoſition. There were other circumſtances favourable to his enterprize, and which gave him good reaſon to expect ſucceſs; a great part of the inhabitants of *Britain* being much better prepared for a ſubmiſſion to the *Romans*, than they were at the time of the two former invaſions. The *Romans* had not at that time had footing in any part in *Gaule* (beſides their province of *Gallia Narbonenſis*) above three years; and *Cæſar* was then upon the point of being attacked by the united forces of the *Aquitanica*, *Celtica*, and *Belgica*, all the parts of that country, with which the *Britains* held any correſpondence. But now all *Gaule* was reduced into the form of a province, and was ſo firmly ſettled in

The *Roman* conqueſts in *Britain* under *Claudius*.

[1] *Dio.* l. lx.

A. D. 43. its obedience to *Rome*, that for an hundred years paſt there had been no diſturbance in the country. All the commerce of *Britain* had been, during that ſpace of time, carried on through *Gaule*, and was much improved above what it had been before: Nor could the *Belgic* colonies, who carried on that commerce, poſſibly find any other vent for their commodities, than in the *Roman* empire. They paid already duties on their merchandize; they ſaw their neighbours of *Gaule* eaſy and rich under the *Roman* yoke; they had no reaſon to apprehend an harſher treatment, if they did not provoke the *Romans* to it by acts of hoſtility; and thus having little to dread, they had ſomething likewiſe to hope from the like ſubjection.

Whether it was owing to the great power conferred upon *Caſſivellaun*, or to ſome other cauſe, it ſeems very clear, that the *Cattuvellauni* had very much extended their dominion ſince *Cæſar's* expeditions. Their territories now reached from *Lincolnſhire* eaſtward, through the ſhires of *Northampton* and *Worceſter* to the banks of the *Severn* weſtward; each leſſer people finding a convenience in being united to a ſtronger, in order to be more powerfully protected and ſecured in the quiet enjoyment of their eſtates. *Bedford* and *Hertford* ſhires, and the weſtern part of *Middleſex*, were their ancient poſſeſſions; which they had much enlarged by conqueſts over the *Belgic Britains* that lay contiguous to them; having in *Cunobelin's* time reduced the *Trinovantes* (who inhabited the reſt of *Middleſex*, and a great part of *Eſſex*) the *Ancalites* and part of the *Dobuni* ſettled, the one in the hills of *Bucks*, and *Oxfordſhire*, near *Henley*, the other in the vale of *Aileſbury* and the lower part of the latter county. The *Belgick Britains*, thus loſing ground every day, and in danger of being reduced one after another by that powerful nation of the *ancient Britains*, ſeem to have thought they had no other or better party to take, to prevent further encroachments from an old enemy, whoſe genius and manner of life, ſo different from their own, would (if once their maſters) put them upon deſtroying that foreign commerce, which was the chief means of their comfortable ſubſiſtence, than to make an early ſubmiſſion to the *Romans*, and thereby engage the protection of a mighty emperor, whom they were not able, with all their united force, to oppoſe. Theſe probably were the reaſons, why the *Belgic* colonies were ſo eaſily ſubjected by the *Romans*, and aſſiſted them afterwards in the ſubduing the reſt of *Britain*.

Plautius landing in a country thus divided within itſelf, could hardly meet with an enemy; every body having retired to their faſtneſſes in hills and marſhes, and none attempting to haraſs him in his march. Thus unmoleſted, he paſſed through *Kent*, advancing by the route which *Julius Cæſar* had taken formerly, till he came to the *Thames*: [1] and then coaſting along the river, without coming to any action, (as far as we can learn from *Dio*, the only guide we have to inform us of any particular circumſtances of this expedition) till he had marched as far as *Wallingford*, and paſſed the *Thames* into *Oxfordſhire*. *Cunobeline* was now dead, and that county belonged to one of his ſons called *Togodumnus*; the name [2] implying, that he was the leader or prince of the *Dobuni*, who inhabited that quarter of the country, as his elder brother *Caratachus* or *Caradoc* was of the *Cattuvellauni* in the reſt of their territories. It is not unlikely that *Beric*, who is univerſally allowed to be the chief promoter of this invaſion, was a chieftain among the *Dobuni*, and had been expelled his country and deprived of his eſtate by the *Cattuvellauni*, when they ſubdued it; at leaſt there is a town or village, that ſtill bears his name of *Berric* in thoſe parts, adjoining to the ancient city of *Dorcheſter*; and as he came along with the *Romans*, nothing is more natural than that, to ſerve his

[1] *Dio*, l. lx. [2] *Baxter's Gloſs Brit. v.* Dobuni.

own ends, he ſhould put them upon making their firſt attempt againſt the *Dobuni* or *Boduni*, as by a tranſpoſition of letters they are ſometimes called. *A. D.* 43.

THERE *Plautius* met with the enemy he had taken ſo much pains to find, and came to a battle, firſt with *Caratacus*, and then with *Togodumnus*; but being victorious in both engagements, he received the ſubmiſſion of part of the *Dobuni*, that were in vaſſalage to the *Cattivellauni*: and having left a garriſon to ſecure the country, probably at *Aldcheſter*, an old *Roman* town near *Burceſter*, (which, perhaps, was ſo called, becauſe prior in time to all their other fortifications,) advanced to purſue the *Britains*, who had upon their defeat retired behind a river, which they thought unpaſſable. This ſeems to be the *Tame*, which lay directly in the way of the *Romans*, as they directed their march from *Aldcheſter*; and there being no bridge over it, the *Britains* lay very careleſsly encamped behind it: but *Plautius* ſending a party of *Germans* to croſs it, they being uſed to ſwim over the moſt rapid rivers in their armour, paſſed it ſo ſuddenly, that they ſurprized the enemy, killing and wounding many of the horſes which drew their chariots. The paſſage being thus opened, *Fl. Veſpaſian*, afterwards emperor, and his brother *Sabinus*, followed with a body of the *Roman* ſoldiers: and killing great numbers of the *Britains*, forced them to a retreat. They did not however diſperſe, but charged the *Romans* the next day ſo bravely, that the victory was long doubtful; till at laſt they were obliged to retire, chiefly by the diſtinguiſhed valour of *C. Sidius Geta*, who was once on the point of being taken, but fought with ſo much vigour, that triumphal honours were given him, though he was neither conſul, nor had the chief command. From thence *Caratacus* retreated to the *Thames*, following the courſe of the river [1], as it runs to empty itſelf into the ocean; till he came to a place, where, when it overflows its banks, it leaves a ſtagnating water behind. There he eaſily paſſed the river, as knowing where the ground was firm; though the *Romans* could not follow him without much danger and difficulty. It was ever the firſt care of a *Roman* general to provide for his convoys of proviſions; and *Plautius* not daring to advance into *Caratacus's* territories, and leave the enemy behind him, was neceſſitated to paſs the river likewiſe; the *Germans* ſwimming over at the very place, where the ground about it was flooded, and the *Romans* croſſing it at a bridge which lay ſomewhat higher. Thus falling upon the enemy from different quarters, they made a terrible ſlaughter among them; though not without ſome loſs of their own, by purſuing them unadviſedly into moraſſes that were unpaſſable. The loſs of four battles, in the laſt of which *Togodumnus* fell, inſtead of diſcouraging the *Britains*, only made them more eager to have their revenge: they prepared for another battle, and *Plautius* dreading the event, thought it beſt for him to ſecure what he had already got, without advancing further; and to wait by the ſide of the *Thames*, till *Claudius* came from *Rome* to his aſſiſtance.

THE emperor leaving that metropolis of the world at the latter end of *July* or *Auguſt*, and paſſing through *Gaule*, embarked at *Boulogne* [2] with a great army: and landing at the *Portus Rutupinus*, or *Sandwich*, marched to the *Thames*, where *Plautius* lay ſtill encamped. The armies being joined, paſſed the river; the *Britains*, that diſputed their paſſage, being forced to retire: and *Claudius* advancing into the Country of the *Trinovantes*, took *Camulodunum*, the royal ſeat of *Cunobeline*. This ſucceſs, and the terror of his numerous forces, brought every day to his camp the ſubmiſſion of ſome or other of the ſtates of the *Belgic Britains*, ſeated in the neighbourhood, ſuch as the *Trinovantes*, *Cantii*, *Regni*, and *Atrebates*; for the ſhortneſs of his ſtay did not allow him to receive the like from any people that lay

[1] This I take to be meaning of *Dio's* words, τὸν Τάμεσαν ποταμὸν κατ' ὀλίγον τι τὸν Ὠκεανὸν ἐκβάλλει, *i. e.* κατὰ ποταμὸν, *ſecundo flumine.* [2] *Sueton. Claud.* c. 17.

A. D. 43. more remote: nor did any of the *Old Britains* offer to ſubmit; only the [1] *Iceni* courted his friendſhip, and ſeem to be received as confederates. *Caratacus*, at the head of his *Cattivellauni*, ſtill held out; though he did not care to attack the *Romans* in all their ſtrength, which he knew muſt ſoon be leſſened by the emperor's departure. *Claudius* having diſarmed thoſe that had made their ſubmiſſion, and left them under the government of *Plautius*, with orders to reduce the other *Britains*, ſet out on his return to *Rome*; where he arrived in the beginning of the year following, having ſtayed only ſixteen days in *Britain*, and ſpent ſix [2] months in his voyage. Thus eaſily did he purchaſe the honours of a triumph, and the title of *Britannicus*, with which he was complimented by the ſenate: this facility too, and the expedition with which he reduced the kings and nations of *Britain*, and added the *Orkneys* [3] to his empire, are particularly celebrated in the inſcription [4] dedicated to his honour on thoſe occaſions.

The proper title of the commander in chief, or governor of a province, was *Legatus Auguſti*, *Proconſul*, or *Proprætor*, and this belonged to *Plautius*: but each proconſul had ſometimes one [5], ſometimes three aſſeſſors; and theſe being appointed not by himſelf, as was generally the caſe in the ſenatorial provinces, but by the emperor in thoſe under his particular care, might well be termed *Legati Auguſti*. Of this laſt kind was *Fl. Veſpaſian*, whom *Claudius* made commander of the ſecond legion, and, at his leaving *Britain*, *aſſumpſit in partem rerum*, as *Tacitus* [6] ſays, giving him a joint commiſſion with the other, and employing him in the reduction of the iſland. He had here a fine opportunity of diſplaying his admirable talents for war: and the glory he acquired by a continued ſeries of ſucceſs, laid the foundation of his future greatneſs. *Suetonius* [7] ſums up his exploits in a few words; telling us, that he took above twenty towns, and reduced the *Iſle of Wight*, and two of the ſtrongeſt nations of *Britain* into ſubjection. This author adds further, that he was preſent in no leſs than thirty engagements with the enemy; but in this number are comprehended all that he fought in *Germany*, as well as *Britain*, and in all probability ſmall ſkirmiſhes, as well as pitched battles. This paſſage, however, ſerves to ſhew us the particular province aſſigned to *Veſpaſian*; it being his buſineſs to ſubdue the *Belgic colonies*, whilſt *Plautius* had the much more difficult taſk of reducing the *Old Britains*. Theſe laſt, it is well known, had no towns, nor even villages with contiguous houſes; perhaps not underſtanding the art of building, or elſe chooſing to live diſperſed, till the *Romans* came amongſt them: and then their camps and ſtations occaſioning a continual reſort of people thither for the marts which were there kept, towns began to be built in the neighbourhood for the better accommodation of all perſons. But the *Belgæ* had been uſed to dwell in towns before they left *Gaule*; and when they ſettled in *Britain*, lived here undoubtedly in the ſame manner; trade, which was their chief buſineſs, making it neceſſary for them to live together near the ſea, or upon ſome great river, and their own ſecurity naturally putting them upon the ſame method, at their arrival in a ſtrange country, where they would, in ſcattered habitations, have been expoſed to many hazards from the rudeneſs and jealouſy of the natives. The *Iſle of Wight* was certainly inhabited by the *Belgæ*; and the circumſtances of *Claudius's* expedition not allowing room to imagine, that he received the ſubmiſſion of more people than thoſe above-mentioned; *Veſpaſian* muſt have had the honour of reducing all the reſt of the *Belgic* colonies, from the ſhires of

[1] *Tacit. Annal.* xii. n. 31. [2] *Sueton. Claud.* c. 17.

[3] Theſe iſles were probably diſcovered at this time by *Veſpaſian*, (to whom the conqueſt, another name for the diſcovery thereof, is generally attributed) becauſe they are mentioned by *Mela*, l. iii. c. 6. who wrote this very year.

[4] *Britannia Romana*, p. 21. [5] *Dio.* l. iii. *Spanheim. de uſu Numiſm.* l. ii. p. 180, 596.

[6] *Hiſt.* l. iii. n. 44. *Vit. Agric.* n. 13.

[7] *Veſpaſ.* c. 4.

Hants,

Hants, *Wilts*, and *Somerſet*, to the weſtern extremity of *Cornwall*; for we read of no wars carried on, nor of any diſturbance ariſing in thoſe parts afterwards. *A. D.* 43.

Nor do I apprehend this to have been a work of any great difficulty; and the ſtory of *Veſpaſian's* danger, being ſurrounded by a body of the enemy, and reſcued in that diſtreſs by his ſon *Titus*, is undoubtedly a groſs miſtake; *Titus*, who was born the year of *Caligula's* death, on *December* 30. *A. D.* 41. not being above ſeven or eight years old, at the time fixed for that noble act of filial piety. All the ſea coaſt, from the promontory of *Kent*, to the *Lands end* of *Cornwall*, was inhabited by the trading part of the *Belgic* colonies; whoſe intereſt obliged them to be at peace, and even to be united to the *Roman* empire: ſo that in all appearance they followed the example of their countrymen, and ſubmitted as readily to *Veſpaſian*, as the others had done to *Claudius*. This was particularly the caſe of the *Dumnonii*, who were poſſeſſed of *Cornwall*, *Devon*, and the adjoining parts of *Somerſetſhire*: they drove a great trade with the empire for their tin; and by means of their continual intercourſe with the *Romans* on that account, are celebrated, as well as the *Cantii*, by ancient writers, for their politeneſs and civility much ſuperior to what appeared in any other part of *Britain*. What confirms this, is, that in all thoſe territories of the *Dumnonii* [1], there is not the leaſt veſtige of any *Roman* ſtation or encampment; which there muſt have been, had this people been

[1] It is a common received notion among our antiquaries, that the *Romans* never had any ſettlement, and that no remains of theirs are to found, in *Cornwall*; and ſome have carried this notion ſo far, as even to doubt whether they were ever maſters of that country. But this ſeems to be a great miſtake, ariſing from their want of curioſity to examine into the antiquities of a county, where they were prepoſſeſſed with a perſuaſion, that they ſhould find no ſuch remains. When the *Romans* came hither, it was the richeſt part of this iſland, the moſt beneficial in the revenue of its cuſtoms, and conſequently the beſt worth their conquering; and though they had no occaſion for garriſons to awe willing and intereſted ſubjects into obedience; they muſt have had there officers to collect the revenue, as well as magiſtrates to adminiſter juſtice. And their preſidents, counts, and inſpectors muſt likewiſe from time to time, according to the regular courſe of the *Roman* government, have viſited theſe as they did other parts, to ſee every thing in due order, to examine how officers did their duty, and to obſerve the ſtate of the country. It is the general opinion of the tinners in that county, that all the tin works, wrought at this day, are only mines originally diſcovered by the *Romans*, opened firſt by them, and ſince carried on to a greater depth under ground, and extended in breadth as the veins or loads of the oar are followed by the miners: and there are remains enough of the *Romans* in thoſe parts to give countenance to this notion.

I was there in the year 1714, and paſſed ſix or eight months in the heart of the tin country, between *Truro*, and the *Lands end*; and what I am going to mention, doth not depend only on my memory, but is taken from a letter I wrote at that time to my father, and which I lately found among his papers. About a mile and half beyond *Redruth*, ſtands the old caſtle of *Carnbray* on a very craggy hill, oppoſite to which is another hill, very ſteep and difficult of aſcent. On this laſt hill there is a prodigious heap of ſtones, of which ſome hundred thouſand loads are ſtill left, though the gentlemen in the neighbourhood, as oft as they had occaſion for ſtones, have been continually fetching them from thence, to make uſe of in their buildings; and the tinners having been ſeveral years employed in building a large *Aquæduct*, or (as they term it) *Audit*, five or ſix foot high, and more in breadth, for ſome miles in length through a valley to the north ſea, in order to drain the water from a mine of the late Mr. *Fr. Baſſet's* of *Tehidde*, have carried thence many thouſands of loads on that occaſion. 'Tis plain, from the order in which theſe ſtones are placed, that it is a work of art; but for what end ſuch quantities of ſtones ſhould be brought thither, appears unaccountable; ſince not only the height and ſteepneſs of the hill, but the diſtance of the quarry, whence thoſe ſtones muſt be fetched, (there not being one of the ſame nature within three miles of the place) ſeem to have been ſufficient diſcouragements to any body's forming ſuch a deſign, or attempting a work that ſeemed impractibable, and was certainly uſeleſs. The *Romans* indeed had ſuch an averſion to idleneſs in their ſoldiers, and living in indolence was ſo uncomfortable a ſtate to men uſed to action, that, to avoid the *tædium caſtrorum*, they frequently employed them in works of great difficulty, as well as labour, and of ſo little uſe in any other reſpect, that they appear to us in ſome inſtances ridiculous. This perhaps was a work of that kind; for a little before I came into the country, and before the *Aquæduct* was finiſhed, upon drawing off ſome ſtones from it, a fine *Roman* urn was diſcovered, with a cover to it very large; but (as appeared on the breaking of it) having only aſhes in it, and one coin of the bigneſs of a crown piece, with an inſcription on it very plain and legible, ſhewing it to be a medal of *Auguſtus Cæſar's*. There are, in all quarters of that country, eſpecially in the tin country, a prodigious number of barrows (as they call them) or ſepulchral *Tumuli*, ſtill to be ſeen on every down throughout it; ſometimes two, four, and ſix in a row, ſometimes more; as I have ſeen eleven together at *St. Auſtel*, and there are no leſs than twenty-two on a

A. D. 43. reduced by the force of an army, or had it been neceſſary to keep them in ſubjection by the terror of a garriſon in the heart of their country. The readineſs of their ſubmiſſion, and the manner of its being made without any force of arms, may be, perhaps, the reaſon why *Suetonius* doth not mention it among the other acts, which contributed to his view of ſetting forth *Veſpaſian's* military glory; a view which was better anſwered by his obſerving, that this general reduced two of the moſt powerful nations in *Britain*.

These were the *Belgæ* and the *Durotriges*; for though the maritime parts of their territories over-againſt *Gaule*, in which the mercantile part of theſe people lived, might ſubmit as willingly as others in the like ſituation; yet the inland country, being inhabited by different clans or tribes of people, under their ſeveral chieftains or princes inured to hunting, and a manner of life not unlike that of the *Old Britains*, were not ſo eaſily reduced. They had in thoſe days great advantages for their own defence, and for haraſſing the *Romans*, afforded them by the vaſt woods which covered the downs of *Wilts* and *Dorſet*, and the *Mendip* hills in *Somerſet*, and by the marſhes which ſpread themſelves over a great part of the laſt of theſe counties; where an infinite number of hardy young fellows were employed as *drovers* or *Ceangi* [1], to take care of their cattle, the chief of their ſubſtance in thoſe times, and to drive them from place to place for paſture in the ſummer. The memory of theſe *Ceangi* or *Cangi*, is ſtill preſerved in thoſe parts in the names of many places [2], as of the town called *Cauna* in *Domeſday*, now *Calne*, of the *Hundred of Cannings*, and a village called, in old writings, *Caningas* in *Wiltſhire*, of *Kaingeſham*, i. e. the *Manſion of the Cangi*, of the town of *Cangton*, now *Winecaunton*; the *Hundred of Cannington* and *Caningan-Mærces*, in the marſhes of *Somerſetſhire*. *Veſpaſian* diſtinguiſhed himſelf both as a ſoldier and a commander, and was not in theſe reſpects inferior to any of the *Old Romans*; he was wiſe, vigilant, and circumſpect; never raſh in running his troops into dangers, but brave and intrepid in the midſt of the greateſt; which made him extremely beloved by his ſoldiers. Theſe talents he had abundant occaſions to exerciſe in his wars againſt the *Cangi*, and other *Belgæ*; the nature of whoſe country afforded them opportunities enough to ſurprize a leſs wary and vigilant ge-

down near *Kellington*, on the *Devonſhire* border of the country. Within leſs than ten years before I was there, a quantity of *Roman* coins, (ſome of which, by the brightneſs of their colour, ſeemed to the workmen that found them, to reſemble gold) being dug up in one of theſe barrows in the fields of *Luggan*, the tinners ſtraight took the alarm: and leaving their mines, fell to work upon the like *Tumuli* in the neighbourhood, ſtriving who ſhould get firſt to the centre of thoſe heaps, where they expected to find a concealed treaſure. But great was their diſappointment, when, in the middle of them all, they found only a little building of ſtone like an oven, in which was incloſed ſometimes one, ſometimes more, and in one of them nine urns, with aſhes in them all; but not ſo many with coins in them, as there were of thoſe which had none at all. I have ſeen a great number of the coins there found upon this occaſion; which were ſhewn me by the late Mr. *Walter Quarme*, rector of *Falmouth*, Mr. *Thomas Tonkin* of *Trevawnance*, then member of parliament for *Helſton*, and by others, who were curious enough to preſerve them; particularly many of the coins of *Claudius*, *Nerva*, *Hadrian*, *Antoninus Pius*, *Lucius Verus*, *Lucilla*, and *Fauſtina*. None later than theſe were found in thoſe urns and barrows; yet in other places of the country, they frequently meet with coins of later emperors, thrown up as they are ploughing in the fields; and a conſiderable number have been likewiſe found in a round ball of earth, to which there was no opening, and which was placed in the midſt of a large ſtone or rock, known by the name of the *Giants rock*, in a field near *St. Ives*. This rock, about eight years before I was there, being broken in pieces by the owner of the field, in order to the carrying of it away, for the more convenient ploughing of the ground, they diſcovered in the heart of it, the ball of earth above-mentioned, and found in it ſeveral coins of *Valentinian*, *Valens*, *Gratian*, *Honorius*, and *Areadius*, beſides others of *Maximus*, and the like aſſumers of the purple in *Britain*. Beſides theſe, I have ſeen found in other places of the country, coins of *Carauſius*, *Allectus*, (particularly that with a ſhip on the reverſe, which Mr. *Selden* mentions in his *Mare Clauſum*, to prove the ſovereignty of the *Britiſh* ſeas) and other uſurpers here; and the like coins of the latter *Claudius*, *Quintillus*, *Gallienus*, *Conſtantius Chlorus*, *Conſtantine the Great*, and his ſon *Conſtantine*, and of all the ſucceding emperors, to *Valentinian* the third incluſive.

[1] *Baxter's Gloſſ. Brit. v.* Ceangi.

[2] *Camden in Somerſet.*

neral: but he ſeems to have reduced them entirely in *A. D.* 49. and though he ſtaid longer in *Britain*, (for he did not return to *Rome* till *A. D.* 51. when he received the ornaments of a triumph, and was made conſul for the two laſt months of that year) he probably employed his time in ſettling the country he had reduced; for which he was admirably qualified; his conduct in the adminiſtration of *Africa*, and other provinces that he governed, ſhewing, that none underſtood provincial government better. The many *Roman* encampments, ſtill to be ſeen in various parts of the counties of *Wilts*, *Dorſet*, and *Somerſet*, ſome of which are by received tradition deemed to be his, and bear an affinity to his name, particularly to the two laſt ſyllables of it, (as the two near *Yaneſborough* in *Wiltſhire*) are ſo many monuments of the wars he carried on with thoſe people; and we cannot have a mean opinion of the wiſdom of his regulations after he had ſubdued them, when we conſider, that they never afterwards offered to revolt, but living in peace themſelves, furniſhed the *Romans* with ſoldiers, to reduce the more northern provinces of this iſland, poſſeſſed by the *Old Britains* [1]. *A. D.* 49.

Plautius had greater difficulties to encounter in his war againſt the *Old Britains*; who were headed by a chieftain, that was the glory of their nation, and excellently qualified, as well to animate by his example, as to direct by his counſels, the meaſures proper to be taken for the defence of the liberties of his country. *Caratacus* [2] was a prince of very good natural parts, high ſpirit, great abilities, and of a wonderful conſtancy, reſolution and magnanimity: he was active, indefatigable, vigilant, and enterprizing, full of that noble ardour, and thoſe generous ſentiments, which inſpire the conduct, and form the mind, of an heroe. His genius led him naturally to war; and this being improved by experience, he had arrived to a degree of military ſkill, that could not well be expected from a perſon in ſo remote a corner of the world, unuſed to foreign wars, and utterly unacquainted with the arts and practice of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. Inured to hardſhips, he was

[1] I fix *Veſpaſian's* victories over the *Cangi*, and his reduction of the *Belgæ* and *Durotriges* to *A. D.* 49. when *Pompeius Longinus Gallus* and *Q. Veranius Nepos* were conſuls, upon the credit due to the oblong table of lead turned up by the plough near *Ochy Hole* in [a] *Somerſetſhire* in the reign of *Henry* VIII. and the medal of *Claudius* mentioned by *Camden*, on the reverſe of which is ſtamped a triumphal arch with the image of one galloping on horſe back, and two triumphal pillars, as ſo many trophies of victory over the *Britains*; the words DE BRITAN. being inſcribed both on the leaden table and on the reverſe of the medal. I am ſenſible I differ in this point from ſeveral very learned men, who place theſe victories over the *Cangi* and *Britains* ſo late as the times of *Oſtorius*; but the inſcriptions both on the face of the medal, and on the table of lead, concur in fixing it to the ninth year of *Claudius's Tribunitian* power, and the ſixteenth time of his being declared *Imperator*. Now *Claudius* coming to the empire in the beginning of *A. D.* 41. (on the death of *Caligula*, who was ſlain *Jan.* 24) the ninth year of his reign, which was alſo the ninth of his *Tribunitian* power, muſt be *A. D.* 49. He was conſul for the fourth time *A. D.* 47, and in the inſcriptions of that year [b] is repreſented as *Imperator*, for the 12th, 13th, 14th and 15th times, probably on account of *Corbulo's* victories over the *Chauci* and *Friſians*. He took the title of Imperator for the 16th time in the year 49, [c] either upon his reducing *Mithridates* king of the *Boſphorus*, which brought no acceſſion of territory to his dominions, or on account of *Veſpaſian's* victories in this iſland; and it is moſt reaſonable to think the latter was the true occaſion; becauſe the adding of *Britain* to the empire, was the reaſon why *Claudius* increaſed the *Pomœrium* of the city of *Rome*, by taking in *Mount Aventin*; the enlarging the bounds of the city being a peculiar privilege of ſuch as enlarged the dominions of the empire. This, [d] *Tacitus* tells us, was done this very year, agreeable to the inſcription ſtill preſerved at *Rome* and quoted by *Lipſius*, which was erected on that occaſion; and atteſts that *Rome* was thus enlarged by *Claudius*, when he was *Imperator* the ſixteenth time, and in the ninth of his *Tribunitian* power [e]. Theſe are my reaſons for fixing *A. D.* 49. as the time of *Veſpaſian's* compleating his conqueſt of the *Belgæ*, *Durotriges*, and the *Cangi*, and reducing their countries as well as thoſe that lay further weſt, into the form of a province.

[2] His *Welſh* name is *Caradoc*, perhaps, from *Gearait*, *wiſe*, *prudent*, *experienced*, (ſee *Iriſh Dict.* in *Arch. Brit. v.* GEARAIT) and *Tog*, *dux*, or *general*.

[a] *Camd. ib.* [b] *Goltz.* p. 41, c. 6. *Onufr. Faſt.* p. 200. [c] *Goltz. ib.* [d] *Tacit. Ann.* 12. n. 23. *Lipſ. in loc. Onufr. Faſt.* p. 201.

[e] The whole Inſcription runs thus, TI. CLAVDIVS. DRVSI. F. CAESAR. AVG. GERMANICVS. PONT. MAX. TRIB. POT. VIIII. IMP. XVI. COSS. IIII. CENSOR. PP. AVCTIS. POPVLI. ROMANI. FINIBVS. POMERIVM. AMPLIAVIT. TERMINAVIT. &c.

A. D. 49. able to bear any fatigue, was intrepid in the midſt of danger; eager for action, but ſtill with judgment; taking care to have ſome advantage of ground and ſituation, if not of numbers on his ſide; never dejected in adverſity, nor daunted by a defeat, but the very day after he had been worſted, ready for another engagement. He ſaw his *Britains* inferior to the *Romans*, both in their arms and diſcipline, and conſequently an unequal match for them in a pitched battle: he for this reaſon carefully avoided coming to a general action; but never miſſed an opportunity of ſurprizing or attacking them on a ſudden; and ſcarce allowing them time to breath, haraſſed them continually with ſkirmiſhes in leſſer parties. In this manner, at the head of his *Cattuvellauni* alone, unaſſiſted by any other of the *Britiſh* nations, he held out longer than all the mighty force of united *Gaule*, once thought too great for any thing human to reſiſt, had done, againſt the power of the *Roman* empire. *Plautius* was a wiſe, brave, and experienced general; but beſides the *Dobuni*, *Ancalites*, and *Trinovantes*, ſtates of the *Belgic Britains*, who, glad of the opportunity of throwing off the yoke of the *Cattuvellauni*, to whom they had been lately made vaſſals, had ſubmitted to *Claudius*, he does not ſeem to have ſubdued any other *Britiſh* ſtates, or to have made any great progreſs againſt *Caratacus* in the four years that his government laſted. He had probably in that time reduced *Hertfordſhire*, and carried the *Roman* arms into the lower countries of *Bedford* and *Northampton*; but had not ſecured the poſſeſſion of them by forts, when, upon his ſucceſs in ſome more conſiderable engagements than ordinary, he returned to *Rome* in *A. D.* 47, [1] had great honours done him by the emperor, and was allowed the leſſer kind of triumph. called the *Ovatio*. The perſon who ſucceeded him immediately in his government, is not mentioned either by *Tacitus* or *Dio*; but whoever he was, or whether the war was managed only by the legates of the legions, *Caratacus* ſeems to have gained ſome advantages, and to have recovered a good part of his territories, before the next conſulary legate came over.

A. D. 50. It was in *A. D.* 50, when *C. Antiſtius Vetus* and *M. Suilius Nervilianus* were conſuls, that *P. Oſtorius Scapula* an active and experienced general, was ſent over into *Britain*; and found the affairs of his province in great confuſion. The ſeaſon for action was almoſt over, and the winter beginning when he arrived here: yet as the enemy were ravaging the lands of the allies of the *Romans*, probably of the *Dobuni*, he drew out a body of forces immediately, and falling upon them, when they little expected ſuch an attack from a new commander, at the head of troops to which he was as yet a ſtranger, gained a compleat victory over them, and either killed or diſperſed their whole army. His next care was to provide for the ſecurity of the *Roman* conqueſts, and to guard againſt all ſurprizes and ſudden attacks, to which his forces might be expoſed, either through the vigilance of an enterprizing and reſtleſs enemy, or the infidelity and malignity of allies unfit to be truſted. This he did by a line or *Prætentura* of forts and garriſons, which he planted along the *Anton* or *Nen* in *Northamptonſhire*, and on the banks of the *Severne*; and by diſarming all ſuſpected perſons: which he ſeems not only to have done in the countries reduced by the *Romans*, but to have attempted likewiſe in thoſe of their allies. Such were the *Iceni*, a powerful nation, who had ſuffered nothing by the war; having hitherto lived in amity and kept the alliance, which they had voluntarily entered into with *Claudius*: but now, incenſed at this uſage, they were the firſt that refuſed to deliver up their arms; and [2] calling in the neighbouring nations to their aſſiſtance, took the field with an army. *Oſtorius*, neither allowing them time to receive further reinforcements, nor waiting the coming up of his own legions, marched againſt them immediately with his auxiliary troops;

[1] *Dio*, l. lx. p. 685. *Sueton Claud.* c. 24. [2] *Tacit. Ann.* xii. n. 31, 32. *Vit. Agric.* n. 14.

forced

forced them in their intrenchments after an obſtinate combat: and making a terrible ſlaughter among them, ſtruck by this ſeaſonable blow a terror into the nations that were wavering, and kept them from breaking out into open hoſtilities. It was probably on this occaſion, that he planted a colony of veteran ſoldiers at *Camulodunum*, the moſt advanced town of the *Trinovantes* towards the borders of the *Iceni*; who inhabited the eaſtern counties, which afterwards compoſed the kingdom of the *Eaſt Angles*; in order to awe that potent people, and prevent their making incurſions into the countries on that ſide, ſubject to the *Romans*. For the better ſecurity of the *Roman* conqueſts in another quarter on the ſide of the *Severne*, againſt the *Silures*, *Cogiduvnus*[1], king (as his name imports) of the *Dobuni*, in the ſhires of *Glouceſter* and *Oxford*, was not only allowed to keep his own principality; but had alſo other people of the *Belgic* colonies put under his government. Theſe were probably the *Regni* (among whom his authority is atteſted by the inſcription found *A. D.* 1723, at *Chiceſter*) and the *Atrebates*, who lay between them and the *Dobuni*. Theſe people, who had been ſo forward in contributing to the glory of *Claudius* by their free and early ſubmiſſion to him, might naturally deſire to be governed by a *Belgic Britain* like themſelves: and it was good policy likewiſe in the *Romans* to gratify them in their requeſt, and allow them to enjoy their own laws and cuſtoms, till they came to be better acquainted with thoſe of the empire. It was the very method, which *Julius Cæſar* had taken to reduce *Gaule*, and to divide the nations that inhabited it; putting his own creatures at the head of ſome of their greateſt ſtates, and thus engaging them to aſſiſt him with their forces againſt the others, till they were all at laſt in their turn ſubdued: nor had it a leſs effect in *Britain*; where the aſſiſtance of the *Belgic* colonies was of ſingular ſervice to the *Romans* in the reducing of the *Old Natives*. A. D. 50.

Cogiduvnus ſeems to have been a young man, when this confidence was placed in him; which might be done the more ſafely, becauſe of the animoſities that reigned between thoſe different ſets of *Britains*, and of the particular injuries he had received in his own territories from the *Catturvellauni*. Nor was he unfaithful to his truſt; but during the fifty years he lived afterwards, till the time of *Trajan* and *Tacitus*, he continued always firmly attached to the *Romans*, even in the worſt circumſtances of their affairs. It may ſtill be queſtioned, whether he governed his additional dominions by the title of king, or by that of *Legatus Auguſti*, given him in the *Chicheſter* inſcription, as well as the name of *Tiberius Claudius Cogiduvnus*. This laſt ſhews that he was a citizen of *Rome*, and had been made ſo by the favour of the emperor *Claudius*; it being uſual, in ſuch caſes, to aſſume the *prænomen* and family name of thoſe, who, by their inſtances and protection, had procured any to be made denizens[2]. It muſt be obſerved that *Julius Cæſar*, to gain the princes and nobility of *Gaule*, had given all of them the *jus civitatis*; and *A. D.* 47. *Claudius* had given them likewiſe the *jus ſenatorum*; ſo that they were all capable of being admitted to the higheſt offices and dignities in the empire. This was a point that he ſeems to have had much at heart; and the general edict for that purpoſe was carried in the ſenate by the weight of his interpoſition, and of a ſpeech he made on that occaſion; the ſubſtance of which is preſerved by *Tacitus*[3]. When *Claudius* had, three years before *Oſtorius* came into *Britain*, thus qualified the *Gallic* nobility in general for the higheſt charges and offices of ſtate, even in *Rome* itſelf, it cannot be thought, that, when he was mind-

[1] From *Cocuy* lordſhip, rule, dominion, *&c.* (See *Uhuyd's Archæol. Brit.* in the *Welſh* words omitted in Dr. *Davies's Dictionary*) and *Dobuni*, a word latinized from *Duffen*, or *Duvn*, *i. e.* low, expreſſing their ſituation in the vales of *Oxford* and *Glouceſter ſhires*.

[2] *Cicero Ep. Familiar.* l. xiii. *Ep.* 36, 37.

[3] *Tacit. Ann.* xi. n. 23, 24, 25.

A. D. 51. ed to ſhew favour to a *Britiſh* prince, he ſhould treat him with leſs regard, than a common nobleman in *Gaule*; eſpecially when this prince was capable of rendering him great ſervices in the conqueſt of *Britain*; his favourite ſcheme, that was deſigned to be the diſtinguiſhing glory of his reign. I ſee, therefore, no incongruity in ſuppoſing that he communicated to *Cogidunus* the *jus ſenatorum*, as well as *civitatis*, and gave him a commiſſion to act in the countries committed to his care as a *Legatus Auguſti*, the title he bears in the *Chicheſter* inſcription.

Ostorius, having thus provided for the ſecurity of the provinces, during his abſence, reſolved to advance into the enemies country. The [1] *Cornavii* of *Shropſhire*, and the *Cori-ceni*, or leſſer *Iceni*, (who are by the tranſlator of *Ptolemy*, called *Coritani*, and by Mr. *Baxter*, [2] *Corigauni*,) were clients to the other *Iceni*, or at leaſt united with them by a coalition or confederacy of their ſeveral tribes and communities; and conſequently were the likelieſt people to have joined them in their

[1] The general name of the old *Britains*, the firſt inhabitants of this iſland, who for that reaſon are by *Cæſar* called *Aborigines*, was *Brigantes* or *Britanni*; and the different communities thereof were diſtinguiſhed by particular denominations, derived either from their ſituation, or their manner of life and buſineſs. Thus thoſe who lived on the banks of the river *Gad*, now called *Sed*, were called *Gadeni*; thoſe who inhabited the part of *Shropſhire*, and the neighbouring country, lying north and eaſt of the *Severne*, where this river makes a winding, and changeth its courſe from eaſt to ſouth, were named *Cornavii*, from *Kern* or *Corn* (*cornu* or *vertex*) and *Av* (*aqua*, *flumen*, or *mare*) the ſame name being alſo for that reaſon given to other people as well in *Cornwall* as in the north of *Scotland*: So the inhabitants of the foreſt of *Dene*, *Herefordſhire*, and *South-wales*, were from their dwelling in woods (*Coil* in *Iriſh*) called *Coilures*, *i. e. viri ſylveſtres*, and by a change frequent enough of *C* into *S*, *Silures*. *Tacitus* tells us, that the chief or ſole employment of the *Iceni* was the feeding of their cattle, in which all their ſubſtance, and what traffic they had, conſiſted; and they had ſuch an utter averſion to agriculture, that the *Romans* obliging them to till the ground, was the general grievance, which contributed moſt to provoke them to an inſurrection under *Boadicea*. From this employment of theirs, and from *Ychen* (oxen or cows in which they chiefly dealt) they were, as I conceive, called *Iceni*, as a part of them that lived in the *Fenns*, and drove their cattle from place to place, as the nature of the ſoil and the ſeaſon of the year directed, were termed *Girvii*, *i. e. actores pecudum*. The *Cor-iceni* lived higher within the land than the *Iceni*; their country afforded very good paſture for ſheep as well as oxen, with both which they ſupplied the *Romans*, and *Cor* ſignifying a ſheep, or *Gor*, *ſuper*, above, they had probably their name given them for one or other of theſe reaſons. The foreſt of *Ar-dene* running through *Warwick* and *Worceſter ſhires*, and the like foreſts ſpreading themſelves in *Shropſhire* beyond the *Severne*, and into the mountainous parts of *North-wales*, afforded excellent *paſnage* for hogs, an article much more conſiderable in *England* formerly than it is now; though great droves of theſe animals are ſtill brought every year from theſe parts to *London*: and from *Huch*, a hog, I ſuppoſe the inhabitants of *Worceſterſhire*, and the bordering parts of the adjoining counties, who lived under the government of a ſingle prince, called thence by *Tacitus Ven-utius*, derived their name of *Huicii*; as thoſe who inhabited beyond *Severne*, as well in *Shropſhire* as in *North-wales*, continuing in the ancient independent ſtate of clanns, uncontrolled by any ſingle ſuperior or monarch, were ſtyled, *Ord-uices* or the *free Huiccii*. Mr. *Baxter*, who, in *Gloſſ. Ant. Brit. v.* Orduices, ſays *Ordh* ſignifies free, aſcribes the ſame meaning to the *Britiſh* word *Changon*, though *on* being a plural termination, he interprets this laſt word by the *Latin clintelares*, a term which implies ſome dependance upon others; though as to ſervitude it was a thing unknown in *Britain*. I cannot, on this occaſion help expreſſing my wonder, why he did not derive the name *Cangi* from this word rather than from *Ceang*, *ramus*, they being (as he ſays) the *paſtoritia pubes*: For I cannot but think that they took care of the cattle of others as well as their own, and might on that account be rightly enough termed *clientelares*. They were known by this name in moſt quarters of this iſland, as well among the *Belgic*, as the old, *Britains*; and were a ſort of *drovers* employed in keeping cattle and driving them from place to place to paſtures proper for the ſeaſons, like the *Nomades* in other parts of the world, without any fixed habitation; being ſheltered from the weather, only by ſuch miſerable huts, as they raiſed on a ſudden to ſerve them for the ſhort time of their ſtay, as they are deſcribed by *Strabo*. They were a luſty and hardy ſet of men, in great numbers; and when it was neceſſary to change their paſtures, they removed in large bodies and droves. It was perhaps from hence, that among an infinite number of *Engliſh* words derived from the *Britiſh*, came the term *Gang*, to expreſs a crew or company of people, and *Ganging* to denote the removing of perſons, eſpecially in numbers, from one place to another. The word ſeems originally derived from the *Belgic Gan*, or *Gangon*, *i. e. vadere*, *migrare*, *proficiſci*. See *Wachter's Gloſſar. Germ. in v.* Gangen. It was for the ſame reaſon, that the *Britiſh* inhabitants of *Wales*, continuing this practiſe of removing their cattle and habitations from place to place (which is ſtill practiſed in ſome mountainous parts, and was univerſally ſo in former ages) after the cuſtom was diſuſed in *England*, were called *Wallenſes*, not from *Wealh* a ſtranger, (a very improper term for the original inhabitants) but from *Walen*, which as well as *Walones*, *Wandali*, *Wandlen*, were words ſynonymous to that of *Nomades*, as *Grotius* has ſhewn in *Prolegom. ad Hiſt. Gothorum*, p. 25.

[2] *Gloſſ. Brit. v.* Coriceni and Cornavii.

late

late revolt and invaſion of the *Roman* territories. The latter inhabited (beſides part of *Northamptonſhire*, of which the *Romans* were maſters) the counties of *Leiceſter*, *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, and *Derby*; moſt of which laſt, and perhaps the foreſts and woodlands of *Staffordſhire*, ſerved their *Ceangi*, or the numerous bands of their herdſmen, for the paſture of their cattle; there being ſome remains of their name in the town and heath of *Cannock*, and in *Cankwood*; which is ſtill a conſiderable tract of ground, and formerly took up a great part of that county. Theſe *Cangi* making the chief ſtrength of thoſe people, *Oſtorius* marched directly againſt them with an army which they durſt not engage: and though whenever an advantage offered, they fell upon his rear, they were ſtill repulſed with loſs in every attack. The *Cangi*[1] of the *Cornavii* lay contiguous to thoſe of the *Coritani* or *Corigauni*, and ſpread themſelves from *Staffordſhire* all over *Cheſhire*; countries affording very proper paſtures for their droves of cattle, but without any towns or places of defence; ſo that the *Romans* waſting the fields, and carrying off all the cattle they found in their marſhes, advanced within ſight of the *Iriſh* ſea, probably on the coaſt of *Denbighſhire* and *Flint*, as far as the promontory of *Ganoc*, near *Conway*, and perhaps into the peninſula of *Wirral*, where[1] *Baxter* places another promontory of the *Cangani*, different from that in *Carnarvanſhire*. *Oſtorius* was called thence by a ſedition that aroſe among the *Brigantes*, which it was neceſſary to ſuppreſs in time, leſt all that populous nation ſhould be drawn into the war againſt him: his celerity contributed to his ſucceſs, and by the death of a few who had taken arms, all the reſt remained quiet. It is probable this was not done without an engagement; becauſe there is ſtill ſeen a *Roman* encampment on a moor near *Finningley*, a little off the road from *Littleborough* to *Doncaſter*, on the borders of *Hatfield* foreſt, which ſerved for a faſtneſs to the *Britains*; who ſallying out to hinder the *Romans* from burning and deſtroying the woods, a battle enſued; the memorial whereof, as well as of the general that commanded, is preſerved to this day in the name of an adjoining town called from thence *Oſtorfield*[2]. A. D. 51.

Neither clemency and mildneſs, nor ſeverity and terror could work on the *Silures*; a powerful, hardy, and warlike nation, inhabiting beyond the *Severne*, in the ſhires of *Hereford*, *Monmouth*, and the adjoining provinces of *Southwales*. *Caratacus*, driven out of his own dominions, and not ſucceeding in the commotions he hoped to raiſe among the *Brigantes*, retired thither with the remains of his forces: and drew them into the war againſt the *Romans*, who, in hopes of quelling them as eaſily as the *Brigantes*, marched immediately to attack them, paſſing through *Shropſhire*, the readieſt way from *Cheſhire* to *Herefordſhire*, the chief ſeat of the *Silures*, and the only convenient one at that time, when all other roads were intercepted by vaſt foreſts that ſeemed unpaſſable. *Oſtorius* took his legionary troops with him in this expedition: and *Caratacus*, whoſe military ſkill and great reputation, procured him the chief command of the *Britiſh* forces, being too weak to fight him in the field, and yet thinking it proper to keep the country of the *Silures* from being made the ſeat of war, paſſed the river *Teme*, which parts *Herefordſhire* from *Shropſhire*; and being there reinforced by ſuch of the *Ordovices* (who poſſeſſed the part of this laſt county which lies beyond *Severne*) as were againſt all accomodation with the *Romans*, poſted his army in a very advantageous ſituation. *Tacitus* deſcribes the place as every way favourable to the *Britains*, but very difficult of acceſs for the *Romans*, if they were to make an attack, and full as inconvenient for them in caſe of a retreat; it being ſeated on a high mountain, the moſt acceſſible part of which was fortified with a wall of

[1] *Gloſſ. Antiq. Brit.* v. Cangi. [2] *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, n. 275.

A. D. 51. ſtones, as the foot of it was waſhed by a river, guarded by the choiceſt of his troops, and not eaſy to be forded. It cannot be improper here to obſerve, that where the river *Colun*[1] falls into the *Teme*, among ſeveral dangerous fords, there ariſeth an hill acceſſible, but at one place, and called to this day *Caer-Caradoc*. "On the top of this hill is a large camp, the trenches whereof are very deep, "though the ſoil is an hard rock; the rampires are walled, but the wall is now "covered with earth, which being removed a little, the ſtones appear. It is "ſituated on the eaſtern point of a very ſteep hill, and hath no acceſs, but from a "plain on the weſt, where it is fenced with an high treble rampire, and is thrice "as long as it is broad. There is alſo a narrow paſſage out of it towards the "eaſt, upon the very pitch of the hill; the north ſide thereof is fortified with "a deep and double trench, but on the ſouth it hath only a ſingle trench, becauſe "the ſteepneſs of that ſide of the hill is of itſelf a good defence." The name of this encampment, the deſcription of the place ſo agreeable to that of *Tacitus*; the *Roman Tumuli* and camps ſtill to be ſeen on the *Shropſhire* ſide of the *Teme*, and the *Britiſh* camp about three miles off, on the *Herefordſhire* ſide of that river, allow no room to doubt, but that *Colun* or *Clun* was the river which the *Romans* were to paſs, and could not ford without danger, and that this was the place of that memorable battle, which is here to be related.

Caratacus drew up his army, according to the *Clans* of which it was compoſed; each chieftain being placed at the head of his own vaſſals, and encouraging his men by every motive that could inſpire reſolution. Nor was the General wanting in this reſpect, going from rank to rank to put them in mind, that the enjoyment of their liberty, or an eternal ſlavery depended on the fate of that day; which the whole army anſwered with a general huzza, and every clan vowed in the ſeveral forms uſed by each, when they devoted themſelves, that they would not give way in any danger or extremity whatever. *Oſtorius* was a little ſtartled at this alacrity of the enemy, and at the difficulties which the river, the mountain, and the rampires, put in the way of an attack: but his ſoldiers appearing extremely eager for action, he paſſed the river without much difficulty, and mounting the hill, advanced to the rampires. Theſe being made of looſe ill-compacted ſtones, without any cement, were eaſily thrown down by the *Romans*; who forming with their ſhields a *teſtudo*, to guard them from the enemies darts, ſoon broke into the camp; the *Britains* retiring to the top of the mountain. There a bloody combat enſued to the great diſadvantage of the *Britains*; who having neither coats of mail nor helmets, and but little uſe of their javelins in a cloſe engagement, were over-powered by the *Romans*; who made a terrible ſlaughter among them, and gained a compleat victory.

In this action *Caratacus's* wife and daughter were taken, and his brothers ſurrendered themſelves: nor did he meet with a better fate, though he eſcaped from the field of battle. For taking refuge in the territories of *Cartiſmandua*, queen of the *Brigantes*, (who is by ſome thought to have been his ſtep-mother, and widow of *Cunobeline*) ſhe treacherouſly ſeized his perſon, and delivered him up in chains to the *Romans*, in the ninth year after the war had commenced in *Britain*, *i. e.* either *A. D.* 51, when that year began, or *A. D.* 52, when it ended. The fame of his great exploits had ſpread not only over the neighbouring iſles, but over the continent as far as *Italy*, where every body longed to ſee a man who had withſtood the power of the empire for ſo many years, and whoſe captivity was deemed as great a glory to the *Romans*, as the taking of *Syphax*, king of *Numidia*, or of *Perſeus*, king of *Macedon*. His entry into *Rome* was made with great

[1] *Camd. Britan. Ed.* 1723. *Shropſhire.*

ſolemnity;

ſolemnity; the people being invited to ſee the pomp of the ſpectacle; the pretorian cohorts under arms, drawn out to line the plain through which he marched in proceſſion, with his wife, daughter, brothers, vaſſals, and all the ſpoils taken in war, to the throne on which the emperor was ſeated. There, without any dejection of countenance, or fueing for pity in words unworthy of his dignity, he addreſſed himſelf to *Claudius* in the following harangue: "If my moderation in "proſperity had been anſwerable to my birth and fortune, I ſhould have come "into this city rather as a friend, than a captive; nor would you have diſdained "an alliance with a prince, deſcended of noble anceſtors, and ruling over ſeveral "nations. My preſent condition, diſgraceful as it is to myſelf, is yet glorious to "you: I had horſes, vaſſals, arms, and riches; Can it be a wonder that I ſhould "part with them unwillingly? But if you reſolve to make your empire univerſal, "all nations muſt of courſe become your ſubjects. If I had ſubmitted readily, "my fate would have been leſs remarkable, and your glory leſs eminent. If you "put me to death, the grave will ſoon bury me for ever in oblivion: but if you "ſave me alive, I ſhall be an everlaſting monument of your clemency." The ſtrong ſenſe, the magnanimity, and noble ſentiments expreſſed in this ſpeech, joined to the addreſs, the courage, and firmneſs that appeared in all the behaviour of *Caratacus*, ſtruck the whole audience: and made ſuch an impreſſion on *Claudius*, that he ſet him and his family at liberty. As every thing relating to ſo great man deſerves notice, I cannot forbear mentioning the reflection, which *Zonaras*[1] obſerves he made upon viewing the city, and admiring the beauties of *Rome*, "nothing, (he ſaid) "ſurprizing him ſo much, as that the *Romans*, who had ſuch magnificent "palaces of their own, ſhould envy the wretched cabbins of the *Britains*." It is however full as ſurprizing, that the compiler of the romance rather than hiſtory, tranſlated by *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, ſhould ſo little conſult the honour of his country, as not to mention *Caratacus*; and thus paſs by a real heroe, in order to ſubſtitute in his ſtead a fictitious one, who never had a being, but in the imagination of that fabulous writer: who, from a paſſage in *Juvenal*, ill underſtood, hath taken occaſion to change a term meerly[2] appellative, and denoting an *eminent chieftain*, or a *chief commander* of an army, into the proper name of *Arviragus*, and to aſſign the time of *Claudius* for events, that were only predicted in the reign of *Domitian*.

A. D. 51.

THE victory over *Caratacus* procured *Oſtorius* the triumphal ornaments; but proved in a manner the laſt inſtance of his good fortune: for whether that ſucceſs made the *Romans* more ſecure and negligent, as if all the danger of war was over, when *Caratacus* was taken, or the treacherous ſeizure and undeſerved calamity of ſo great a prince, fired the *Britains* with revenge, theſe laſt gained ſeveral advantages over the enemy. They made a ſudden attack on a field marſhal, who had been left with a body of legionary cohorts, to build forts in the country of the *Silures*: and would have cut them all in pieces, if ſuccours had not been ſent immediately from the neareſt ſtations; the marſhal however was killed, with eight centurions, and the braveſt of the cohorts. They ſoon after defeated the *Roman* foragers, and the cavalry that eſcorted them; nor could the light-armed cohorts, which *Oſtorius* ſent to their aſſiſtance, ſtop their flight: and though bringing up his legions, he renewed the battle, the *Britains* maintained it with little loſs till night came on, and then retired. This battle was followed by an infinite number of ſkirmiſhes in foreſts, woods, and marſhes, as chance and opportunities

[1] P. 186.

[2] *Arviragus*, a latinized word for *Ardvraight*, *i. e.* the chief head of a clan, or principal chieftain, from *Ard*, high, and *Vracht*, a ſupport: or *Vraight*, a potentate; the chieftains of the *Iriſh* ſepts being ſtill to this day, called *Vraights*, as *Cambden* tells us in *Brit. Ireland, Colerane*; ſee *Lhuyd's Archæol. Brit.* in *Iriſh, Engliſh Dictionary*.

A. D. 51. offered, with various ſucceſs; in all which the *Silures* diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their eagerneſs for action, and violent animoſity againſt the *Romans*, occaſioned by a raſh word which dropped from the *Proprætor*; threatening them with utter extirpation, and *tranſplanting* them like the *Sicambri* into another country. They cut off two auxiliary cohorts, that were roving about the country for plunder; and diſtributing the booty and captives among the neighbouring nations, were
A. D. 53. drawing them into a revolt; when *Oſtorius* died, worn out with a continued ſeries of care and anxiety. *Claudius* loſt no time in diſpatching *A. Didius Gallus* to ſucceed him in a province, which lying remote, being newly reduced, and ſubject to diſturbances, it was dangerous to leave a moment without a governour: but whatever haſte *Didius* made to his province, he found the affairs there in no good condition; the legion commanded by *Manlius Valens* having been defeated by the *Silures*, who ravaged all the countries about them, till the legate's arrival obliged them to retire.

These were not the only enemies he had upon his hands; for he found himſelf involved in a very troubleſome affair: which, if it had not actually broke out into a war, had at leaſt laid the foundation of one in the time of his predeceſſor. *Venutius*[1] the head, prince, or chieftain of the *Uiccii* or *Vigantes*, (called erroneouſly *Jugantes* by the tranſcribers of *Tacitus*) a people in confederacy with the *Iceni*, and inhabiting the counties of *Warwick* and *Worceſter*, had gained a great reputation for his military ſkill: and after the taking of *Caratacus*, was deemed the beſt commander in *Britain*. He had hitherto been attached to the *Romans*, had done them ſervices, and been ſupported by them on occaſion. It was probably by their protection and influence, that his match was concluded with queen *Cartiſmandua*; and the power he had acquired by that marriage, might have enabled him to keep the *Brigantes* quiet; notwithſtanding all the endeavours of *Caratacus* to engage them in the war, and the diſturbance raiſed with that view by ſome of their clans; which however was ſoon quelled (as hath been obſerved) by the help of *Oſtorius*. This marriage was not followed with all the harmony which ought ever to attend ſuch an union: but no diſſenſion brake out till after *Cartiſmandua* had, by the ſeizing of *Caratacus*, ingratiated herſelf ſo with the *Romans*, that her credit with them increaſed her power, and ſhe thought herſelf ſure of their ſupport in any exigence. This encouraged her to proceed to an open breach with her huſband; and that rupture produced a war, which was carried on at firſt between themſelves and their *Britiſh* adherents, till ſhe found means, by her intrigues, to get the brother, and neareſt relations of *Venutius* into her power. This aggravating the occaſion of the quarrel, ſtrengthened the huſband's party, whoſe treatment was generally reſented; and he entering full of fury into her territories with a choice body of troops, ſhe was obliged to call in the *Romans* to her aſſiſtance. *Didius*, too old or unactive to take the field himſelf, or not caring to riſque the reputation he had already gained, managed the war by his lieutenants: and ſending firſt ſome auxiliary cohorts, and ſoon after *Ceſius Naſica*, with his legion, to her aſſiſtance, ſeveral battles were fought with a doubtful event, though rather to the advantage of the *Romans*.

Under *Nero*. V. This *Tacitus* relates as a ſummary of what paſſed in this quarrel from *A. D.* 53. in which *Oſtorius* ſeems to have died, and *A. D.* 58. when *Veranius* ſucceeded *Didius*: what followed afterwards was very fatal to *Cartiſmandua*. Elated with the ſupport ſhe found from the *Romans*, or impatient to gratify an irregular paſſion, which probably was the ground of the averſion ſhe ſhewed to

[1] *Baxter's Gloſſ. Brit. v.* Iceni, Jugantes, Guiccii, Venutius.

her

her husband, she ventured to marry *Vellocatus*, the captain of her guards, or general of her forces; a step which alienating the minds of her subjects, soon proved her ruin. *Venutius* hoping much from their disaffection levied, with the assistance of his allies, a considerable army, with which he made another attempt upon her dominions: and the *Brigantes*, in general, declaring in his favour, he soon made himself master of the greatest part of her territories. The *Romans* did not fail to come to her succour: but all they could do was to save her person from being taken; *Venutius* remaining in possession of her kingdom, and they, by intermeddling in the dispute, having lost in him a serviceable friend, got an irreconcileable enemy, and entailed a dangerous war upon themselves. *A. D.* 53.

DIDIUS had contented himself with preserving what the *Romans* were already masters of in *Britain*: [1] but *Veranius*, more active or more ambitious than his predecessor, proposed nothing less than the reduction of the whole *island*. He began with some little incursions into the country of the *Silures*: but dying in less than a year, left his vast project unexecuted. He was succeeded by *Suetonius Paulinus*, *A. D.* 59. the first of the *Romans* that ever passed mount [2] *Atlas*, and carried their arms to the banks of the *Niger*, and superior in the art of war [3] to most generals of the age; no body having reputation enough to dispute that character with him, except *Corbulo*; the glory of whose conquests in *Armenia*, he was desirous to eclipse by greater in *Britain*. Success attended him for the two first years of his government in all his expeditions; in which having reduced some nations, (which *Tacitus* [4] doth not mention, but were probably some clans of the *Ordouices*,) and secured his conquests by strong garrisons, he advanced to the isle of *Mona* or *Anglesey*, which served for a retreat to the enemies of the *Romans*. It was separated from the rest of *Britain* by a narrow channel: but he had provided a number of flat bottomed vessels to transport his foot; and there was a convenient ford, or shallow, at which the horse, by swimming a little way, might easily pass over to a part of the opposite shore, where there was good landing.

THIS place [5] seems to have been, where the tradition of the country reports *A. D.* 61. it, near *Porthamel*, in the parish of *Llanidan*, the channel being there narrower than in any other part; the *Welsh* names of the place where the vessels touched the shore, and of the field where the battle was fought, still preserving a memorial of those actions: and this, being confirmed by the remains of a *Roman* camp, *British* weapons, bones and ashes, a large *Tumulus*, and the coins of *Claudius* there found, leaves little room for doubt in the matter. Here *Suetonius* attempting to pass with his forces, found the shore lined with a numerous army of *Britains* well provided with arms, and another body of *Druids* of both sexes, that made a very different figure; the women running about, like furies, in a mournful habit; their hair waving on their shoulders, and flaming torches in their hands; the men lifting up their hands to heaven, and pouring out dreadful execrations against their enemies. The *Roman* soldiers unused to fear on other occasions, were struck with the strangeness of the sight; which had rather the appearance of sacred ceremonies, than of a military behaviour: and stopping short, stood motionless as statues, exposed to the darts of the *Britains*, and receiving wounds without thinking, either of guarding their bodies, or of advancing forward. Thus [6] at the siege of *Barcelona*, *A. D.* 1715. when the late general *Dillon* had carried the place by storm, and planted his men on the top of the breach, not suffering them to advance further into the town, (which, in such a case, it would have been impossible

[1] *Tacit. Ann.* xiv. n. 29.
[2] *Plin.* l. v. c. 1.
[3] *Tacit. Hist.* ii. n. 31.
[4] *Vit. Agric.* n. 14.
[5] *Mon. Antiq.* p. 85. and *Camden's Anglesey.*
[6] This relation I had from general *Dillon* himself, who had sixteen officers of his name out of his own regiment killed that day, either in these attacks, or by fire from the houses near the breach.

A. D. 61. to ſave, according to the king of *Spain's* orders, from being plundered,) after they had been poſted there ſome hours, a body of *Capucins*, and other religious, with their gowns tucked up, a broad ſword in one hand, a croſs in the other, and the hoſte carried in ſolemn pomp before them, advancing to attack them, the *Iriſh* of the general's own regiment, that never before turned their backs to an enemy, ſurprized at this religious, rather than warlike parade, quitted the breach without ſtriking a blow, in ſpight of all his exhortations; and it was ſome time before he could re-aſſure, and bring them on to a ſecond ſtorm; which made them maſters again of the place, after the loſs of half his regiment.

The *Romans* at laſt, by their general's exhortations, recollected themſelves; and encouraging one another not to be frighted at the aſpect of a parcel of female furies, and a band of frantic enthuſiaſts, advanced with fury againſt the *Britains:* and bearing down all that ſtood in their way, threw them and the *Druids* into their own fires, which had been prepared for the ſacrifice of their captive enemies. In deteſtation of the barbarities introduced by the *Druidical* ſuperſtition of ſacrificing men, and mangling their bodies, in order to their divinations, they demoliſhed the altars, and cut down the groves, then ſpread all over the country; which though now bare of trees, ſtill preſerves a monument of its ancient ſtate, in the name of *Llwyn*, i. e. *Groves*, being annexed to the other diſtinguiſhing names of a great number of places, in the neighbourhood of that, where this battle was fought. This havock rendered the country utterly unfit for the abode of the *Druids*; who finding themſelves more particularly the object of the *Roman* hatred, quitted the iſland, and took refuge in *Ireland*, and the *Hebrides*. *Suetonius*, to ſecure his conqueſt of *Angleſey*, applied himſelf to the building of forts in the moſt convenient ſituations; [1] ſome remains of which are ſtill viſible, and his name of *Paulinus*, (in *Welſh Polyon)* preſerved in a *commot*, or quarter of the country. He had begun to provide them with garriſons, when he was called out of the iſland, and forced to collect all the forces he could together, in order to make head againſt a ſudden revolt of the *Britiſh* provinces that had ſubmitted to the empire, or rather a general inſurrection of all the *Old Britains:* the cauſes of which, do not ſeem to me ſufficiently repreſented by the *Roman* writers; who, neither in their relations, nor in the ſpeeches which they have made for *Bunduica*, take notice of any grievance, but what was confined to the *Roman* province.

It is evident from the whole tenour of their relations, that the *Iceni*, who inhabited *Cambridgeſhire*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, the adjoining part of *Eſſex*, and the countries as far north as *Lincolnſhire*, had been for ſome time reduced into the form of a province; and though we are not, by any hiſtorian now extant, directly informed of the preciſe time when this happened, it is yet reaſonable to ſuppoſe it done ſoon after the great victory gained over them by *Oſtorius*, for till then they had been treated [2] as allies of the *Romans*. The policy of this ſtate made them treat their allies with kindneſs, as long as they continued faithful: but in caſe of a revolt, they thought it could not be puniſhed with too great ſeverity. *Claudius*, however, had relaxed a good deal of the rigour of this maxim in favour of the *Iceni:* and had remitted to them the confiſcation of their eſtates; which having been forfeited by their acts of hoſtility, would otherwiſe have been ſeized, upon their being reduced into the form of a province. But the ordinary impoſitions laid upon provinces, were grievous enough to the *Britains*, who had not been uſed to any thing of that nature. Such were the tenth [3] of all the produce of their arable ground; a cer-

[1] *Mona Antiq.* p. 99, 113, 114.

[2] Such people as upon the invaſion of a province readily joined with the *Romans*, (as the *Iceni* had done *A. D.* 43.) were called *confederates*, and were by agreement to enjoy all their former rights and privileges, without paying any tribute.

[3] *Heineccius Ant. Rom. App.* n. 114, 115, 116, 117, 58, 59.

tain payment in money, according to the number of cattle belonging to a provincial; poll money; and a tax paid for removing the corpſe of a perſon from the place where he died, which could not be done without a particular leave from the governour. This laſt impoſition, which the *Romans* had eſtabliſhed in all their provinces, probably to prevent clandeſtine murders, was very odious to the *Iceni*; though none of them were ſo grievous as that upon cattle, which was their principal, and almoſt their onely, ſubſtance: and this being to be paid in money, they were obliged, having none of their own, to borrow large ſums at exceſſive intereſt, to made preſent payment, and prevent the immediate ſeizure of all their effects. This delayed their ruin but for a little time; the *Romans*, who lent them the money, exacting it again, when they were leaſt able to pay it, with the utmoſt rigour, ſeizing their goods, and turning them out of their houſes and poſſeſſions. *Seneca* is charged by *Dio*, with lending a ſum almoſt incredible in this manner to the *Britains*, and with proceeding to theſe extremities; when the whole was not repaid at once according to his demand: which that author judged to be one of the chief cauſes of the revolt of the *Iceni*. A. D. 61.

The *Trinovantes* likewiſe had their particular grievances; great numbers of them, whoſe eſtates lay about *Camulodunum*, being turned out of their all, to make way for the colony of veterans there ſettled: [1] which could not well have leſs than 200,000 acres of land ſhared out to them and their families. When the *Britains* complained of this hardſhip, which their behaviour had not merited, they were abuſed with reproachful language, called ſlaves and captives, and treated accordingly, forced to till the ground, and to work like artificers; employments which they deteſted, and the more, becauſe all the benefit of their labour went to the *Romans*. The temple likewiſe erected at *Camulodunum*, in honour of *Claudius*, the ſervice of which was very chargeable, the ſacrifices, the flamens, and every thing belonging to it, being defrayed by a tax on the province, was another grievance; and the more uneaſy to them, as it claſhed with their notions of religion, and was a ſort of perpetual monument of that emperor's conqueſt, and their own ſlavery. But what is repreſented as moſt affecting all the provincial *Britains*, was the barbarous treatment of the family and vaſſals of *Praſutagus*, king or prince of the *Iceni*. He had, in the courſe of a long reign, amaſſed a good ſtock of riches, uncommon in that country, and ſufficient to tempt the avarice of the *Roman* officers. He had by his will left the emperor coheir with his own daughters; an act of obſequiouſneſs common enough at *Rome*, for reaſons like that which influenced *Praſutagus*; whoſe view, in this ſtep, was to ſecure his principality to his natural heirs, and his family from all manner of injuries by *Claudius's* protection, which he had thus engaged. The event did not anſwer to his views, for by the *Roman* law [2], no foreigner, nor any perſon, but a citizen entitled to the *jus comitiorum*, had power to make a will: and *Catus Decianus*, the procurator of the province, either on this account, or under colour of the will, entered upon all the effects and poſſeſſions of the deceaſed prince, treated his widow, queen *Bunduica*, with intolerable inſolence, ſcourging her like a ſlave, and violated the chaſtity of her daughters. The late prince's relations were reputed no better than ſlaves; his houſes ſeized by the imperial officers; his principality waſted by the centurions and ſoldiery, who committed inſolences and rapine in all places: and, as if the whole country had been a deed of gift, or had fallen to the empire by eſcheat, the nobility or chieftains of the *Iceni* were turned out of their paternal eſtates. Theſe

[1] Three thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe, with a ſhare of fifty acres of land to each footman, and a double quantity to the centurions and cavalry were allowed even in *Italy*, but in remote countries, and in frontier places, the numbers and ſhares were probably greater. See *Sigon. de Ant. jure Ital.* l. i. *Liv.* l. xxxix. xl.

[2] *Heineccius Element. Jur.* l. ii. *Tit.* xii.

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A. D. 61. were great provocations indeed; but though a dread of the like might poſſibly extend to others, they were as yet confined only to the *Iceni* and *Trinobantes*: and a more general cauſe ought to be aſſigned for a general inſurrection, a thing ſo unuſual in *Britain*,

This cauſe, I take to be the cruelty exerciſed by *Suetonius* upon the *Druids* in *Angleſey*; where he burnt all of them he could catch, and made ſuch deſtruction of their places of worſhip, and of every thing they deemed ſacred, as ſhewed plainly a deſign of utterly extirpating their religion. The *Roman* writers infinitely deteſting a ſuperſtition that produced the moſt ſhocking and inhuman barbarities, ſeem to have had no notion, that the aboliſhing of it could give any diſtaſte to a reaſonable people: but, bad as their religion was, it was ſtill dear to the *Britains*, and the reverence which they bore to the perſons of the *Druids*, was little ſhort of adoration. We are aſſured, by *Cæſar*, and others, of the vaſt influence which they had over the people, and of the power, little leſs than abſolute, which they exerciſed in all public affairs: and this extended into all parts, and over all the different nations of *Britain*. When therefore the more active part of theſe *Druids* employed in the adminiſtration of juſtice, and other magiſtracies in the various provinces of the iſland, heard of the maſſacre of the venerable ſages of their order, retired from the world in *Angleſey*, the deſtruction of their ſeminary, and the terrible havock made of their ſacred places; it was very natural for them to ſtir up the people in all parts to a general inſurrection, and full as natural for the people to riſe in defence of their religion. The *Britains* had hitherto ſhewn very little concern for one another; each nation had minded its own immediate intereſt, and had ſeen with great tranquillity their neighbours, that lay next the danger, attacked, oppreſſed, and ſubdued, without ſtirring a ſtep in their behalf: but now rouzed as it were out of their lethargy, they made a [1] general united effort for their common liberty. The *Britains*, furious on the inſtant of a provocation, ſudden in their reſolutions, and impetuous in their firſt motions, though too variable to perſevere in any meaſures, ran haſtily in all places to arms, and aſſembled immediately out of the *Iceni*, and their vaſſals, or confederates, an army of 120,000 men; which by reinforcements from the *Brigantes*, and other remoter ſtates of the iſland, (not excepting even the *Caledonians* [2]) was ſoon increaſed to 230,000. We do not in any age, nor in any part of the *Britiſh* hiſtory, find another inſtance, either of a general concert in the different ſtates of the country, or of ſuch a prodigious number of forces raiſed on any occaſion, as there was on this: which appears to me perfectly unaccountable in any other manner, than from the mighty influence of the *Druids*, and the common cauſe of religion.

The *Iceni* were the firſt that took the field, either more eager than the others, on account of their own wrongs, and thoſe of their queen *Bunduica*, a woman of a venerable aſpect, graceful perſon, high ſpirit, maſculine courage, and warlike diſpoſition; or lying more conveniently to attack the *Romans* in the heart of their dominions. The *Trinovantes*, and others averſe to ſervitude, ſoon joined them; and having probably ſome of their countrymen, or at leaſt ſome intelligence, in *Camulodunum*, took it either by ſurprize or treachery, and put the colony to the ſword; who, given up to luxury, had taken more care to make the place agreeable and commodious, than to ſtrengthen it by fortifications. The *Romans* had advice of their danger early enough to have provided againſt it: but as the governor was too far diſtant, ſending to *Catus* the procurator for ſuccours, he had ſupplied them

[1] *Tacit. vit. Agricol.* n. 16. *Sumpſere* univerſi *bellum*, & n. 18. *rebellione* totius Britanniæ. *Dio.* l. lxii. init. ἅτε νῆσος ἁλλεπαλλέως.

[2] As may be inferred from *Galgacus's* ſpeech, in which he mentions their aſſiſting the *Britains*, who in former battles with the *Romans*, he ſays, *ſpem ac ſubſidium in* noſtris *manibus habebant*. *Tacit. vit. Agric.* n. 30.

only

only with two hundred men ill armed; and their councils were ſo much influenced by traitors who ſate in them, that they neither ſent away the infirm and uſeleſs multitude, nor threw up any *vallum* or intrenchment, nor took any other reaſonable precaution for their defence. In this condition were they ſurrounded by a multitude of the *Britains* who forcing the place at the firſt onſet, plundered and burnt the town; and in two days more took by ſtorm the temple of *Claudius*; in which all that were left of the garriſon, about two hundred in number, had taken refuge. *Petilius Cerealis* legate of the ninth legion, was by this time on his march for their aſſiſtance; but the *Britains* falling upon him in the way, cut all the foot of his legion in pieces; *Cerealis* himſelf eſcaping with the horſe to his camp, where he defended himſelf by the fortifications. The procurator *Catus* well knowing, how juſtly he was hated in the province, and how much his avarice had contributed to this inſurrection, and the miſchiefs that followed it, fled over into *Gaule*, to avoid the vengeance due to his iniquities. The *Britains*, having no longer any enemy to face them in the field, ſpread themſelves all over the country; putting to the ſword all that were ſubject to the *Romans*; and (what ſhews how extremely they were irritated) not ſparing the lives of even women, and helpleſs people, but putting them to death by burning, crucifying, impaling, and with all manner of exquiſite tortures, and ſhocking circumſtances of cruelty. It is computed that [1] of natural *Romans* and their allies, no leſs than ſeventy or eighty thouſand periſhed on this occaſion. *Verolam* was a *municipium*, or free city, in which the *Britains* enjoyed their municipal laws, and had their own magiſtrates, and other honorary privileges: but not being fortified, it fell an eaſy, though an opulent, prey to the *Iceni*; who did not care ſo much to attack forts and ſtations defended by garriſons, (though they did take ſome of them,) as to rove up and down the country for booty; and having loaded themſelves with it, returned home, like their northern countrymen of later days, to lay it up in a place of ſafety. A. D. 61.

THIS allowed time for *Suetonius* to come from *Angleſey*, to the relief of the province. The countries were all riſen in his way; yet he marched with wonderful confidence, and great expedition through the midſt of enemies, and brought his ſmall body of forces ſafe to *London*; which being admirably ſituated for trade, had been probably the firſt town founded by the *Belgic* colonies upon their ſettlement in this iſland, and was now very famous for its number of merchants, and its plenty of all ſorts of accommodations. He found the place not tenable, by the ſmall body he had with him, againſt the infinite numbers of the enemy, that were by this time got together: and reſolved to quit it, notwithſtanding all the intreaties of the inhabitants; thinking it better to ſacrifice one town, rather than run the hazard of loſing the whole province. He carried off with him ſuch of the citizens as were able to go, and choſe to leave their pleaſant habitations, and valuable effects, rather than loſe their lives: the weaker ſex, and thoſe, who either through age and infirmities were not able, or out of a fondneſs for the place were not willing, to retire, were put to the ſword by the enemy. In this diſtreſſed ſituation, it was very lucky for *Suetonius*, that the *Belgic Britains* ſtood firm to the *Roman* intereſt; by which means he was ſtill maſter of all the countries to the ſouth and weſt of the *Thames*, and might thence be furniſhed with proviſions and ſupplies. Secure from any enemy on that ſide, he aſſembled all the forces he could; drawing the auxiliary cohorts from the neighbouring garriſons which were not tenable: and though *Pœnius Poſtumus*, prefect of the ſecond legion, refuſed to obey his orders, and march with it to his aſſiſtance; yet theſe, with the fourteenth legion, and the *Vexillarii* of the twentieth, making about ten thouſand men, he reſolved to wait no longer, but to venture a general engagement.

[1] *Dio*, l. lxii.

A. D. 61. With this view, he chose a very advantageous situation for his camp, and drew up his troops; the legionaries in the middle, and the light armed on each side of them, and the horse serving for wings to both, in a narrow spot of ground; a wood behind him, so that he could be attacked only in front; and a large open plain before him, where the enemy might expand their numerous forces, but could trapan him into no ambush. There the *Britains* came, full of confidence, with loud huzzas to attack him; *Bunduica* appearing, with her two daughters in a chariot, at the head of her army, which consisted of 230,000 men, and exhorting them to behave with courage, and either conquer or die in the battle. The *Romans* received the charge in their narrow fastness, till they had spent all their javelins in doing sure execution on those that advanced neareſt: and having thus repressed the first fury of the enemy, they sallied out in the form of a wedge, and pierced the ranks of the *Britains*, who still fought on, though in great disorder and confusion. The combat was long and obstinate; but the *Romans* being old experienced soldiers: and having as much advantage in their armour, as they had in their discipline over the *Britains*, forced them at last to fly, after a great slaughter in the action; which was followed by a much greater in the pursuit. This last loss was chiefly occasioned by the *British* custom of carrying their women to war, and ranging their baggage waggons round about the further part of the field, for them to stand upon to see the battle, and be witnesses of their victory. Thus there fell that day near 80,000 *Britains*; besides a great number of prisoners, doomed to perpetual slavery. The *Britains* never disheartned by a defeat, prepared for another battle; when the sudden death of *Bunduica*, caused probably by grief, vexation, and despair, or hastened (as some say) by poison, disconcerted all their measures, and caused them to disperse into their several countries; an usual consequence of disappointments, in armies collected out of different nations.

The war, however, was not yet over, though *Suetonius* assembled all his legions and forces in order to finish it; keeping them constantly in the field, employed in marches and expeditions: and having recruited the ninth legion, by a reinforcement of two thousand legionaries, which with eight cohorts of auxiliaries, and a thousand horse were sent him out of *Germany*, he wasted with fire and sword all the countries belonging to the enemy. This reduced the *Britains* to great distress; for being at all times averse to agriculture, and having neglected it entirely, whilst they were intent upon the war, proposing to supply themselves with corn out of the magazines of the *Romans*, they now, disappointed of that hope, suffered more by famine, than they did by the sword. They did not still sue for peace, nor offer a submission; which the new procurator *Julius Classicianus*, imputing to the haughtiness and severity of *Suetonius*, wrote to *Rome*, that there would be no end of the war, unless a new governour was sent over. These two officers did not agree together, and that quarrel might perhaps make the procurator willing to detract from the merit and glory, which *Suetonius* had acquired by his victory: but still there seems too much reason to think, there were some grounds for another part of the charge against him, and for ascribing the late insurrection to his perverseness and cruelty; of which, however, history hath preserved no instance, except in the slaughter of the *Druids* in the *Isle of Anglesey*. This alone was enough to render him infinitely odious to the *Britains*; and though *Polycletus*, who was sent over to examine into the state of *Britain*, and to make up the quarrel between the Legate and Procurator, made the softest report he could to the emperor; yet this reason prevailed to have *Suetonius* recalled immediately. *Petronius Turpilianus*, who was consul in the beginning of this year, being appointed his successor, and setting out from *Rome*, soon after his magistracy expired, (which at this time very seldom or never exceeded the term of six months) to take upon him the government, arrived

rived here at the latter end of *A. D.* 61. or in the beginning of the year following.

The conſtancy with which the *Britains*, after ſo terrible a blow, and under ſo great difficulties, ſtill held out againſt the *Roman* arms, without ſhewing any diſpoſition to re-enter into their former ſervitude, was very near recovering their liberty. *Nero*, who was then Emperor, ſeeing the ill ſituation of his affairs here, and the difficulty of either keeping the provinces formerly ſubdued, or reducing the reſt of the iſland, was inclined to recall all his forces from *Britain*[1]: nor did any thing reſtrain him from taking this ſtep, but the apprehenſion that it would be deemed a detracting from the honour of *Claudius*; to whom he owed the empire, and whoſe conqueſts here were the only glory of his reign. *Turpilianus* was a very proper ſucceſſor to *Suetonius*; and re-eſtabliſhed the *Roman* affairs here, by taking meaſures very different from thoſe of his predeceſſor; by allowing time for their reſentments to cool, and not provoking the *Britains* by freſh injuries, or by too eager a proſecution of the war, which had been hitherto carried on with unuſual cruelties. He was a new governour, who had given them no offence: they found nothing in his conduct but mildneſs and humanity; their paſſions ſubſided; and thoſe nations in which the *Roman* government had been formerly ſettled, returned again to their obedience. Such were the *Iceni*, and their confederates, who inhabited the middle of this iſland as far north as *Lincolnſhire*, (where the procurator *Catus* had made thoſe roads, canals, and other works deſcribed by Dr. *Stukeley*, in his firſt *Iter*, and ſtill preſerving memorials of the name of their author,) and from thence weſtward to the *Severne*. Theſe were, at that time, the furtheſt boundaries of the *Roman* province; which *Turpilianus*, not thinking it a proper ſeaſon for attempting new conqueſts, took care to preſerve in peace, as long as he continued in the poſt of Legate; and delivered in that condition to his ſucceſſor. He returned to *Rome* in *A. D.* 65[2], and had triumphal honours decreed him by the ſenate; being ſucceeded in his government by *Trebellius Maximus*: who purſuing his predeceſſor's maxims and conduct, enjoyed the ſame tranquillity; reconciling the *Britains*, by degrees, to the *Roman* laws, cuſtoms, and manner of living. He was not in ſo good terms with his own ſoldiers; who deſpiſed him for his inactivity and avarice, and being grown corrupt and inſolent by idleneſs and luxury, broke out into tumults; in which they were encouraged by *Roſcius Cælius*, legate of the twentieth legion, who was at open variance with the *Proprætor*. *Trebellius* abſconded upon the firſt mutiny of the troops, thinking his life in danger: but afterwards compounded the matter with them; providing for his own ſafety by indulging them in their licentiouſneſs. Thus he continued to enjoy the ſhadow of a precarious authority, till the civil wars broke out at the end of *Nero's* reign; when the ſeveral candidates of the empire being forced to court the armies on which their fates depended, the ſoldiers thought they might ſecurely take what liberty they pleaſed: and the auxiliary cohorts and cavalry making an open defection to *Cælius*[3], *Trebellius* was, in the beginning of *A. D.* 69, forced to fly to *Vitellius*, who had aſſumed the purple in *Germany*. The want of a governour occaſioned no diſturbance in *Britain*; the commanders of the ſeveral legions keeping it quiet, till *Vectius Bolanus* came over: who was diſpatched hither by *Vitellius*, during his ſtay at *Lyon*, in the beginning of *May* the ſame year, to take on him the government of the province. He was full as inactive againſt the enemy, and every whit as careleſs of the diſcipline of the army, as his predeceſſor; though not tainted with the ſame vices, and better beloved by the ſoldiery: but he had ſo little authority over them, that, when after the death

A. D. 62.

A. D. 65.

A. D. 69.

[1] *Sueton. Nero*, c. 18. [2] *Tacit. Ann.* xv. n. 72. [3] *Tacit. Hiſt.* l. i. n. 60.

of

of *Vitellius*, the twentieth legion refuſed to take the oaths to *Veſpaſian*[1], *Mucianus*, who governed all at *Rome* till the Emperor's arrival, was forced in the beginning of *A. D.* 70, to ſend over *Julius Agricola* (who had ſerved in *Britain* under *Suetonius*) to take on him the command of thoſe legionaries, who had been uſed to ſeditions under *Cælius*, and to bring them to their duty; which he did with great prudence, and without having recourſe to ſeverity.

A. D. 70.

Under *Veſpaſian* and his ſons.

VI. The conteſts for the empire having called off the *Roman* armies from the frontiers where they were uſually poſted, ſeveral inſurrections had ariſen in *Gaule*, *Germany*, and *Holland*; the fame of which ſpreading into the neighbouring iſles, ſoon produced the like in *Britain*; the country of the world where reports have the greateſt influence. *Venutius* was ſtill upon the throne of the *Brigantes*, and thought it a favourable opportunity for taking revenge upon the *Romans*; who, after his wife *Cartiſmandua's* infamous treatment of him, had eſpouſed her cauſe, and ſupported her party with all their power. It was by his inſtances, that ſeveral *Britiſh* nations joined with the *Brigantes*, in invading the *Roman* province; where they expected the leſs oppoſition, becauſe of the weakneſs, inactivity, and inexperience of the proprætor. *Vectius* was no military officer, and utterly unfit for the government of a country, in which there was any diſturbance to be ſuppreſſed, or any war to be managed: but *Veſpaſian*, a wiſe prince, who knew how to diſtinguiſh merit, and never employed any but great men in all his affairs, ſoon remedied that defect, by ſending *Petilius Cerealis* to be governour of *Britain*. He was an enterprizing and experienced general; and had been deſtined to this government by *Mucianus*[2], in the firſt year of *Veſpaſian's* reign: but the inſurrections of *Gaule* and *Germany* had deferred his taking poſſeſſion of it, till he had quelled them, and by a ſeries of victories had reduced *Civilis* and the *Batavians* to a ſubmiſſion. As ſoon as he had finiſhed thoſe wars, he came over hither; probably at the latter end of *A. D.* 71, or in the beginning of the year following; great in reputation, on account of his late victories, and terrible by his very name to the *Britains*. Brave, even to raſhneſs, and eager for action on all occaſions, he left them no time to breath; but after many battles, ſome of them very bloody, he either ravaged or conquered a great part of the country of the *Brigantes*, the moſt populous nation in *Britain*, inhabiting the northern parts of the iſland from *Solway-Frith* to *Cheſhire*, and from the *Tyne* to the *Humber*. He was ſucceeded by *Julius Frontinus*, a perfect maſter of the art of war, and author of the four books of *Stratagems* that bear his name: who, notwithſtanding the diſadvantage of coming after *Cerealis*, whoſe glory was enough to eclipſe the merit of any ſucceſſor, ſuſtained his reputation; and made himſelf illuſtrious by the conqueſt of the *Silures*, or at leaſt of that part of them, which inhabited the foreſt of *Deane*, and the counties of *Hereford* and *Monmouth*. They were a potent, hardy, and warlike nation; and he had not only the valour of the enemy, but the ſtrength of their ſituation to ſtruggle with: yet he got over all difficulties, and reduced them to a ſubmiſſion, before he left the government in *A. D.* 78, when he was ſucceeded by *Julius Agricola*; who had been ſubſtituted conſul the year before, to qualify him for a command uſually given to conſulary perſons.

A. D. 72.

A. D. 78.

Agricola was well known in *Britain*; having ſerved there both under *Suetonius* and *Cerealis* with great reputation; which he took care to raiſe by the vigour of his firſt actions, after he had entered upon the government of this iſland. The *Ordouices*, whom *Suetonius* had been hindered by the inſurrection of *Bunduica*, from reducing, had a little before his arrival, cut off a ſquadron of cavalry quar-

[1] *Vit. Agricol.* n. 7, 8. [2] *Tacit. Hiſt.* l. iv. n. 68. *Vit. Agricol.* n. 8, 17, &c.

tered on the borders of their country: and the news of it having been received with pleaſure by many in the *Roman* province, who were diſpoſed to a revolt, and likely to work upon a people very apt to be elated by any little ſucceſs, he thought it neceſſary to prevent further miſchief by revenging the inſult. It was ſo late in the ſummer before he arrived, that his forces imagined the campaign was over for that year, and were diſperſed into their ſeveral quarters: but this did not hinder him from drawing together the *Vexillarii* of the legions, and a competent body of auxiliaries, with which he marched immediately againſt the enemy. The *Ordouices* not daring to venture a battle or to quit their mountains, he purſued them into their faſtneſſes; expoſing himſelf the firſt to danger, that his men might follow him with greater alacrity; and having put a great number of the enemy to the ſword, and ravaged their country, he advanced as far as *Mona*, or *Angleſey*; reſolving to make himſelf maſter of that iſland, which ſerved the *Britains* for a place of retreat. As he had not formed this deſign before, he wanted ſhips for the expedition; but having in his army ſome cohorts, who according to the cuſtom of their native country, were uſed to ſwim over the largeſt rivers. ([1] as the *Batavians* uſed to croſs the *Rhine*) with their arms and horſes in entire ſquadrons, he ordered them to leave their baggage, and paſs the channel which divides *Angleſey* from *Carnarvanſhire*. "The [2] place where they paſſed is ſuppoſed to be "from *Llanvair* point, in that laſt named county, to a little ſouth weſt of *Llanidan* "church in *Angleſey*, where the water now at loweſt ebb, is not above the depth "of a fathom or two in the deepeſt place; and when the ſands lodge on the edge "of a rock, which runs croſs the channel, as they now do ſometimes, and probably "did ſo then, it is fordable without much difficulty, and a few years ago very "ſmall veſſels have ſtruck aground in paſſing along the channel, and two men from "each ſide, have approached ſo near, as to come within a pole's length of one another." Here *Agricola* paſſed the *Mæne* ſo ſuddenly with his forces, that he ſurprized the *Britains*; who ſeeing no preparation of ſhips, and thinking the channel otherwiſe unpaſſable, fancied themſelves ſecure from any invaſion: but now, aſtoniſhed at the *Romans* ſurmounting difficulties, which they deemed invincible, laid aſide all thoughts of defence, and ſurrendered the iſland without any oppoſition. There are ſtill to be ſeen the remains of two *Roman* forts [3] conveniently ſituated, the one in the eaſtern quarter, the other on the weſtern point of *Angleſey*, which ſeem to have been erected by this General for the ſecurity of his conqueſts, as he probably raiſed alſo a column for their boundary; there being a place called *Rhos Colofn i. e.* the *heath of the column*, near the latter of theſe forts; which, alluding to the name of its founder, is to this day called *Griccill.* A.D. 78.

AGRICOLA, leaving the country of the *Ordouices* pacified by the ſubmiſſion of their chiefs, who had retired to *Mona*, and likely to continue ſo whilſt the terror of his name ſubſiſted, returned full of glory from his expedition: and employed the winter in removing the diſorders which had crept into the adminiſtration of the province; in reforming the diſcipline of the army; and in correcting the vices of the ſoldiery. This he did with great prudence and ſteadineſs; examining into every thing himſelf with the utmoſt exactneſs; but not fond of expoſing and puniſhing the guilty in all caſes; conniving in ſome, content with repentance in others; eaſily pardoning ſlight offences, but puniſhing greater ones with ſeverity; he thought it much better to prevent faults than to puniſh them; and to be well ſerved, he put none into public offices, but ſuch as he knew were fit for their poſt, and would execute their truſt with fidelity. Private affection, ſelfiſh views, and particular recommendations had no influence in the diſpoſal of prefer-

[1] *Tacit. Hiſt.* l. iv. [2] *Mona Antiq.* p. 104. [3] *Ibid.* 105, 106.

A. D. 79. ments, which he conceived due, and gave only to ſuperior merit. This ſoon brought the ſoldiers to a modeſty and regularity in their behaviour: which was very agreeable to the *Britains*, as putting a ſtop to the rapes and corruption of their wives, ſiſters and daughters; which had contributed ſo much to the inſurrection of the *Iceni*. *Agricola* was by long obſervation well acquainted with the genius and temper of theſe people, ever impatient and mutinous under oppreſſion, but naturally quiet if well treated: and reſolved to prevent the cauſes of wars and ſeditions, by removing the worſt of their grievances. They were ſubject to ſeveral taxes, and obliged as well to work upon the military roads, intrenchments, drains, aqueducts, and public buildings, as to furniſh certain quantities of corn, and proviſions for the *Roman* armies: but the inequality of the aſſeſſments was a greater hardſhip than the taxes themſelves. The carriage of proviſions to remote garriſons, when they could with eaſe ſupply the neareſt; and the being ſet in diſtant places to labours which they would have undergone with cheerfulneſs in the neighbourhood of their own abodes, were terrible inconveniencies, continually put upon the *Britains* by the corruption of the officers; who had the charge of rating, collecting, and inſpecting theſe public impoſitions and duties, and who eaſed, loaded, oppreſſed and tyrannized over whom they pleaſed, as their avarice, or paſſions directed, and as would moſt advance the perquiſites of their places. Theſe grievances the *Proprætor* took effectual care to redreſs; allowing none to be employed at a diſtance from their homes, or taxed beyond their abilities; ſo that peace which before was dreaded as the ſeaſon, in which the chaſtity of their women was moſt expoſed, and their burdens lay the heavieſt, began now to be agreeable to the *Britains*.

When the next ſummer came on, he took the field with his forces; and marched to reduce the northern provinces of *Britain*. *Catus Decianus* had, before the general inſurrection in the time of *Suetonius*, carried on the military roads through *Lincolnſhire* to the borders of *Yorkſhire*; and this laſt country with that of *Durham* were probably that part of the country of the *Brigantes*, which was ſubdued by *Cerealis*; who could not well attack the weſtern part of their territories, divided from the other by a long ridge of mountains, without leaving an enemy behind, that might intercept his convoys and proviſions; the ſecurity of which was ever the firſt care of a *Roman* general. But *Agricola* having reduced the *Ordouices*, there was no longer any difficulty in the enterprize; but what aroſe from the *Friths*, which he was to croſs in ſeveral places on the ſea coaſt, and from the large foreſts through which he was to lead his troops in the inland parts of thoſe countries. Theſe he firſt tried himſelf, marching always at the head of his men, allowing the enemy no reſt, driving them out of their faſtneſſes, ravaging their country; and when he had ſufficiently terrified them by theſe hoſtilities, inviting them to peace by a milder treatment. Theſe meaſures had the effect he propoſed; ſeveral nations ſuing for peace, offering to ſubmit, and delivering hoſtages as a pledge of their obedience; which however did not hinder him from ſecuring his conqueſts by a number of forts and garriſons, in proper ſituations, and well provided to ſuppreſs any commotion that might be raiſed. Theſe forts made afterwards a great part of the ſtrength of *Hadrian's Vallum*; which filling up the intervals, joined them as it were together: but they were erected long before, and the inſcriptions dug up about *Benwell* fort, and in other places of *Northumberland*, as well as in *Cumberland* and *Weſtmorland*, ancienter than the time of that Emperor, [1] will not allow us to doubt, but that *Agricola* reduced the *Otodini* as well as the weſtern *Brigantes*;

[1] *Baxter's Gloſſ. Brit. Ant.* p. 7.

and

and thus finiſhed, in this expedition, the conqueſt of the country ſince known by the name of *England*. *A. D.* 79.

THE ſucceeding winter was ſpent in the like manner as the former, in providing for the peace and improvement of the province, and in taking meaſures to reconcile the *Old Britains* to the *Roman* goverment, and bring them to a ſtate of civility. The *Belgic* colonies were moſt of them attached to the *Romans* by the intereſts of their trade; and being uſed to a ſocial life, eaſily fell into their way of living; as for ſuch of them as lived in the inland parts of their country, employed only in hunting or feeding cattle, the *Romans* had found out a way to engage them, that ſuited their warlike diſpoſitions, by taking numbers of them into their pay, to form cohorts of auxiliaries under the command of the little *Reguli* or chieftains whoſe vaſſals they were: and of theſe I take thoſe cohorts of *Britains* to be compoſed, which ſerved with others of *Gauls* and *Germans* in the war againſt the *Caledonians*. *A. D.* 80. The old *Natives* of this iſland were not yet tractable enough to be employed in fighting againſt their country-men; they were rough, unſkilled in arts, unacquainted with pleaſures, inured to hardſhips, lived diſperſed, and, in conſequence thereof, were ready for war on all occaſion. *Agricola* endeavoured to render them more polite, in order to give them a better taſte for ſervitude: he preſſed their chiefs in private to leave off their uncomfortable manner of life, to build houſes anſwerable to their dignity, to live together in ſociety; to erect temples, courts, market places, and other public buildings, which ſerve for the ornaments of towns, and the convenience of their inhabitants; he aſſiſted them publicly in carrying on theſe works; encouraged ſuch as ſet heartily about them; and reprimanded thoſe that were negligent; thus putting them under a neceſſity of vying with one another, in order to be diſtinguiſhed in his favours. It was but an equivocal mark of his regard for the *Britiſh* princes or chieftains, however it might ingratiate him with their children, to take particular care of the education of their ſons; to have them inſtructed in the liberal arts; to extol their ingenuity above that of the *Gauls*; and to put them upon affecting the eloquence, when they had made themſelves maſters of the language, of the *Romans*. Hence the *Roman* garb came ſoon to be in faſhion, and their cuſtoms to be generally adopted by the *Britains*; who fell by degrees into all the ſoftneſs, delicacy, and vices of their conquerors; the uſe of warm baths, the ſumptuouſneſs of portico's, the elegance of entertainments, and all the luxury of living; palliating with the name of politeneſs thoſe corrupt and deſtructive habits, which were the badge and means of their ſlavery.

AGRICOLA in his third campaign entered *Scotland*, and advanced as far as the *Frith* of *Tay*; waſting the country all the way as he went, and diſcovering nations unknown before. The *Britains* did not venture to attack him, though his troops were haraſſed by bad weather; ſo that he had leiſure enough to build forts in the moſt advantageous ſituations: which he had an admirable judgment in chooſing, and was ſo ſingularly ſkilled in fortifying, that it was obſerved by the ableſt engineers, that no one fort thus erected by him, was ever taken by ſtorm, ſurrendered, or abandoned to the enemy. Theſe ſeem to be placed in the country, through which he directed his march, on the weſtern ſide of the *Lowlands* of *Scotland*; and he took care as well to ſtrengthen them with good garriſons, as to ſupply them with a year's proviſion. *A. D.* 81. There the *Romans* paſſed the winter without any apprehenſions of danger, and haraſſed the enemy with continual excurſions; who having been uſed to recover in that ſeaſon what they had loſt in the ſummer, and now ſeeing themſelves defeated of that hope, baffled in all their attempts of force or ſurprize, and alike expoſed in all times of the year, were driven to utter deſpair. In this expedition he had rather ravaged than reduced the country; ſo that the year following

was

was ſpent in ſecuring what he had thus over-run; as far as the place, where the *Romans*, were it not for their inſatiable thirſt of glory, would naturally have fixed the boundary of their conqueſts in *Britain*. This was the narrow *Iſthmus* between the *Friths* of *Cluyd* and *Forth*, which he lined with a *Prætentura* of caſtles and fortreſſes; remaining *A. D.* 82. maſter of all on this ſide thoſe æſtuaries; whilſt the enemy ſevered from the *Romans* by the interpoſition of theſe two arms of the ocean, flowing far up within the land, and haſtening in vain from oppoſite quarters, to mix their near approaching waves, were driven as it were into another iſland.

The ſucceeding year was chiefly employed by *Agricola*, in ſettling the countries he had already ſubdued; for though fitting out a fleet, he went on board it with a body of troops, yet his deſign was rather for a diſcovery, than conqueſt. With this fleet he ſailed along the weſtern coaſt of *Scotland*, and to the north of the *Cluyde*: and to learn ſomething of countries as yet unknown, landed in ſeveral places of the *Highlands*, perhaps too of the *Hebrides*, and other neighbouring iſles, (particularly the *Orcades*, which he certainly ſubdued either this year, or two years afterwards) waſting the maritime parts, and defeating, in ſeveral engagements, the clans that roſe to defend their territories. Upon his return, he quartered his forces in that part of *Britain* which lies oppoſite to *Ireland*; not out of any apprehenſions of being attacked from thence, but in hopes of invading it; if the envy and jealouſy of *Domitian* (who, on *September* 13, the year before, had ſucceeded his brother *Titus)* would have given him leave to attempt the conqueſt of that iſland; which was very conveniently ſituated to unite all the weſtern parts of the empire. He had a ſtrong inclination to the enterprize: and with that view, kept about him, under colour of friendſhip, the chief of an *Iriſh ſept*; who, either by colonies of *Gallicians*, come perhaps ſome time before from *Spain*, and encroaching on the territories of the old natives of *Ireland*, or in conſequence of ſome other unſucceſsful war, had been driven out of his own country, and forced to take refuge in *Britain*. He thought the conqueſt might be effected by a body of 10,000 foot, and 2000 horſe; and that it would be of great uſe towards the entire reduction of *Great Britain*, to remove out of the ſight of its inhabitants, the example of an iſland ſo nearly adjoining, untouched by the *Roman* arms, and happy in the enjoyment of its natural liberty. This was the only inconvenience, which the wiſe and *A. D.* 83. politic *Agricola* apprehended from the independency of *Ireland*, the new colonies probably not being as yet either ſettled or grown formidable in that country; ſo that he had no reaſon to dread any diſturbance from thence, or to imagine that people capable of contributing by their continual deſcents, ſo much, as they afterwards did, to the ruin of the *Roman* power in *Britain*.

In the ſixth year of his government, *Agricola* fitting out another fleet, ſent it to diſcover the eaſtern coaſt of *Scotland*, north of the *Frith* of *Forth*; and to procure ſome intelligence of the various nations of the northern *Britains*, which inhabited that tract of country: and advanced with his army the ſame way; the fleet at ſea attending his marches, and either hovering off the coaſt, or making deſcents on it, all the time of this expedition. When he entered *Caledonia*, he found all the inhabitants in arms, and all the roads beſet with enemies; his laſt years ravages on the coaſt of the *Highlands*, having alarmed all the clans, and convinced them of the neceſſity of an union; their preparations were great: but report made them ſtill greater, and with their briſk attempts upon the *Roman* forts, and bold attacks of their parties, they ſtruck ſuch a terror into ſome of *Agricola's* officers, that, with an affectation of prudence, to cover the real fears of their hearts, they adviſed him to retire back on this ſide the *Forth*, and rather voluntarily quit, than be driven by force out of the country. The General was too brave to hearken to ſuch timorous counſels; and upon intelligence, that the enemy was marching

againſt him in different bodies, divided his army into three parts, to prevent its being ſurrounded in any diſadvantageous ſituation, whilſt marching through a country to which he was a perfect ſtranger. The *Caledonians*, hereupon altered their diſpoſition likewiſe; and reuniting all their forces, fell in the night upon the ninth legion, as the weakeſt: and ſurprizing the centinels, broke into the camp, where a furious battle enſued, maintained with difficulty, by the *Romans*, till near day break; when *Agricola*, having had advice of the enemies motions, came up with a body of cavalry, and the lighteſt of his foot to their relief. His arrival changed the fortune of the day, giving new ſpirits to the beſieged; who now, in their turn, became aggreſſors: and ſallying out, charged the *Caledonians* in front; whilſt the General fell upon their rear, with ſo much vigour in both places, that the enemy was routed; and the war had probably been ended that day, by the numbers of their ſlain, if ſome neighbouring woods and bogs had not ſheltered them in their flight. The *Roman* ſoldiers, elated with this victory, were for penetrating to the fartheſt extremity of *Britain*; and even thoſe who had been before ſo very cautious, now talked big on the occaſion: but the *Britains*, no way daunted by this defeat, which they aſcribed not ſo much to the ſuperior valour of the enemy, as to the vigilance and conduct of the General, prepared for another engagement; making freſh levies; ſending their families into places of ſafety; holding general councils of their ſeveral clans or nations; and forming a league, confirmed by all the ſolemnities of religion, to aſſiſt each other, and with united forces aſſert the liberty of their country. With theſe diſpoſitions on both ſides the campaign ended. *A. D.* 83.

THE next was opened by a naval expedition: the fleet being ſent before, to land parties in different places of the *Caledonian* coaſt, to waſte the country, and to diſtract the enemy, uncertain of their deſtination, and not knowing where to provide for defence. *Agricola* followed after with his army, reinforced by a body of the braveſt provincial *Britains*, whoſe fidelity he had long experienced: and advanced to the *Grampian* ridge of hills, where he found the enemy poſted. They had ſeen the fatal conſequences of diſunion, and all the clans joining their forces to oppoſe the common danger, had formed an army of more than 30,000 men, continually increaſing by freſh ſupplies of vigorous and gallant warriors, all eager for battle to revenge their late diſaſter, under the command of *Galgacus*; who, for his valour, quality, and experience, had by the common conſent of the chieftains been appointed General of all their forces. The *Britains* were poſſeſſed of the higher ground, and ſo much ſuperior to the *Romans* in number, that they might have attacked them in flank, as well as front; if *Agricola* had not, by extending his firſt line of auxiliaries, without altering his diſpoſition in any other reſpect, provided againſt that inconvenience. But they were very unequal to the enemy in point of armour; darts and broad cutting ſwords without points being their offenſive weapons; and no cuiraſſes or helmets, nothing but a ſmall target for defence. As long as the battle was carried on at a diſtance, the *Britains* maintained their ground with great reſolution, and managed their ſhort target ſo dextrouſly, as to put by or ſhake off the enemies javelins, whilſt they dealt their own very plentifully among the *Romans:* but their ſwords being in a manner uſeleſs in a cloſe fight, when *Agricola* ordered the *Batavian* and *Tungrian* cohorts, very expert in that way of fighting, to cloſe with them, they were forced to give ground, and, with the loſs of ten thouſand killed on the ſpot, to retire to the woods; where they rallied, and made thoſe that purſued them too eagerly, repent their raſhneſs. They might perhaps have recovered the day, and had their revenge upon the *Romans*, if the General, who was preſent in all places where need required, had not come up, and having remedied the diſorder of his own troops, cauſed the *Caledonians* to be attacked at the ſame time in ſeveral places. The *Britains* ſeeing theſe different corps advance *A. D.* 84.

A. D. 84. in firm array, and in good order, quitted their poſt, not as before in bodies, but diſperſing, ſhifted each man the beſt he could for himſelf, till they got to a place of ſafety, being much favoured in that reſpect, by the approach of night, which put a ſtop to the purſuit. The next day ſhewed more plainly the compleatneſs of the victory; no enemy appearing, no track of their flight, no noiſe upon the mountains; nothing to be ſeen but the ſmoke of houſes at a diſtance, fired by their late inhabitants, and a deſerted country; the ſcouts likewiſe bringing intelligence, that the enemy was no where got together in a body. Thus there being no likelihood of any further action, unleſs by dividing his forces into ſeveral parties, and purſuing the *Caledonians* into their mountains; which it was too late in the ſummer to attempt; *Agricola* drew his army down into the county of *Angus*, then inhabited by the *Horeſti*, who immediately ſubmitted and delivered hoſtages. There putting a body of his men on board the fleet, he ordered the Commodore to ſail round *Britain*; which, by the ſtrange adventure of a cohort of the *Uſipii* the year before, had been firſt diſcovered to be an iſland. When he had given theſe orders, he led his army by ſlow marches to their winter quarters: and the fleet having ſhewed itſelf, and ſpread terror or admiration on every part of the coaſt, returned, after making the tour of the iſland, and ſubduing the [1] *Orcades*, without any diſaſter, to the port of *Sandwich*.

As to the place of this famous battle, it is very clear from the whole account of the campaign, that it was fought on the north of *Tay*; becauſe *Agricola* was advanced ſo far, that it was leading his army back to march into *Angus*, which though north alſo of the *Frith* of that river, was yet probably eaſt or ſouth-eaſt of thoſe ſkirts of the *Grampian* hills, now called *Grantzbaine*, where the action paſſed. *Agricola* had in his former campaigns reduced, and taken time to ſettle the countries ſouth of *Tay*; in this laſt he advanced beyond it, and in the ſpeech [2] which he made to animate his ſoldiers before the battle, after taking notice of the glory they had acquired by paſſing *Æſtuaries*, and advancing into the extremeſt parts of *Britain*, he repreſented likewiſe how exceeding dangerous it would be for them to repaſs thoſe very *Æſtuaries*, in caſe they were worſted in the engagement. But this danger could regard none but that of *Tay*, the others of *Forth* and *Cluyde*, being too well ſecured by the line which he had made of fortifications between them, to allow one to imagine, that the repaſſing of them would be attended with any difficulty. This inclines me to adopt the opinion of the author of [3] *Britannia Romana*, who thinks the battle was fought at *Fortin-gall* camp, ſixteen miles from *Perth*, rather than at the confluence of the *Erne* and *Ruchell* in *Stratherne*, the place aſſigned for it in Mr. *Gordon's Itinerarium Septentrionale* [4]. *Domitian*, who envying his General's glory, looked upon it as an eclipſing of his own, and feared *Agricola*, on account of his great qualities, was not at all pleaſed with this victory: and though he ordered triumphal ornaments to be ſent him, and a ſtatue to be erected in his honour, he made uſe of the firſt pretence that offered, to recal him

A. D. 85. from his government. This was done the year following, when *Agricola* delivered up [5] *Britain* quiet and ſecure from any commotion to his ſucceſſor *Salluſtius Lucullus*; who, giving the name of *Lucullean* to a new kind of lance of his own invention, was for that reaſon put to death by the ſame emperor, and ſeems to be ſucceeded by *Cn. Trebellius*.

Britiſh affairs under ſucceeding emperors, to the time of *Commodus*.

VII. Though *Agricola* had ſo near effected the entire reduction of this iſland, that in his ſpeech before mentioned, he conſiders the whole, even that extreme part of it, which he had but juſt diſcovered, as already ſubdued: (and it would

[1] *Vit. Agric.* c. 10. [2] *Ib.* c. 33. [3] P. 44. [4] P. 39. [5] *Vit. Agric.* c. 40.

have been abſolutely ſo, if he had not been recalled, or had not the *Romans* neglected it afterwards) yet he ſeems to have ſlighted the country he had gained, and never planted a garriſon among the *Horeſti*, who ſubmitted to him, nor in any part of the provinces beyond *Tay*, to ſecure his conqueſts. It was poſſibly his opinion, as it was that of *Tacitus*, [1] that the *Friths* of *Cluyde* and *Forth* ought to be made on that ſide the boundaries of the *Roman* empire: it is at leaſt certain, that the *Romans* neglected afterwards the affairs of *Britain*, and made no attempt to puſh their conqueſts farther. The *Caledonians*, weakened or terrified by their late loſſes, or perhaps content to enjoy their own, without provoking an invaſion by rapine and hoſtilities, ſeem to have lived in peace all the reſt of *Domitian's*, and the ſucceeding reigns of *Nerva*, *Trajan*, and in all appearance of *Hadrian*. This is the reaſon of the profound ſilence of all the hiſtorians of thoſe times, with regard to the affairs of *Britain*; wars, diſturbances, revolutions, remarkable events and actions, being the chief and favourite ſubjects of their relations. There is indeed an obſcure paſſage in *Spartian* [2], intimating in general, that the *Britains* could not be kept under the *Roman* yoke: but there is no fact to ſupport this aſſertion, and it ſeems to be a mere conjecture of his to account out of his own imagination for that Emperor's conduct, in withdrawing his forces to a greater diſtance than before from the frontiers of *Caledonia*. He ſpeaks in the ſame paragragh of ſeditions in *Egypt*, of the *Sarmatæ* making war, and the *Moors* committing depredations in the Empire, of *Lycia* and *Paleſtine* rebelling, and of revolts in other provinces; but he ſays not a word of any of theſe things in *Britain*. There all ſeems to have been in peace, when *Hadrian* came over; and though all the writers of his life celebrate the wall of earth or turf, which he erected here, as the moſt remarkable act of his reign; not one of them gives the leaſt hint of any war at that time, or of its being built on occaſion of any hoſtile invaſion or irruption into the *Roman* territories.

A.D. 85.

Hadrian viſited *Britain*, as he did the reſt of the *Roman* dominions, in the progreſſes, which he was making continually, from the fourth year of his reign to the end of it, through one province or other of the empire. He was infinitely exact in all his affairs, an excellent manager of his treaſury; examined into every thing; and informed himſelf with ſo much care of the ſtate of all his dominions, and the conduct of his officers and intendants in each, that he knew the condition of every province of his empire, better than a good œconomiſt generally doth that of his own family. He loved peace, and, as *Eutropius* ſays, enjoyed it all his reign without interruption; except by the attempt of the *Sarmatæ* and *Roxolani* upon *Illyricum*, which was ſoon quelled, and by the *Jewiſh* rebellion. This was the conſequence of his being always prepared for war, and having good armies on all the frontiers; ſo that no enemy durſt inſult his territories, where they ſaw every thing in good order, and well provided by the vigilance of the Emperor. He carried his care ſo far, as to enquire into the conduct of the common ſoldiers, as well as officers, and into the condition of their proviſions, as well as of their camps and fortifications, and to ſee them duly ſupplied with arms, and all kind of warlike machines; to baniſh all luxury and delicacies out of their quarters, to give them a body of *Tactics* and rules of diſcipline, which made afterwards the code of military ordinances in the empire, and ſerved to carry the *Roman* diſcipline to ſuch a perfection, as had not been known ſince the time of *Auguſtus*. This Emperor's plan he ſeems to have followed in another reſpect; adopting his maxim, that the empire was too large already, and to extend it farther, was not conſiſtent with good policy. *Hadrian* accordingly coming to the throne on the eleventh of

[1] *Ib.* c. 23. [2] Britanni teneri ſub ditione Romana non poterant. *Hiſtoriæ Auguſtæ Scriptores Sex.* p. 3. *Ed. Paris* 1620.

Auguſt,

A. D. 117. *Auguſt*, *A. D.* 117, withdrew his troops immediately from *Armenia*, *Meſopotamia*, and *Aſſyria*, which had been ſubdued by *Trajan*[1]; thus making the *Euphrates*, as formerly, the eaſtern limit of the empire; and would have likewiſe quitted *Dacia*, but for the great number of *Roman* citizens, which his predeceſſor had planted there in different colonies. In the progreſſes which he made, he ſcarce left (as his medals ſhew) any part of the empire unviſited; correcting[2] every where the diſorders which had crept into the adminiſtration, puniſhing the guilty, redreſſing grievances, reforming diſcipline, obſerving the ſituation, ſtate, and condition of towns, caſtles, walls, and fortifications, and where he did not like either the ſtructure as ill executed, or the ſituation as being too weak, or expoſed, or inconvenient, demoliſhing ſome, rebuilding others, and removing the garriſons to places more advantageouſly ſeated, or better fortified. The firſt country that he viſited was *Gaule*, where he eaſed the people in their taxes: and having paſſed from thence to the armies in *Germany*, came afterwards in *A. D.* 121, into *Britain*; where he had many diſorders to correct, as well among the civil officers, as the military; the diſcipline of the army having been much corrupted by a long peace, and its ordinary effects, idleneſs and luxury. Whether he thought the line of forts, that ran between the *Friths* of *Cluyd* and *Forth*, too remote from the body of the *Roman* forces in this iſland, or the intermediate country (which was full of woods and moraſſes) not worth the keeping, he withdrew the garriſons from thence; and fortified the other *Prætentura* formed by *Agricola*, between the *Tyne* and *Solway Frith*, with a *vallum* of earth or turf, carried on for ſeventy-three miles in length, which with ſome advanced ſtations beyond it, he thought a fitter boundary, and better defence for the richer parts of *Britain*. In this work, as on all other occaſions, he taught his ſoldiers to undergo hardſhips by his own example: and when he had ſettled all matters to his mind here, he returned into *Gaule*, and went thence to *Spain*, where he paſſed the winter at *Tarragona*. The *Roman* hiſtorians do not mention whom he left *Proprætor* here at his departure; but ſome time after we find *Julius Severus* in that poſt; whoſe excellent talents for war are celebrated by *Xiphiline*, though he ſeems to have had little occaſion to exert them here; being recalled in *A. D.* 134, to quell the *Jewiſh* inſurrection in *Paleſtine*, and ſucceeded by *Priſcus Licinius*. The Emperor *Hadrian* died on *July* 10, *A. D.* 138; and was ſucceeded by *Titus Antoninus*, who was (like his predeceſſor) more careful to preſerve, than deſirous to enlarge, his empire; but provided ſo well for the ſecurity of his frontiers, that they were never attacked by any foreign enemy, except by the inconſiderable incurſions of the *Moors*, in the mountains of *Africa*, and of other people that lived like *Nomades*, whoſe view was merely plunder. There is, however, a dark paſſage in *Pauſanias*[3], and another in *Capitolinus*[4], which have been made uſe of to magnify the power of the *Caledonians*, and to infer either their taking poſſeſſion of the *Lowlands* of *Scotland*, or an inſurrection of the *Brigantes* in *England*. The latter ſays, "That *Antoninus*, by his Legate *Lollius Urbicus*, "overcame the *Britains*; the barbarians being removed at a diſtance by another "wall of turf; intimating hereby that this wall was different from that of *Ha*-"*drian*. The paſſage in *Pauſanias* affirms, that "this emperor deprived the *Bri*-"*gantes* in *Britain* of much of their lands, becauſe they began to make excur-"ſions into *Genounia*, a region ſubject to the *Romans*." Theſe two authors ſpeak of the ſame people, though what the one calls *Britanni*, the other terms *Brigantes*, by a name which, though more peculiarly appropriated by *Ptolemy*, to the inhabitants of *Yorkſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, *Weſtmorland*, and *Cumberland*, was originally common to all the *Old Britains*. The *Caledonians* themſelves are, by *Tacitus*,

A. D. 121.

A. D. 134.

A. D. 138.

[1] *Spartian*, p. 3. [2] *Dio*, l. lxix. p. 171. [3] *Arcad.* p. 273. [4] *Script. Hiſt. Aug. Ed. Paris* 1620, p. 19.

called *Britains*, and the inhabitants of the *Lowlands* of *Scotland* were, before the *Romans* came hither, either dependants and vaſſals of the *Brigantes* properly ſo called, or at leaſt confederates with them, and of their race; having the ſame divinity for their particular patroneſs, as appears from the inſcription on an altar dug up in *Scotland*, and inſcribed to the goddeſs *Brigantia*. Theſe people all lived wild and diſperſed, till the *Romans* came among them; when the chief method taken to civilize them, was by getting them to live together in ſociety, and by founding towns for their habitation. Hence it is, that *Ptolemy*, who wrote his geography in the time of *Titus Antoninus*, takes notice of towns in all the parts of *Scotland* conquered by *Agricola*, but mentions none in *Caledonia*. The inhabitants of that tract of mountains and foreſt were a very gallant people; but had no quarrel with the *Romans*, till *Agricola's* invaſion: they then fought bravely in defence of their liberties, but I ſee no reaſon to think of them otherwiſe than as a quiet people, content with their ſimple and hardy way of living, and not fond of infeſting their neighbours. But it is natural likewiſe to ſuppoſe, that abundance of the *Old Britains* or *Brigantes*, in the countries poſſeſſed by the *Romans*, either out of an averſion to their cuſtoms and ſervitude, or out of an animoſity neceſſarily cauſed by hoſtilities and overthrows, retired upon *Agricola's* conqueſts, with their families, into the parts more northward, as yet unconquered by the *Romans*. Of theſe the famous *Galgacus*, choſen by the *Caledonians* for their general, as *Caractacus* in the like caſe had been by the *Silures*, probably was one; which Mr. *Baxter* thinks [1], is ſufficiently proved by his *Britiſh* name of *Galauc ap Llienauc*, for ſo he is called by the ancient author of the *Triades*; and appears from thence to have been one of the *Scotch Brigantes*, and a chieftain or native of the county of *Galloway*. A.D. 138.

IT is reaſonable to think likewiſe, that theſe *Refugees* continued quiet in the country, which had given them protection, whilſt the terror of *Agricola's* victories ſubſiſted, and the empire was at its height of power and glory in the reign of *Trajan:* but when after the ſpace of forty years, *Hadrian* withdrew the *Roman* garriſons from the forts between *Cluyd* and *Forth*, they or their deſcendants might well enough return into their own country, re-enter into their old poſſeſſions, and continue unmoleſted in them, as long as they kept themſelves quiet. This I ſuppoſe to be chiefly done in the eaſtern counties of the *Lowlands*, which were inhabited by the *Scoto-Brigantes*, and being full of bogs and woods, were moſt neglected by the *Romans:* but the caſe was different as to *Galloway*, and the adjoining counties inhabited by the *Nouantes*; a different people from the other, and divided from them by the river *Cluyd*, and the moſt advanced garriſons of the *Romans*; for ſuch they had, as well beyond *Hadrian's vallum*, as beyond *Agricola's prætentura*, whilſt it ſubſiſted. This General had reduced all the country as far as the *Tay*, before he erected that *prætentura*; and though, conceiving the *Iſthmus* between *Cluyd* and *Forth* to be the moſt proper place for it, he choſe to erect it there, he ſtill remained maſter of the country beyond that line of fortifications. The caſe was the ſame as to the countries beyond *Hadrian's* wall, bordering upon *Cumberland*, which were afterwards the beſt part of the kingdom of the *Cumbrian Britains*. Theſe had a better and a richer ſoil than the others, and abounded with fine paſtures for cattle; they had been more particularly the object of *Agricola's* care, and had been ſecured by him with more fortifications; perhaps with ſome view to a deſcent in *Ireland:* but yet not without regard to the goodneſs of the country,

[1] *Gloſſ. Ant. Brit. v.* GALGACUS. Videtur vel ex nomine fuiſſe *Noüanta* ſive Galloüidius: eſt autem *Llienauc Britannis Parthenius*, ſive *furtivo toro genitus:* nam *Lhian*, puella eſt, vel virgo: unde conjecerim eum notho fuiſſe patre, eſt autem *Galauc* tanquam *Peregrinus*, *Gallicus*, vel *Scotobrigas*.

A. D. 138. and its being the beſt road to march into the heart of *Scotland*. The coins and remains of the *Romans* ſtill found there in greater plenty, than in other parts of *Scotlana*, ſhew it was longer in their hands; as may likewiſe naturally be preſumed from its ſituation, being ſurrounded on all ſides by the ſea, and the river *Cluyd*, except where it touched on *Cumberland*, and was defended by the *Romans* advanced garriſons. *Hadrian* did not quit the forts between *Forth* and *Cluyd*, in conſequence of any troubleſome or expenſive war, or out of any neceſſity, but purely out of a reſolution he had formed to contract the boundaries of the empire here, as he had done in other places. But though he quitted thoſe forts, there doth not appear any reaſon to conclude, he was not ſtill maſter of the country that lay between them and his *vallum*; and that it did not remain ſubject to his authority, or at leaſt under his protection. That Emperor had brought over with him the *Legio* VI *Victrix*, and left it here, when he went away: he kept all the army thus reinforced to the ſtricteſt diſcipline, and continually inured to hardſhip: he choſe great men for his Legates; and *Julius Severus* was as eminent for juſtice, prudence, and military conduct as *Agricola:* and being at peace with all the world, it would have been down right madneſs in the *Refugees* above-mentioned to have made any attempt upon his territories. But hearing the news of his death; not knowing perhaps that he was ſucceeded by a greater man than himſelf, or hoping for ſome ſuch diſturbances or inteſtine wars as had happened formerly about the ſucceſſion of the empire, they probably thought it a favourable opportunity, for entering by force upon the countries that ſtill acknowledged the *Roman* authority. It ſeems to have been a very weak attempt, and immediately ſuppreſſed; for the wall of earth or turf was made, in conſequence thereof, by *Lollius Urbicus*; who, to prevent the like inroads, thought fit to erect one between the *Friths* of *Cluyd* and *Forth*, where *Agricola* had made his *prætentura:* and this wall was built in the

A. D. 140. ſecond year of *Titus Antoninus*, *A. D.* 140; when this emperor was in his third conſulſhip, as appears undeniably from the 25th of the *Scotch* inſcriptions in the *Britannia Romana*.

From all theſe conſiderations it appears, that the ſcene of this little excurſion was between the two walls; for if the *Britains* had forced that of *Hadrian*, *Capitolinus* could not have omitted taking notice of it, when he mentions the building of a new one: nor would this laſt have prevented the like for the future, or have removed the barbarians concerned in it to a greater diſtance, if they had not been either the *Refugees* afore-mentioned, or the inhabitants of the intermediate provinces. The country they invaded, *Pauſanias* calls *Genounia*; which ſeems to me to be *Galloway*, or the country where *Ptolemy* places the *Nouantæ*. Theſe were a different people from the *Brigantes*; their name implying that they were *new comers*, and for that reaſon ſo called, as the *Belgic* colony about *London*, was called *Trinouantes*. Whether they were a colony of the *Belgic Britains*, (and they ſhould be *Britains*, ſince *Alcluid*, their capital, was called *Dun-britton)* or of any other *Celtic* nation ſettled there upon the old inhabitants removing into *Ireland*, which was moſt probably planted from thence, they certainly ſpoke a different dialect from that of the *Iriſh*, *Caledonians*, and other *Britains:* and the *Lowland Scots*, are in the *Iriſh* language to this day, called [1] *Galldach na Halbuin*, from *Gall*, a ſtranger, which confirms *Baxter's* notion of *Galgacus's*, being a native of *Galloway*. This I take to be the country, called by *Pauſanias*, *Genounia*; [2] which deſcribes their being

[1] *Lluyd's Arch. Brit.* in *Iriſh Dictionary*, *v.* Gall. [2] For *Ge* is nothing but an article in *Old Brittiſh*[a], to which *y* being ſince ſubſtituted, anſwers at preſent; and the termination is of little conſequence, but the ſubſtance of the word *Nouanti*, derived from the *Britiſh*, *Nou*, *novus*, and *Anned*, *Ant* or *Hant*, *habitatio*, is preſerved in the word *Nounia*. See *Baxter's Gloſſ. Brit. v.* Gebannium and Nouvantæ.

[a] So it is in the old *Saxon*.

new

new comers, and expreſſeth very properly the country of thoſe people, eſpecially if their name be ſpelt in ſome old coins, as Mr. *Baxter* ſays, *Nouanei*, for then the country would of courſe be called *Nouanea*, and by adding *Gein*, *i. e. proles*, *offspring*, the people might be called *Geinouanei*, or a clan of the *Nouanei*. The *Romans* did not uſually ſeize the lands of the people they conquered; except ſuch as were neceſſary for the founding of a colony, when it was thought proper to eſtabliſh one; but as they puniſhed, what they called rebellion, with the utmoſt rigour, the eſtates of the perſons concerned in this invaſion, were confiſcated on that occaſion. *A. D.* 140.

BRITAIN from that time ſeems to have been free from any commotion, and to have enjoyed the ſame peace, which (all hiſtorians agree) reigned over the whole empire, all the time of that excellent prince *Titus Antoninus*: who dying on *March* 7, *A. D.* 161, (*M. Aurelius Cæſar* III. and *L. Aurelius Commodus* II. conſuls) was ſucceeded by *M. Aurelius*. Changes of government are generally favourable to the attempts of ſuch as propoſe to embroil or invade a country: and the unconquered *Britains* prepared to lay hold on the occaſion. *Calpurnius Agricola* was thereupon ſent over *Proprætor*, probably in the firſt year of the new Emperor's reign, one of whoſe firſt acts was to diſpatch him hither: and as he ſet out in order to take poſſeſſion of this government, before *Lucius Verus* departed from *Italy*, on his *Aſiatic* expedition, which was *A. D.* 162, (as appears from his medals) he probably arrived here in the beginning of that year, or at the latter end of the precedent. Whether any war actually broke out either then, or in *A. D.* 170, after the death of *Verus*, doth not appear from any hiſtorian. *Capitolinus* [1] ſpeaks of it only as what was apprehended; and there is not the leaſt hint of any action that paſſed, or of any thing to ſhew, it was ſo much as commenced: we may therefore conclude reaſonably enough, that it was no great matter; and if there was any ſmall diſturbance, it was immediately ſuppreſſed. *A. D.* 162.

BUT the ſituation of affairs was much altered by the death of *M. Aurelius*, on *March* 17, *A. D.* 180; he being ſucceeded by a ſon, very unlike his father, [2] and who might, by his conduct, paſs rather for the offspring of a gladiator, than the iſſue of *M. Aurelius*. *Commodus* was not only cruel, but monſtrouſly lewd; immerſed in all manner of vices, and capable of the moſt enormous iniquities: furious, but a coward in his nature; lazy, indolent, and voluptuous; extravagantly laviſh of the public treaſure, and negligent of all the affairs of his empire. Theſe he left to the management of his favourites; who getting rid of the wiſe counſellors, put about his perſon, or employed in buſineſs by his father, governed all things at their pleaſure, and ſent men of their own ſtamp into the provinces, to govern, fleece, and oppreſs them; preferring ſuch either for being partners in their crimes and debauches, or for the ſums of money which they laid down for their places, in hopes of reimburſing themſelves at the expence of the people under their government. This rendering the prince contemptible, the people diſcontented, and the ſoldiery inſolent, gave encouragement to the *Caledonians*, and other nations in the north of *Scotland*, to invade the *Roman* province; which, in the former reigns, they could not attempt with the leaſt proſpect of ſucceſs. Aſſembling a ſtrong body of forces, [3] they broke through *Antoninus's* wall, cut in pieces the *Roman* general with his forces, and made terrible ravages over all the neighbouring countries. *Commodus*, in this diſtreſs, was forced to ſend over in all haſte a *Proprætor* capable of ſuch a command: and *Ulpius Marcellus* was choſen for that purpoſe; a man above corruption; modeſt, but brave in his perſon; an excellent ſoldier: rough in his nature, vigilant, indefatigable; who, by his example, as much as his ſeverity, ſoon brought the troops to endure hardſhips, and *A. D.* 180.

[1] *Jul. Capitolin.* p. 25, and 31. [2] *Lamprid. vit. Commod. Dio.* l. lxxii. [3] *Dio.* ib. p. 820.

reſtored

A. D. 180. reſtored the diſcipline of the army. The *Caledonians* were now beaten in their turn, and driven back with ſuch ſlaughter in various engagements, that they ſeem to have remained quiet all the reſt of this Emperor's reign, without attempting another invaſion. This paſſed before *A. D.* 183, when *Commodus* (as appears by his [1] medals) aſſumed the title of *Britannicus*, for victories which gained *Marcellus* ſo much honour, as had like to have coſt him his life, through the envy and jealouſy of his maſter on that occaſion; ſuch too frequently is the undeſerved fate of diſtinguiſhed merit under wicked princes. When the Emperor removed *Marcellus*, it is likely that he ſold the government of this iſland, as he uſually did others, to the moſt worthleſs perſons, they being generally the higheſt bidders: for we find ſoon after a general complaint of all the army in *Britain*, that they were commanded, not by perſons of ſenatorial dignity, as they ever uſed, but by others of the equeſtrian order; and this complaint being ſent to *Rome*, with a numerous deputation from all the legions, contributed greatly to the ruin of *Perennis*, the *præfectus prætorii*, who was delivered up to the rage of the ſoldiers in A. D. 186. *A. D.* 186. *Pertinax*, afterwards Emperor, was thereupon ſent over as *Proprætor*, in order to bring the ſoldiers to their duty; who having no enemy to encounter in the field, and holding their governour in great contempt, were grown headſtrong, mutinous, and inſupportable. It was no eaſy matter for him, with all his great talents, to effect; and in attempting it, one of the mutinous legions having recourſe to their arms, a great deal of blood was ſpilt, and he was left for dead on the ſpot; recovering however, he at laſt, with infinite pains, ſucceeded ſo far, as to quell the ſedition, and reſtore quiet to the province. This gained him a great deal of reputation; and notwithſtanding his ſeverity, the troops eſteemed him to ſuch a degree, that they, as well as the people, wiſhed to ſee him emperor: but they had ſo violent an averſion to that exact diſcipline, which he would force them always to obſerve, that it gave him a continual uneaſineſs, and he wrote to court deſiring to be recalled. He obtained his requeſt after the death of *Arrius Antoninus*, who ſuffered in *A. D.* 189. It is very probable he was ſucceeded by *Clodius Albinus*; who, though he gave great offence to his maſter, by a ſpeech, which on a falſe report of his death, he had made to the army, ſtill continued in poſſeſſion of the government at the death of *Commodus*, who was killed in the night of *December* 31, *A. D.* 192 [2].

A. D. 183.

A. D. 189.

The time of *Britain's* converſion to *Chriſtianity*.

VIII. Eleutherus, biſhop of *Rome*, was contemporary with this Emperor, in whoſe reign the church enjoying a continual peace, free from all manner of perſecution; *Baronius* and others think it the moſt likely time for the converſion of *Britain* to *Chriſtianity*, in the manner related by *Bede* and others, who believed the ſtory of king *Lucius*. *Eleutherus* ſucceeded *Soter* in that ſee *A. D.* 177, and died *A. D.* 192, ſome months before *Commodus*. Thus the firſt three years of his pontificate paſſing in the reign of *M. Aurelius*, and mankind being naturally diſpoſed to aſcribe to perſons and events that contribute to their glory, the greateſt antiquity which they poſſibly can, with any colour of reaſon or probability; the generality of writers are willing to imagine this converſion happened in the time of that Emperor; the miraculous deliverance of whoſe army, ready to expire with thirſt, in the war againſt the *Quadi*, *A. D.* 174, is ſuppoſed to have made a great noiſe, and to have given occaſion to the ſudden converſion of a whole nation. The learned *Uſher* [3] hath collected above twenty different opinions as to the time, when *Lucius* was converted, and held his correſpondence with *Eleutherus*: but it cannot be worth while to examine them, when the ſtory itſelf is falſe, and the letters evidently ſpurious. It ſeems

[1] *Goltz.* p. 81. *Bir.* p. 247, 248. [2] *Dio.* l. lxxii. [3] *Antiq. Brit.* c. 3. p. 20.

to have been invented between the time of *Gildas*, (whoſe deſign led him to ſpeak of it, and yet he doth not mention ſo much as the name of *Lucius)* and that of *Bede:* and the whole ſtory is ſo inconſiſtent with the ſtate of *Britain* in that age, and ſo incredible in the circumſtances with which it is decorated, that we may deem it one of thoſe relations, which this laſt writer ſays, in the preface to his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, he would not warrant, but delivered purely upon common report. *A. D.* 189.

That there was a *Chriſtian* prince called *Lucius*, in ſome part or other of this iſland, ſeems probable from the two coins mentioned by [1] *Uſher*, and ſtamped with the image of a king, the letters L V C. to ſhew his name, and the ſign of the *Croſs* to denote his being a *Chriſtian*. The name not being originally *Britiſh*, might either be aſſumed by him as a *Roman Prænomen*, or given him as an *Agnomen*, on account of his being converted and receiving the *Light* of the Goſpel; for which reaſon his countrymen gave him the title or appellation of *Lever Maur*, *i. e. great light* or *ſplendour:* as they did that of [2] *Cannaid*, *i. e.* the *bright*, (by *Latin* writers called *Hilarius)* to St. *Elian*, who about *A. D.* 450, founded the church of *Lhan Elian* in *Angleſey*. Thoſe who adopt the ſtory are not agreed in their ſentiments about the place, where this prince could be ſuppoſed to reign, conſiſtent with the ſtate of affairs at that time in *Britain:* Some thinking, he ruled over the *Britains* beyond *Hadrian's Vallum*, and others that he was a ſubordinate king to the *Romans* in ſome other quarter of the iſland. The learned biſhop [3] *Stillingfleet* is of this laſt opinion, and gueſſes him to be ſome deſcendant of king *Cogiduvnus*; who by the favour of the Emperor *Claudius* retained his royalty, and governed ſome other countries beſides his own, under the title of *imperial Legate*. He was prince of the *Dobuni* that inhabited *Glouceſterſhire*; and *Geoffry* of *Monmouth*, in ſaying *Lucius* was buried at *Glouceſter*, aſſigns no improper place for the ſepulture of a deſcendant of *Cogiduvnus:* but the biſhop ſuppoſeth him to have been king of the *Regni*; becauſe there are very few remains of the *Romans*, either of their roads, buildings, coins, urns, or inſcriptions to be found in *Surrey* or *Suſſex*, the ſeat of that people. This reaſon, were it better juſtified by fact than it is in reality, doth not yet appear to me very concluſive; becauſe the vaſt foreſt of *Anderida*, which in their time covered a good part of the former, and well nigh all the latter country, accounts very eaſily for the ſcarcity of ſuch monuments; it being as little likely to expect them there in a quarter they did not inhabit, as in the foreſt of *Dartimore* in *Devon*. Nor is there any reaſon to think, that this ſubordinate royalty ſhould be continued in *Cogiduvnus's* family ſo low as the time of *M. Aurelius:* for though the *Romans* allowed ſuch dependant kings, it was always on their frontiers, and ſeldom or never in the heart of their dominions; eſpecially when the country was entirely pacified and liable to no invaſion or diſturbance. When *Cogiduvnus* was indulged in this reſpect, the *Romans* ſtood in need of his aſſiſtance; but as he lived till the time of *Trajan*, far from having any occaſion then for it, the allowing his deſcendants to enjoy the like royalty, would not have been agreeable to their uſual policy; becauſe it would have been an obſtruction to the compleat ſettlement of their province. The *Scotch* hiſtorians ſeem to be ſenſible of this, when they make *Lucius* to be the laſt king of the *Britains*; [4] *Fordon* ſaying, "that upon his death the *Britiſh* royal line was extinct, and "the *Romans* inſtead of kings appointed tribunes to govern the country; and *Hec-* "*tor Boëthius*[5] adding that the *Romans* finding kings were the authors of many ſe-

[1] *Antiq. Brit.* c. iii. p. 22. [2] *Mona Antiq.* p. 143, 156. [3] *Antiq. of Britiſh Churches*, c. ii. p. 60. &c. [4] *Scoti-Chron*, l. ii. 31. [5] *Hiſtor. Scot.* l. v.

A. D. 189. "ditions and inſurrections of thoſe people, provided on that occaſion by a public "decree, that none of *Britiſh* blood ſhould for the future be ever inveſted with "the royal dignity."

It muſt be owned, that from the inſcription, found at [1] *Chicheſter* ſince that great man's death, ſomething may be drawn to favour his notion; if inſtead of making *Lucius* live in the time of *Commodus* and *Eleutherus*, he was allowed to be contemporary with *Trajan*, and *Evariſtus*, who was biſhop of *Rome* on the death of St. *Clemens*, *A. D.* 100, and lived till *Oct.* 26. *A. D.* 109. The altar on which that inſcription is engraved, was erected by the authority of king *Cogiduvnus* the Emperor's Legate in the country of the *Regni*; which ſeems to be part of thoſe additional territories given him by *Claudius*, whoſe name of *Tiberius Claudius* he aſſumed for his *Prænomen* upon having the *jus civitatis* or *ſenatorum*, conferred upon him, as it had been upon all the nobility of *Gaule*; and the *Area* on which it was erected was the gift of *Pudens* ſon of *Pudentinus*. It was natural for *Cogiduvnus*, when he had, according to the *Roman* cuſtom on ſuch occaſions, taken the name of his patron, and been thereby admitted, into his tribe, to give his daughter the name of *Claudia*: and the opportunities, which his friendſhip or acquaintance with *Pudens* afforded the latter of obſerving the wit, beauty, noble ſentiments and fine accompliſhments of the young lady, might give occaſion to the marriage, which is celebrated by [2] *Martial*; who calls her a *Britiſh* lady and gives her the name of *Claudia Ruſina*. St. *Paul* makes no mention of them in his *Epiſtle to the Romans*; which was wrote during the three months he paſſed at *Corinth* in the latter end of *A. D.* 57, or beginning of *A. D.* 58; ſo that probably they were not then come out of *Britain*, or at leaſt not converted; but in that which he wrote to *Timothy*, as he was going to appear the ſecond time before *Nero*, a little before his martyrdom, which happened on *June* 29. *A. D.* 66, he ſpeaks of both as *Chriſtians*, and [3] ſends their greetings to *Timothy*. This year coincides with the twelfth and thirteenth of *Nero's* reign, ſo that ſhe might well be grown up to be marriageable by that time, though her father was but young, when he firſt ſubmitted to *Claudius*: and *Domitian* coming to the throne in *A. D.* 81, ſhe might ſtill be a fine woman in his reign, when the ſame poet (who came to *Rome* in *Nero's* time, and left it on the death of *Domitian*) makes her elogium in another epigram [4]. We may very reaſonably ſuppoſe, that a zealous *Chriſtian*, like *Claudia*, would uſe her beſt endeavours to make her brother or nephew like herſelf; and that a perſon of her very good ſenſe, to ſay nothing of her other advantages, was likely enough to prevail: and in ſuch caſe, if we allow the *Romans* to continue the title of king to the immediate ſucceſſor of *Cogiduvnus*, whether his ſon or grandſon, we have here a *Britiſh* king contemporary with *Evariſtus* biſhop of *Rome*; who in ſome copies of *Nennius*, is ſaid to be the correſpondent of *Lucius*, and to have ſent over the teachers that converted *Britain*. This is giving Dr. *Stillingfleet's* notion all the advantage of which it is capable: and I was willing to do it before I advance my own, and offer thoſe reaſons which oblige me to differ from ſo many learned men, as have wrote upon this ſubject.

It is ſomething extraordinary, that two of the moſt diſtinguiſhed ladies, that embraced *Chriſtianity* in the Apoſtles days, ſhould be *Britains*: for ſuch likewiſe was *Pomponia Græcina*, the wife of *A. Plautius* who had been Proprætor of the *Roman* province in this iſland; and ſhe ſeems an earlier convert than *Claudia*, having in *A.* 57, been proſecuted (as [5] *Tacitus* tells us) and in danger of loſing her life, for her religion. But as theſe converſions were in all appearance made at *Rome*,

[1] *Brit. Rom.* p. 336. [2] L. iv. Ep. 13. [3] 2 *Tim.* iv. 21. [4] L. xi. Ep. 54.
[5] *Tacit. Ann.* l. xiii. c. 32.

I ſee no reaſon from thence to conclude that the Goſpel was preached here ſo early, as hath been gathered from a paſſage in *Gildas* miſunderſtood. The *Glaſtenbury* tale of *Joſeph* of *Arimathea* is ſufficiently exploded, and the opinion of St. *Paul's* travelling into *Britain*, and other parts of the weſt, when he was freed from his firſt impriſonment at *Rome*, is founded originally on his having entertained the thoughts of a voyage to *Spain* [1] when he wrote his *Epiſtle to the Romans*, and on the miſtakes of ſome ancient writers, who took it for granted, that he had executed that deſign [2]. *Sulpitius Severus* a native of *Aquitaine*, who lived in the latter end of the fourth, and in the beginning of the fifth century, a man of noble birth, ample fortune, great piety and learning, obſerves [3] that the *Chriſtian* religion made its way very late on this ſide the *Alpes*: and the firſt martyrs in *Gaule*, were thoſe of *Lyon* in *A. D.* 177; when there ſeem to be no churches formed in that country, but thoſe of *Lyon* and *Vienne*; though there were ſome ſcattered *Chriſtians* alſo in the neighbouring parts of *Burgundy*. The ſame fact is aſſerted by the author of the acts of St. *Saturnin*, in *Surius's* collection; a writer little later in time than the other, and ancienter than *Gregory* of *Tours*. Thus the caſe ſtood till the reign of the Emperor *Philip*, who came to the throne *A. D.* 244, when the church enjoying a calm ſeaſon, [4] St. *Denis*, the apoſtle of *France*, St. *Trophimus*, St. *Paul*, St. *Saturnin*, St. *Auſtremoine*, and St. *Martial*, the firſt biſhops and founders of the churches of *Paris*, *Arles*, *Narbonne*, *Touloſe*, *Clermont*, and *Limoges*, were ordained at *Rome*, and ſent to propagate the faith in *Gaule*. The reſt ſettling in the ſouthern provinces, St. *Denis* advanced into the heart of the country as far as *Paris*; where he preached ſeveral years with great ſucceſs, and at laſt (as *M. de Launoy* maintains) ſuffered under *Diocletian*; not in the great perſecution begun *A. D.* 303, but in another which was peculiar to the weſt, (as the [5] acts of his martyrdom repreſent it) and brought upon the church in *A. D.* 286, by the fury of *Maximian Herculius*; who, coming that year into *Gaule*, began the perſecution, which he continued as long as he ſtayed there, *i. e.* to *A. D.* 292. St. *Rufin*, St. *Valerius*, St. *Criſpin*, and his brother, with a great many other eccleſiaſtics, who had come from *Rome* with St. *Denis*, ſuffered (as the ſeveral acts of their martyrdom concur in atteſting) in the ſame perſecution, when the remains of the *Theban* legion were alſo put to death at *Triers*; the præfect *Rictius Varus* (who dyed *A. D.* 288) being in all caſes the chief inſtrument to put the cruel orders of *Maximian* in execution.

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The caſe was much the ſame in *Britain*; where in proportion to its greater diſtance from the eaſt, the *Chriſtian* religion muſt be ſlower in making its way, than in *Gaule*, the onely country, in a manner, with which the *Britains* held any correſpondence. I do not doubt, but that there were particular *Chriſtians* here much earlier, and the braſs medal of our *Saviour*, [6] with an *Hebrew* inſcription on

[1] *Rom.* xv. 28.

[2] He wrote that Epiſtle at *Corinth*, and preſently after ſet out on his journey into *Aſia*; propoſing to keep the feaſt of Pentecoſt at *Jeruſalem*, where he arrived about the middle of *May*, *A. D.* 58. and was taken up in ſeven or eight days after. He continued in priſon all the time of *Felix's* government, till after two years *Feſtus* coming into the other's place, and St. *Paul* appealing to *Cæſar*, he was ſent to *Rome*; where after a voyage of ſeveral months, he arrived at the latter end of the winter, in the beginning of *A. D.* 61. and dwelt in his own houſe two years entire. He could not, therefore, leave that city ſooner than *A. D.* 63. when he wrote to the *Hebrews*, acquainting them with his deſign of coming to ſee them with *Timothy*, who had been ſeen ſet at liberty. This probably he did, when after his own being diſcharged, he returned into the eaſt, preaching in *Crete*, where he left *Titus* to finiſh the good work he had begun; and thence paſſing into *Aſia*, where he ordained *Timothy*, biſhop of *Epheſus*, and afterwards into *Macedonia*, whence he wrote him his firſt Epiſtle. His uſual care of the churches, and making good his promiſes of viſiting the *Jews* [a] and *Philippians*, were ſufficient employments to take up his time till *A. D.* 65. when he was again impriſoned, and ſuffered death the year following. He ſeems long before to have laid aſide the thoughts of going into *Spain*, nor is there the leaſt veſtige of his being in that, or in any other country of the weſt of *Europe*.

[3] L. ii. [4] *Du Boſquet's Eccleſ. Gallic*, l. v.

[5] *Surius Oct.* xxv. [6] *Mona Antiq.* p. 141, 318, 320, &c.

[a] *Heb.* xiii. 23. *Ep. Philem.* 22. 2 *Tim.* iv. 13, 20. *Philipp.* ii. 24.

it,

A. D. 189. it, importing, *This is Jeſus Chriſt, the Mediator* or *Meſſiah*, taken up *A. D.* 1702, out of the rubbiſh of the chief tribunal of the *Druids* in *Angleſey*, looks as if ſome preacher of the *Chriſtian* religion, had been there condemned and ſacrificed by them, before they were extirpated, and their tribunal demoliſhed by *Suetonius Paulinus*. But I am apt to think they were very few in number, and rather *Romans*, or other foreigners, than *Britains:* nor was there any formed church in this iſland till after *A. D.* 250; the higheſt point of time, to which their ſucceſſion of biſhops aſcends in all the ſees of *Gaule*, except *Lyon* and *Vienne*. No man of learning, however verſed in the ſtudy of antiquity, or how indefatigable ſoever in his ſearches upon this ſubject, hath ever yet been able to find out ſo much as the name of any one biſhop in *Britain* before that time, except what are founded purely upon the legend of *Lucius:* and the true reaſon why there was no perſecution in this iſland, as there was in other parts of the empire, till that of *Diocletian*, appears plainly to have been, becauſe till then there were no *Chriſtians* here conſiderable enough to be remarked. By *Gildas's* account, there were but few even at that time; the *Chriſtian* religion having been but lately introduced: and accordingly very few ſuffered, beſides St. *Alban* (who is univerſally allowed to be the firſt *Britiſh* martyr) at *Verolam*, and *Julius* and *Aaron* at *Caerlon* upon *Uſke*; the firſt a *Municipium*, the latter a *Roman colony*. The *Saxon chronicle* fixes this perſecution in *A. D.* 283: but the acts of St. *Alban's* martyrdom, and other ancient writers [1] place it more rightly in *A. D.* 286; nor could it well be either earlier than the two laſt months of that year, or later than the year following.

Diocletian was proclaimed Emperor at *Chalcedon*, *September* 17, *A. D.* 284, when his æra, otherwiſe called the æra of the martyrs, commenced: and on *April* 1, *A. D.* 289, at *Nicomedia*, he declared *Maximian Herculius* his aſſociate in the empire. This ſtep was occaſioned by the troubles raiſed in *Gaule* by the *Bagaudæ*, under *Aelian* and *Amandus*, who had aſſumed the purple: and *Maximian* having made preparations for the war at *Rome*, came on *September* 22, that year, with his army to the foot of the *Alpes*, in the *Valais*; and from thence marched into *Gaule*, where he decimated the legion, commanded by St. *Maurice*, and juſt come from the eaſt, becauſe they would not join in his idolatrous ſacrifices. He ſoon reduced the *Bagaudæ*; and then began to perſecute the *Chriſtians* in all the weſtern provinces, which were under his peculiar care, if not his ſhare of the empire. Theſe all ſuffered ſeveral years from his cruelty, except *Britain*; where *Carauſius* ſetting up for Emperor in *A. D.* 287, and thinking it neceſſary not to ſhock his new ſubjects, by a ſeries of inhuman barbarities, put a ſtop to the perſecution. Nor was it ever renewed here afterwards; for *Conſtantius Chlorus* being on *March* 1, *A. D.* 292, declared *Cæſar*, and having *Gaule*, *Spaine*, and *Britain* aſſigned for his diſtrict of the empire, was ſo favourable to the *Chriſtians* in thoſe countries, that none of them ſuffered in his time: and even that terrible perſecution, which began upon *Diocletian's* edict of *February* 23, *A. D.* 303, and was carried on with ſo much fury for ten years together in the eaſt, that it eclipſed every thing of that kind which had paſſed in former times, never reached theſe weſtern provinces under the government of *Conſtantius*. This prince allowed the *Chriſtians* freely to profeſs their religion in all his dominions, as we are aſſured [2] by *Euſebius*, *Sozomen*, and the *Donatiſts* in their petition to his ſon *Conſtantine:* and the good effects of this liberty may more particularly be expected in *Britain*, which after *A. D.* 296, was (as [3] *Zoſimus* tells us) the place of his uſual reſidence. This therefore is the time, when the *Chriſtian* religion being preached without controul, perhaps with countenance and encouragement, we may expect to hear of its

[1] *Uſher's Ant. Brit.* c. 7. p. 88. [2] *Ib.* p. 91. [3] L. ii.

progreſs;

progreſs; of churches built, epiſcopal ſees founded; (for before, ſuch as were ſent on a miſſion, like the Apoſtles, probably acted like biſhops at large, as St. *Denis*, and his companions did at firſt in *Gaule*, without being confined to a particular diſtrict) *Dioceſes* formed, and princes converted; and when likewiſe (if there be any foundation at all for his ſtory) we ought to ſeek out for a *Lucius*. *A. D.* 189.

Constantius had, in the time of the Emperor *Aurelian*, married *Helena*, daughter of a *Britiſh* prince, named *Coil*, and generally ſtyled, *a king of the* Britains. This title could not, at a time when all this iſland, as far north at leaſt as *Hadrian's wall*, was reduced into the form of a province, be given to any toparch or potentate of the *Britains*, but one whoſe territories lay north of that boundary.

Those of *Coil* were ſo ſituated, his deſcendants having for many centuries after his time, and after the *Romans* had quitted this iſland, continued in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of the *Cumbri*; which reached from *Lancaſhire* to *Dunbritton*, on the north ſide of the *Cluyd* in *Scotland*, the capital whereof in his days might be according to the *Britiſh* tradition [1] *Colania*, as *Ptolemy* calls it, or *Colanica* as it is read in *Ravennas* [2]. This ſome take to be *Coldenham*, or *Coludi urbs*, as *Bede* calls it; others make it *Coleceſter:* but the author of *Britannia Romana* thinks it rather to be *Carſtairs* near *Lanerk*, in the heart of the country between *Hadrian's vallum*, and that of *Antoninus*. Now, as all the *Britiſh* and *Scotch* writers, with one conſent, make *Lucius* to be the ſon of *Coil*, if this prince ſhall be found to have a ſon, who might be called by that name, he may very juſtly be ſuppoſed, as brother-in-law to *Conſtantius*, and as uncle to *Conſtantine the Great*, to have intereſt enough with thoſe Emperors, to perform the ſubſtance of what is aſcribed to *Lucius* in the legend; to build churches, to erect ſees, and to eſtabliſh *Chriſtianity* on the ſame footing, and with the like polity, as in other countries.

Constantius [3] bears one of the fineſt characters in antiquity: and this is unanimouſly given him by all the writers of his time, by heathens, as well as *Chriſtians*; who celebrate his virtues, unſullied by any vice, as rendering him worthy of the empire of the world, without a partner to ſhare in the government. The gracefulneſs of his perſon; the ſerenity and ſweetneſs of his look; the gravity and modeſty of his air, attended with an obliging manner in all his behaviour, naturally beſpoke the good opinion of mankind. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his continence, a rare virtue in a *Roman* Emperor, his juſtice, prudence, piety, liberality, humanity, good nature, and the like valuable, as well as amiable qualities; which could not fail of making him equally beloved and eſteemed by his ſubjects. He had perfected himſelf in the art of war, under the Emperors *Aurelian* and *Probus*; but he loved quiet, and was above ambition; he deſpiſed money, and hated pomp and parade: every thing was plain and ſimple about his palace, whence plate, and whatever ſerved for magnificence and luxury, was entirely baniſhed; ſo that he was forced to borrow ſuch things from his friends, when it was requiſite to make a ſhew upon public occaſions. This procured him the *Agnomen* of *Pauper*, and gave occaſion to the well known paſſage of *Diocletian's* ſending an officer to repreſent to him the ill conſequences of his poverty, whom having deſired to ſtay a few days, he ſhewed him ſuch an immenſe quantity of plate and treaſure, the zealous contributions of his rich ſubjects on that occaſion, as amazed the meſſenger, and abſolutely ſilenced the complaint. Whilſt *Diocletian*

[1] So called perhaps from being the place of *Coil's* ordinary reſidence, from *Coil* and *Anned* or *Ant*, i. e. *habitatio:* as *Buchanan* ſays, the county of *Coila*, now ſpelt *Kyle*, in the ſame part of *Scotland*, *derived its name from a* Britiſh *prince of the ſame name*, and probably the ſame perſon.

[2] *Baxter's Gloſſ. Ant. Brit.* v. Colanica, Coldana. *Camden's Brit.* p. 1179. *Brit. Rom.* p. 367, 495, 502. [3] *Lactant. Perſ.* c. 8. 18, 20. *Eutrop. Suidas in v.* Παῦπις. *Liban. Orat.* iii. c. 12. *Livineii Panegyr.* 5, 6, 9, 10. *Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl.* l. viii. c. 13, 17. *De vit. Conſtant.* l. i. c. 4, 13, 17.

A. D. 189. ruined his part of the empire by exceſſive taxes, to glut his avarice in amaſſing wealth, and to ſupply his extravagance in the prodigious buildings, which his vanity put him upon erecting, *Conſtantius* employed all his care to eaſe his own provinces, and to enrich his people; chooſing rather to have his money in their coffers, than in his own treaſury: ſo that *Libanius* ſays very juſtly of him, that never prince loved money leſs, or was better beloved by his ſubjects. As to his religion, we are aſſured, that he believed the unity of the godhead, and conſequently rejected the *Polytheiſm*, which was the fundamental principle of the heathen religion and ſuperſtitions: his favour likewiſe to the *Chriſtians*, and protection of their religion are too well atteſted to admit of a diſpute. When the other Emperors were perſecuting in all places, eſpecially in their own houſhold, all that profeſſed it, he took occaſion to try the conſtancy of ſuch *Chriſtians* as were employed by himſelf, either in the offices of his houſhold, or in the government of provinces: and told them they muſt either quit their poſts, or ſacrifice to the pagan deities. Some thereupon complying, and others refuſing, he upbraided the former with an infidelity to their God; which forbad him to expect they could ever be faithful to their prince: and extolling the generoſity of the latter, who had preferred their religion to all other conſiderations, employed them afterwards in all the charges of government, and in all offices about his perſon. Hence nothing, but œconomy, order, and regularity, was to be ſeen in his houſhold: and prayers were daily offered up for him, by the *Chriſtian* clergy, in every part of his palace; ſo that it looked like a church or *Chriſtian* temple, rather than the abode of an Emperor. Theſe are undoubted facts: and it is not unlikely, but he might chooſe to make his ordinary reſidence in *Britain*, the remoteſt corner of the *Roman* dominions, that they might be leſs remarked by *Diocletian* and *Maximian*, with whom he was obliged to keep meaſures; with the former out of gratitude, and with both for the peace of the empire; though they were the moſt virulent enemies of *Chriſtianity*.

What could not a prince of this character, thus infinitely eſteemed and beloved, do, among his people; when all his miniſters, by their ſincere profeſſion and zeal for *Chriſtianity*, were ready to concur with him in promoting his intentions, in improving his favour, and in exerting their own beſt endeavours, in behalf of the *Chriſtian* religion? It might very well be propagated, whilſt he kept well with his collegues, and epiſcopal ſees be founded by the agency of thoſe miniſters, and by the deligence of the clergy that were admitted to his nearer preſence, and celebrated divine ſervice in his palace. But of all who co-operated towards this work in *Britain*, none were ſo likely to do it with ſucceſs, as natives of the country: nor can any of theſe be ſuppoſed to have the ſame degree of confidence and familiarity with *Conſtantius*, as the brother of his wife *Helena*. *Bouchet* [1] indeed maintains that ſhe had three ſons by *Conſtantius*, the youngeſt of which was *Conſtantine*, and the ſecond named *Lucius*, who having by ſome accident killed his elder brother, was thereupon put on board a ſhip with a great deal of treaſure, and a number of eccleſiaſtics to attend him; and landing on the coaſt of *Poictou*, founded there the church of *Luzon*; quoting for this fact the hiſtory of that cathedral contained in an ancient hymn, ſtill uſed in that church, and beginning with the words *Gaude, Lucionium*. But this hath no manner of foundation in hiſtory; and is contrary to all the *Welſh* genealogies: which however precarious their authority is before, do certainly deſerve credit (eſpecially in caſes where they all agree together, though preſerved in different families) after the knowledge and uſe of letters was introduced into the country; as undoubtedly it was upon their converſion to *Chriſtianity*,

[1] *Annales d'Aquitaine*, P. i. c. 5.

every biſhop's houſe being then a ſchool for inſtruction in learning, and a ſeminary or college for educating and qualifying perſons for the miniſtry of the goſpel. Now all theſe genealogies mention [1] *Conſtantine* as the only ſon of *Conſtantius* by *Helena*, and aſſign *Coil* one ſon, who ſucceeding his father in the *Cumbrian* kingdom beyond the *Wall*, dyed without iſſue, and his right to that principality thereupon deſcended, by lineal ſucceſſion, to his eldeſt ſiſter *Helena*. This ſon of *Coil* is indeed called by them *Cenau* or *Kenau*: but as St. *Elian*, ſurnamed *Cannaid*, i. e. *bright*, *lucid*, or *luminous*, was by latinizing the ſenſe of the word, called, by *Latin* writers, *Hilarius*; ſo *Cenau*, a word derived from the ſame root, and of the like ſignification, might as properly, when the *Britiſh* name was to be latiniſed, be rendered *Lucius*: and he might more naturally take it, than any other, at his baptiſm. He was, by his mother, the heir alſo of *North-wales*: and it is from his nephew *Cynetha*, that the old race of the princes of *Wales* lineally deſcended. *Cenau* being the chief inſtrument of propagating and ſettling the *Chriſtian* religion in his own territories; which comprehended all thoſe countries both in *Scotland* and *England*, where the *Old Britains* kept up ſeparate kingdoms, governed by princes of his family, for ſeveral centuries after the *Saxons* came into this iſland; it is no wonder that he was celebrated among them by that *Chriſtian* name of *Lucius*, under which he had done ſo great things for the ſervice of religion, and the good of their nation. *A. D.* 189.

There is a ſtrong paſſion reigning in all countries, to carry up the antiquities of their nation to a greater height than either evidence or reaſon will allow: and in ages, when people vyed with one another about the priority of their converſion to *Chriſtianity*, it is no wonder that they took up with any pretence; and in defect of finding, invented ſome or other, in order to lay the earlieſt claim they poſſibly could to ſuch a converſion. Thus St. *Denis*, the firſt biſhop of *Paris*, was, for a long time, taken for *Denis* the *Areopagite*; *Trophimus*, the firſt biſhop of *Arles* was looked upon to be the *Trophimus* mentioned in St. *Paul's* epiſtles; *Martial* of *Limoges* paſſed for a near relation of *Stephen*, the firſt deacon; though none of them flouriſhed till the middle of the third century: it would be eaſy to give five hundred other inſtances of the like nature. Thus it being generally known, that *Lucius*, the ſon of *Coil*, was the firſt *Chriſtian Britiſh* prince, it was eaſy for bards or genealogiſts to mount up into ages of darkneſs, before the uſe of letters, and create what anceſtors they pleaſed for another *Coil* [2], in order to place him nearer than he really was to the days of the apoſtles. But what is aſcribed to *Lucius* in the legend, was utterly impracticable for any *Britiſh* prince or chieftain in any earlier age, than that of *Helena's* brother, and for him too without the favour or ſupport of *Conſtantius*: and that this was the very time when churches were generally founded here, and biſhops ſettled in ſees and dioceſes, ſeems confirmed by the old tradition, ſupported by ancient writers, and allowed by *Uſher* and *Camden*, which aſcribes the foundation of the church, and the erection of the ſee of *York* to *Conſtantius*, who probably made it the ordinary place of his reſidence. *Gildas* fixeth the time of the flouriſhing ſtate of *Chriſtianity* in this iſland, when churches were built, feſtivals obſerved with ſolemnity, and the *Chriſtian* religion openly profeſſed, to the tenth year after St. *Alban's* martyrdom: and it was juſt ten years after this martyr ſuffered, that *Conſtantius* came over to reduce *Allectus*, and to reſide in *Britain*. In a word, no earlier time can with the leaſt appearance of probability be aſſigned for ſo general a converſion, and for the eſtabliſhing of dioceſes in

[1] See the genealogy in Mr. *Rowland's Mona Antiqua*, p. 163. See alſo for the authentickneſs of their genealogies, p. 167, 168.

[2] Such as *Marius* taken from the country of *Weſt-mar-land*, on a wrong reading of an inſcription there found, as if it had been *Marii Victoria*: and *Arviragus* from *Juvenal*, which I have ſhewn to be fictitious.

this

A. D. 189. this iſland, which yet was done before the council of *Arles* in *A. D.* 314: there is no foundation in hiſtory, but what is undoubtedly fabulous, to imagine there was any *Britiſh* king of the name of *Coil* beſides him, that was the father of *Helena*, and *Cenau*, whom I ſuppoſe to be the true *Lucius*. All circumſtances conſpire to favour this conjecture; for beſides what are already mentioned, *Fordon*, and all the *Scotch* hiſtorians, whoſe country, and the monaſteries of it might poſſibly preſerve ſome notices of what paſſed in their neighbourhood, in a kingdom within the bounds of *Scotland* itſelf, agree in aſſuring us that *Lucius* dyed without iſſue, and the *Welſh* genealogiſts ſay the ſame of *Cenau*. The two *Britiſh* coins alſo mentioned by *Camden*, with the inſcription of L V C, and the ſign of the croſs upon them are a further preſumption in favour of this conjecture; becauſe the ſign of the croſs, was (I am perſuaded) never ſtamped upon any coin till after *A. D.* 311, the year of *Conſtantine's* viſion, or *A. D.* 312, when he gained his victory over *Maxentius:* and *Cenau* may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to ſurvive theſe events, ſince his elder ſiſter *Helena* lived to *A. D.* 328.

Affairs of *Britain* under *Severus.*

IX. The legend of *Lucius* having fixed the general converſion of this iſland about the time of *Commodus*, this was the proper place to inſert a diſquiſition on a ſubject; which, though of an eccleſiaſtical nature, is too important to be omitted in a civil hiſtory: the courſe whereof now leads me to take notice of the civil

A. D. 193. wars, which followed the death of that Emperor. *Pertinax* ſucceeded; a man of virtue, fitted to reform the corruptions of the ſtate and army, if they had not been too generally ſpread, and too firmly rooted to admit a cure: but the apprehenſion of his deſign, abilities, and firmneſs alarming the prætorian troops, which of all the *Roman* forces wanted moſt ſuch a reformation, they murdered him on *March* 28; and ſold the empire to *Didius Julianus*, a rich worthleſs mortal, whom royalty itſelf could not ſave from being contemptible. The news of the death of *Pertinax*, who was beloved by the Legions, and eſteemed by all the world, filled the armies in the provinces with reſentment: and put them, in their eagerneſs for revenge, upon deſiring their own commanders to aſſume the purple. Thus *C. Peſcennius Niger* was declared Emperor in the eaſt, and *Septimius Severus* in *Illyria* about the beginning of *May:* it was expected too, that *Clodius Albinus* a good ſoldier, but full of himſelf, and no great politician, would be proclaimed in the ſame manner at the head of a very brave and numerous body of forces which he commanded in *Britain*. *Severus* was neareſt to the capital of the empire: and marching haſtily to *Rome* with his army, was acknowledged by the ſenate; who had, upon his approach, given orders for killing *Julian*, then deſerted by every body, even by the prætorians. He had ſtill two dangerous competitors to contend with; and reſolving firſt to reduce *Niger*, gave the title of *Cæſar* to *Albinus*; to keep him quiet, and flatter his hopes of being at laſt Emperor. *Niger* was ſlain *A. D.* 194: but *Severus* being taken up in the eaſt, by a war with the *Parthians*, did not break openly with *Albinus* till *A. D.* 129: when both made preparations for war; and the latter having aſſumed the purple in *Britain*, paſſed the ſea with his forces into *Gaule*; where being well beloved, and of a nobler family than his adverſary, he gained the armies on the *Rhine* over to his party. The diſpute was terminated by a bloody

A. D. 197. battle fought on *February* 19, *A. D.* 197, on a large plain between *Trevoux* and *Lyon*; in which *Severus* having the advantage over his rival, who killed himſelf upon his defeat, diſpatched immediately *Virius Lupus*, with the title of *Proprætor*, into *Britain*, to oppoſe any invaſion which the *Caledonians* might be tempted to make upon the province, whilſt it was left in a weak condition by the abſence of the forces, which *Albinus* had carried out of the country. The emperor ſtayed ſome time in *Gaule*, to ſettle his affairs in the weſt: and it was during this ſtay,

that among other regulations (as *Herodian* [1] ſays) he divided the government of *Britain* into two provinces. *Lupus* found, on his arrival, that the [2] *Mæatæ*, aſſiſted by the *Caledonians*, had ſeized the opportunity, and made incurſions into the *Roman* territories: but not having force enough to revenge the inſult, he thought it the moſt prudent way to make peace with the enemy, and pay a ſum of money for the redemption of the captives. *A. D.* 197.

This peace ſeems to have continued for a good while without any violation, till about *A. D.* 207, when thoſe two northern nations made another irruption into the province, but were defeated by [3] the *Roman* generals; upon which *Severus*, then at peace in all other quarters of his empire, took upon him (as appears by the inſcriptions of this [4] year) for the twelfth time the title of *Imperator*. Notwithſtanding this ill ſucceſs, they renewed their incurſions and made ſuch ravages in the country, that the *Roman* governor was [5] forced to ſend for freſh ſupplies: and *Severus*, glad of an opportunity to draw his ſons from the pleaſures of *Rome*, to keep his ſoldiers in action, and to acquire himſelf the glorious title of *Britannicus*, reſolved to march in perſon with an army into *Britain*. He was ſo infirm and crippled by the gout, that he could not ride, and was forced to travel all the way in a litter: but he was ſo intent upon his expedition, that he ſcarce allowed himſelf to reſt in any place, till he arrived in this iſland; which, agreeable to a paſſage in [6] *Dio*, he ſeems to have done the year following. The arrival of an Emperor, terrible by his military ſkill, in which he had no equal, and by his inflexible ſeverity in the puniſhment of injuries, the number of his forces, and the fame of his mighty preparations, particularly of pontons, machines, and materials for paſſing over bogs and piercing through mountains, ſtruck ſuch a terror into the enemy, that ſeeing they were now to be attacked in their ſtrongeſt faſtneſſes, and ſecureſt retreats, they ſent embaſſadors to ſue for peace, but without effect. This enemy conſiſted of a great number of *Clanns* or tribes of people, independent of each other (for which reaſon *Dio* thought their government democratical) and diſtinguiſhed by particular denominations: but all of them comprehended under the general names of *Mæatæ* and *Caledonians*. Both theſe nations led the ſame kind of life; and were armed in the ſame manner, as the *Old Britains* their anceſtors in the time of *Agricola*. Their offenſive arms were a ſhort ſpear, a broad ſword, a durk, and javelins; of defenſive, they had none, but a ſmall target, without either corſelet or helmet. Their habitations were either upon high mountains or uncultivated plains and marſhes; thoſe of the *Caledonians* probably in the firſt, which were then covered with woods, and thoſe of the *Mæatæ* in the [7] plains. They lived in tents, diſperſed without either walls, or towns, or tillage; ſo that their food was chiefly roots, wild fruits, the milk or fleſh of their cattle, and what game they took in hunting: they had another kind of eatable, very convenient in a long march; for a quantity of it no bigger than a bean, prevented their feeling either thirſt or hunger; they never taſted fiſh, though they had it in prodigious plenty. They marked their bodies with the figures of various kinds of animals; and this perhaps was the reaſon why they wore no cloaths, going generally naked in moſt parts of their body, and without ſhoes: wives they had in common, breeding up the children they bore without diſtinction; and made no ſcruple of pilfering, as if every thing elſe was likewiſe common. They were very ſwift of foot, and trod ſurely; nimble, active, uſed to fatigue, to bear hunger, thirſt, labour, and all kind of hardſhips. They would run up to the neck in bogs, and ſtay there for days together without eating: their horſes were ſmall, but fleet and nimble; *A. D.* 207.

[1] L. iii. c. 24. [2] *Dio.* l. lxxv. *è Theodoſio*, p. 851. [3] L. lxxvi. p. 865. [4] *Onuphr.* p. 245.
[5] *Herodian*, l. iii. [6] L. lxxvi. [7] So called from *Meath, planities.*

A. D. 207. and they ſtill retained the ancient cuſtom of fighting in chariots. Thus it is that *Dio* and *Herodian* deſcribe the *Mæatæ* and *Caledonians* of their days, in ſuch a manner as ſhews clearly they were of the race of the old *Brigantes*; with whom they ſtill agreed in cuſtoms as well as language.

A. D. 208. As to the ſituation of their reſpective countries, *Dio* ſays, the *Mæatæ* lived next the wall, and the *Caledonians* beyond them: but ſtill ſome make a queſtion, whether he means *Hadrian's vallum*, or that of *Antoninus*; though it is very clear, he ought to be underſtood of the latter. When *Hadrian* choſe to make his *vallum* between *Tyne* and *Solway Frith*, and to fix in the towns there already founded, the ſtations of a greater number of forces than could be contained with any convenience in the ſmaller extent of *Agricola's prætentura*, he did this without any neceſſity brought upon him by the enemy. The *Roman* empire never was in a more flouriſhing condition, nor ever had a ſeries of greater princes on the throne, or who were more careful to chooſe excellent governours for their provinces, than from the time of *Trajan*, to the end of the reign of *Severus*, excepting only *Commodus*: and though the enemy might ſometimes make incurſions into the country between the two walls, (which gave occaſion to *Lollius Urbicus's* erecting the more northern) I ſee no reaſon, but to think that the *Romans* continued through all thoſe reigns, to be maſters of all that intermediate country. They might perhaps imagine, that the inhabitants of it being of the ſame original, and *Britains*, like the others, would not be diſturbed by them in their poſſeſſions; when they held them only under the protection of the *Romans*, and not with the ſame air of ſubjection, as when the *prætentura* of forts between *Forth* and *Cluyd* was filled with *Roman* garriſons, and prevented all the freedom of correſpondence betwixt them and their countrymen, yet unſubdued. To imagine that they either gave up their authority over it in *Hadrian's* time, or withdrew their garriſons from the *vallum* erected by *Lollius Urbicus*, are notions founded merely upon vain ſurmiſes, and utterly unſupported by any fact in hiſtory. But then it muſt be obſerved, that it doth not appear, that this tract of country was at that time reduced, like the more ſouthern parts of *Britain*, into the form of a province. The people who inhabited it had ſtill in ſome parts their chieftains; in others their princes, whom ſeveral united clans or people acknowledged for their head; and all under the protection of the *Roman* empire; as was very uſual in the eaſt, in thoſe countries which bordered upon the *Parthians*, *Scythians*, or other enemies of the *Romans*. They were in the ſame condition as the *Iceni*, upon *Claudius's* invaſion, and before their inſurrection in the time of *Oſtorius*: and were both looked upon and treated as allies and confederates of the *Romans*. This is plainly enough inſinuated in the very paſſage of *Dio*, whence this relation is taken; theirs being the country undoubtedly, into which, as τὴν φιλιὰν (the *country of friends and allies*) *Severus* retired with his army, after he had made peace with the *Caledonians*; for all the other parts of this iſland, ſouth of *Hadrian's wall*, being provincial ſubjects, could never bear the character of *friends* or *confederates*, or be ſpoken of in any other terms, than as parts of the province.

This is ſtill more evident from the geography of *Ptolemy*; who, though he miſtakes ſometimes in their ſituation, is an irrefragable teſtimony of there being a good number of towns in this part of the country; all probably of *Roman* original, or at leaſt owing to their care, in civilizing the natives, and engaging them to live together in ſociety: whereas *Dio* ſays expreſsly, that neither the *Caledonii* nor *Mæatæ* had any walled towns, or others with contiguous habitations. *Herodian* too tells us, that *Severus* paſſed with his army over more than one *vallum* (χώματα, *aggeres*) which ſerved for boundaries of the *Roman* territories (the one of their province, the other of their aſſociates) before he entred the enemies country;

country; ſo that the *Mæatæ* undoubtedly lived beyond the wall of *Antoninus*, in *Menteith*, *Stratherne*, *Fife*, *Angus*, and the more level parts of the country beyond the *Tay*, running along the eaſtern ſhore of *Scotland*. Theſe countries abound with ſuch meers and marſhes, as *Severus* was prepared to meet with in his march; the great difficulties thereof ariſing, not from the oppoſition of the enemy, for he never fought a battle, nor ſaw an hoſtile army drawn up in array, but from the nature and ſituation of the places, through which he was obliged to paſs with his forces. He was every where forced to cut down woods, to pierce through hills, to make cauſeways through bogs, and lay bridges over rivers; which loſt a great deal of time, and anſwered the enemies view of ſpinning out the war, and waſting his army by continual fatigues. They were too weak to meet him in the field, but never failed improving every opportunity of drawing his men into ambuſcades, and of attacking them in little parties; leaving flocks of ſheep, and herds of cattle deſignedly within their ſight, to tempt them to ſtraggle for booty, and ſurprizing them on a ſudden when ſo diſperſed. Several tumultuary ſkirmiſhes happened on ſuch occaſions; and though the *Britains* were always defeated, they ſtill ſaved themſelves without any conſiderable loſs, in bogs and woods, by their knowledge of the country: whilſt the victorious *Romans* were by theſe rencounters, but chiefly by their fatigues, leſſened near fifty thouſand of their number. *Severus*, however, being unalterably reſolved to march through all *Caledonia*, advanced at laſt near the very extremity of the iſland; where he made obſervations on the courſe of the ſun in thoſe parts, and the different length of days and nights both in ſummer and winter; ſo that he muſt paſs at leaſt half a year in this expedition, and could not return from it till the year following. At laſt he came to a treaty with the *Caledonians*, and peace being made with them on the delivering up of their arms, *Severus* returned back with his forces into the country of his *allies*, who (as appears from the relation which follows of *Caracalla's* attempt to aſſaſſinate his father) had joined him in this expedition. This peace ſeems to have been celebrated by a medal ſtruck on the occaſion; there being ſtill preſerved one of this Emperor's coins [1] found at *Cramond*, a *Roman* ſtation near *Edinburgh* (where ſeveral inſcriptions have been dug up) and bearing on the reverſe this legend, FUNDATOR PACIS: *Severus* alſo hereupon aſſumed the title of *Britannicus Maximus* [2]. Public works and buildings were a principal part of the *Roman* magnificence; the beſt of their Emperors looking upon the erection thereof as a proper ſubject of glory. *Severus* had the ſame taſte; and notwithſtanding his excellent œconomy in the management of his revenue, and in retrenching all ſuperfluous expences, he had laid out vaſt ſums in repairing all the edifices at *Rome*, which had been erected by former Emperors, and in building new ones exceedingly magnificent, [3] not only in that metropolis, but in abundance of other cities in the empire. He deteſted idleneſs in the ſoldiery, and loved buſineſs to the laſt moment of his life: thus having no longer any war upon his hands, to employ either them or himſelf, when he returned from his *Caledonian* expedition into the *Roman* province, he reſolved to repair, and make additions to the wall of *Hadrian*. This laſt named Emperor's *vallum* being made only of earth and turf; *Severus*, to outdo his predeceſſor, built a wall of ſtone for about ſeventy-three *Roman* miles, along the ſame track of ground, and near enough to be a ſtrengthening of the other, though not upon the ſame foundation: and executed it in ſuch a manner, that *Spartian*, and other writers, conſider it as the greateſt glory of his reign. It was finiſhed in *A. D.* 210; when *Severus* coming to *York*, fell into the tedious illneſs of which he died at laſt, after having been often

A. D. 208.

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[1] *Brit. Rom.* p. 62. [2] *Goltz.* p. 88. [3] *Dio.* l. lxxvi.

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A. D. 208. As to the ſituation of their reſpective countries, *Dio* ſays, the *Mæatæ* lived next the wall, and the *Caledonians* beyond them: but ſtill ſome make a queſtion, whether he means *Hadrian's vallum*, or that of *Antoninus*; though it is very clear, he ought to be underſtood of the latter. When *Hadrian* choſe to make his *vallum* between *Tyne* and *Solway Frith*, and to fix in the towns there already founded, the ſtations of a greater number of forces than could be contained with any convenience in the ſmaller extent of *Agricola's prætentura*, he did this without any neceſſity brought upon him by the enemy. The *Roman* empire never was in a more flouriſhing condition, nor ever had a ſeries of greater princes on the throne, or who were more careful to chooſe excellent governours for their provinces, than from the time of *Trajan*, to the end of the reign of *Severus*, excepting only *Commodus*: and though the enemy might ſometimes make incurſions into the country between the two walls, (which gave occaſion to *Lollius Urbicus's* erecting the more northern) I ſee no reaſon, but to think that the *Romans* continued through all thoſe reigns, to be maſters of all that intermediate country. They might perhaps imagine, that the inhabitants of it being of the ſame original, and *Britains*, like the others, would not be diſturbed by them in their poſſeſſions; when they held them only under the protection of the *Romans*, and not with the ſame air of ſubjection, as when the *prætentura* of forts between *Forth* and *Cluyd* was filled with *Roman* garriſons, and prevented all the freedom of correſpondence betwixt them and their countrymen, yet unſubdued. To imagine that they either gave up their authority over it in *Hadrian's* time, or withdrew their garriſons from the *vallum* erected by *Lollius Urbicus*, are notions founded merely upon vain ſurmiſes, and utterly unſupported by any fact in hiſtory. But then it muſt be obſerved, that it doth not appear, that this tract of country was at that time reduced, like the more ſouthern parts of *Britain*, into the form of a province. The people who inhabited it had ſtill in ſome parts their chieftains; in others their princes, whom ſeveral united clans or people acknowledged for their head; and all under the protection of the *Roman* empire; as was very uſual in the eaſt, in thoſe countries which bordered upon the *Parthians*, *Scythians*, or other enemies of the *Romans*. They were in the ſame condition as the *Iceni*, upon *Claudius's* invaſion, and before their inſurrection in the time of *Oſtorius*: and were both looked upon and treated as allies and confederates of the *Romans*. This is plainly enough inſinuated in the very paſſage of *Dio*, whence this relation is taken; theirs being the country undoubtedly, into which, as τὴν φιλικὴν (the *country of friends and allies*) *Severus* retired with his army, after he had made peace with the *Caledonians*; for all the other parts of this iſland, ſouth of *Hadrian's wall*, being provincial ſubjects, could never bear the character of *friends* or *confederates*, or be ſpoken of in any other terms, than as parts of the province.

This is ſtill more evident from the geography of *Ptolemy*; who, though he miſtakes ſometimes in their ſituation, is an irrefragable teſtimony of there being a good number of towns in this part of the country; all probably of *Roman* original, or at leaſt owing to their care, in civilizing the natives, and engaging them to live together in ſociety: whereas *Dio* ſays expreſsly, that neither the *Caledonii* nor *Mæatæ* had any walled towns, or others with contiguous habitations. *Herodian* too tells us, that *Severus* paſſed with his army over more than one *vallum* (χώματα, *aggeres*) which ſerved for boundaries of the *Roman* territories (the one of their province, the other of their aſſociates) before he entred the enemies country;

country; ſo that the *Mæatæ* undoubtedly lived beyond the wall of *Antoninus*, in *Menteith*, *Stratherne*, *Fife*, *Angus*, and the more level parts of the country beyond the *Tay*, running along the eaſtern ſhore of *Scotland*. Theſe countries abound with ſuch meers and marſhes, as *Severus* was prepared to meet with in his march; the great difficulties thereof ariſing, not from the oppoſition of the enemy, for he never fought a battle, nor ſaw an hoſtile army drawn up in array, but from the nature and ſituation of the places, through which he was obliged to paſs with his forces. He was every where forced to cut down woods, to pierce through hills, to make cauſeways through bogs, and lay bridges over rivers; which loſt a great deal of time, and anſwered the enemies view of ſpinning out the war, and waſting his army by continual fatigues. They were too weak to meet him in the field, but never failed improving every opportunity of drawing his men into ambuſcades, and of attacking them in little parties; leaving flocks of ſheep, and herds of cattle deſignedly within their ſight, to tempt them to ſtraggle for booty, and ſurprizing them on a ſudden when ſo diſperſed. Several tumultuary ſkirmiſhes happened on ſuch occaſions; and though the *Britains* were always defeated, they ſtill ſaved themſelves without any conſiderable loſs, in bogs and woods, by their knowledge of the country: whilſt the victorious *Romans* were by theſe rencounters, but chiefly by their fatigues, leſſened near fifty thouſand of their number. *Severus*, however, being unalterably reſolved to march through all *Caledonia*, advanced at laſt near the very extremity of the iſland; where he made obſervations on the courſe of the ſun in thoſe parts, and the different length of days and nights both in ſummer and winter; ſo that he muſt paſs at leaſt half a year in this expedition, and could not return from it till the year following. At laſt he came to a treaty with the *Caledonians*, and peace being made with them on the delivering up of their arms, *Severus* returned back with his forces into the country of his *allies*, who (as appears from the relation which follows of *Caracalla's* attempt to aſſaſſinate his father) had joined him in this expedition. This peace ſeems to have been celebrated by a medal ſtruck on the occaſion; there being ſtill preſerved one of this Emperor's coins [1] found at *Cramond*, a *Roman* ſtation near *Edinburgh* (where ſeveral inſcriptions have been dug up) and bearing on the reverſe this legend, FUNDATOR PACIS: *Severus* alſo hereupon aſſumed the title of *Britannicus Maximus* [2]. Public works and buildings were a principal part of the *Roman* magnificence; the beſt of their Emperors looking upon the erection thereof as a proper ſubject of glory. *Severus* had the ſame taſte; and notwithſtanding his excellent œconomy in the management of his revenue, and in retrenching all ſuperfluous expences, he had laid out vaſt ſums in repairing all the edifices at *Rome*, which had been erected by former Emperors, and in building new ones exceedingly magnificent, [3] not only in that metropolis, but in abundance of other cities in the empire. He deteſted idleneſs in the ſoldiery, and loved buſineſs to the laſt moment of his life: thus having no longer any war upon his hands, to employ either them or himſelf, when he returned from his *Caledonian* expedition into the *Roman* province, he reſolved to repair, and make additions to the wall of *Hadrian*. This laſt named Emperor's *vallum* being made only of earth and turf; *Severus*, to outdo his predeceſſor, built a wall of ſtone for about ſeventy-three *Roman* miles, along the ſame track of ground, and near enough to be a ſtrengthening of the other, though not upon the ſame foundation: and executed it in ſuch a manner, that *Spartian*, and other writers, conſider it as the greateſt glory of his reign. It was finiſhed in *A. D.* 210; when *Severus* coming to *York*, fell into the tedious illneſs of which he died at laſt, after having been often

A. D. 208.

A. D. 209.

A. D. 210.

[1] *Brit. Rom.* p. 62. [2] *Goltz.* p. 88. [3] *Dio.* l. lxxvi.

on

A. D. 210. on the point of expiring. It was probably during one of theſe extremities, that reflecting with ſatisfaction on his own great actions, and the events of his reign, he broke out into thoſe expreſſions, which *Spartian* relates as ſome of his own words; "That at his coming to the throne, he had found diſturbances in all parts of the "empire, but he left it quiet every where, even in *Britain*." This could not be ſaid immediately before his death, becauſe the *Maiatæ*, having been forced upon the peace to give up a good part of their country (probably in *Menteith*, *Fife*, and *Stratherne*[1], where there are ſtill ſeen the remains of ſeveral *Roman* encampments, though not poſſeſſed long enough to form ſuch towns as were uſually built adjoining to a ſettled ſtation) and now encouraged by the news of the emperor's illneſs, and the ſure proſpect of an eternal enmity between his ſons that were to ſucceed him in the empire, had taken up arms to recover their poſſeſſions, and were aſſiſted by the *Caledonians*. *Severus*, enraged at this violation of the peace, ordered his army to march into their country, and to deſtroy it with fire and ſword, ſparing neither women nor children: but being unable to go in perſon on this expedition, his orders were ill executed. *Caracalla* was at the head of the army: but impatient under the delays of his father's death, and in continual hopes of that event, took more pains to court the troops, and to engage them in his party againſt his brother *Geta*, than to offend the enemy; though he had marched into their territories before the death of *Severus*, which happened at *York* on *February* 4,

A. D. 211. *A. D.* 211. *Caracalla* thereupon made peace with the enemy, and having received their hoſtages for performance of the conditions, retired with his forces out of the country of the *Maiatæ*, who probably recovered what they had made a ceſſion of before, the hiſtorian ſaying[2], that the Emperor withdrew likewiſe his garriſons. His great ambition was to be ſole Emperor: but all his careſſes and promiſes could not draw the army into his meaſures. The ſoldiers took the oath of fidelity to both the brothers; who went together to *Rome* attending their father's aſhes, which were repoſed in the *Mauſoleum* of *Hadrian:* but there *Caracalla* found means to gratify his furious ambition, and implacable hatred of *Geta*, by getting him aſſaſſinated at the latter end of *February* in the year following.

Under *Diocletian* and the *Conſtantine* family.

A. D. 284. X. THERE is a profound ſilence in all the *Roman* hiſtorians with regard to the affairs of *Britain*, from this time to the reign of *Diocletian*, who was proclaimed Emperor at *Chalcedon* on *September* 17, *A. D.* 284. This is probably owing to the quiet, which the province enjoyed, not being invaded by the northern *Britains*; peaceable times, when things continue long in the ſame ſtate, affording little matter for hiſtorians. Hence no event is mentioned, by any writer, in relation to the people of *Britain*; though notice is taken occaſionally of ſome ſhort uſurpations and defections of the legions here, which were immediately ſuppreſſed. But in the time of *Diocletian*, there happened one, which was very conſiderable, and had a longer continuance than the others. *Carauſius*[3], a man of mean parentage, by birth a *Menapian*, or (as *Eumenius* ſays) a *Batavian*[4], being an experienced officer in ſea affairs, and having diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his bravery and conduct by land, as well as by ſea, on many occaſions, was made commander of the *Roman* navy, uſually ſtationed at *Boulogne*, to guard the ſeas againſt the *Franks* and *Saxons*, two *German* nations, that infeſted them, and often ravaged the coaſts of *Picardie*, *Normandie*, and *Bretagne*. Whilſt he was in poſſeſſion of this charge, he took abundance of prizes, and made great numbers of the pirates priſoners: but never gave any account of what he had taken; neither reſtoring to the *Roman* ſubjects the goods of which they had been plundered, and were the right owners, nor re-

[1] See Sir *Robert Sibbald's Hiſtory of Fiſe.* [2] *Dio.* l. lxxvii. [3] *Aurel. Vict. Eutrop.* [4] *Paneg.* ix.

mitting the value thereof into the Emperor's exchequer. It was obſervable too in his management of the war, that he rarely attacked thoſe pirates till after they had plundered the coaſts; though he ſtill took care, in order to enrich himſelf, to intercept them in their return home, laden with booty: and this affording grounds, not only to arraign his conduct, but to ſuſpect him likewiſe of ſome more dangerous deſigns, for which he was preparing by the wealth he amaſſed, *Maximian Herculius* gave orders to have him ſeized and executed. *Carauſius* having notice of the danger he was in, made himſelf maſter of *Boulogne:* and having drawn over the fleet to his party, paſſed into *Britain*; where he was received by the Legion, and the auxiliary forces there quartered, and was proclaimed Emperor. This paſſage in *Eumenius* [1], ſhewing there was at that time but *one* Legion in this iſland, is a ſtrong preſumption in favour of the quiet, which reigned here from the death of *Severus*, to the reign of *Diocletian*; ſince, though the reſt of the Legions were drawn off for ſervice into other parts of the empire, continually infeſted, during that interval, by civil wars, and over-run by infinite multitudes of barbarians, one alone was ſufficient for the ſecurity of *Britain:* and this Legion's acknowledging of *Carauſius*, made him at once maſter of all that part of the iſland which belonged to the empire, or depended on it; as far north as the wall of *Antoninus*, which (*Nennius* ſays) he repaired, and added ſeven new caſtles to the fortifications.

A. D. 284. *A. D.* 287.

IF we may judge by the event, it is not unlikely, that *Carauſius* had always held a ſecret intelligence with the *Franks* and *Saxons*; and had been taking meaſures for that uſurpation, which *Maximian's* jealouſy haſtened. At leaſt as ſoon as he was poſſeſſed of *Britain*, he made an open alliance with thoſe nations: and took into his pay a number of their forces, which he trained and inſtructed both in land and ſea ſervice. He expected to be ſoon attacked by all the power of the empire: and made preparations accordingly, encreaſing his navy with a greater force of ſhipping, and putting *Boulogne* in a condition of defence. *Maximian* propoſed to beſiege it both by ſea and land: but the fleet which he had cauſed to be built in the rivers of *Gaule*, being beaten by the uſurper, he laid aſide that deſign; and, marching againſt the *Franks*, forced them to a ſubmiſſion. He was ſtill unable to cope with *Carauſius* at ſea: and therefore, yielding to neceſſity, he thought it prudent to make peace with him, and conſent to his imperial title, rather than expoſe the maritime parts of *Gaule* to his depredations, and to thoſe of his allies. This is confirmed by ſome medals of *Diocletian*, *Maximian*, and *Carauſius* [2]; having on the reverſe PROVIDENTIA AVGGG, and PAX AVGGG; and ſhewing there were three Emperors at that time, at peace with one another.

A PEACE made out of meer neceſſity, againſt the will of a contracting party, ſeldom laſts longer than whilſt that neceſſity ſubſiſts: and *Maximian* prepared to break a convention which appeared diſhonourable, as ſoon as the affairs of the empire allowed him to do it with ſafety. One diſturbance or other ſtill put off the execution of his deſign, till after the troubles in *Egypt*, and the *Parthian* and *African* wars, had obliged *Diocletian*, in order to provide againſt dangers from ſo many quarters, to give the dignity of *Cæſar* to *Conſtantius Chlorus* and *Maximian Galerus* on *March* 1, *A. D.* 292, at *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*. For the better ſecuring of a perfect harmony between them and the Emperors, they were forced to part with their former wives; and to marry, the firſt, *Theodora* daughter of *Maximian Herculius*; the latter, *Valeria* daughter to *Diocletian*. In conſequence hereof, the provinces of the empire were divided into four ſhares, each of them being aſſigned one; and that of *Conſtantius* comprehending all the weſtern countries on this ſide the *Alpes*, with *Mauritania Tingitana*, which was always an appendage to the pro-

A. D. 292.

[1] *Paneg.* viii. [2] *Antiq. Rutupin.* p. 65.

A. D. 292. vince of *Spaine*. The news of *Conſtantius's* being declared *Cæſar*, had hardly reached *Boulogne*; when he appeared with an army before the place: and having ſtopped up the entrance of the port by a bank of ſtone, to prevent any ſuccours being brought from *Britain*, and to hinder *Carauſius's* troops from flying thither, obliged them in a ſhort time to ſurrender. Not having a fleet ſtrong enough to invade this iſland, he gave orders for building more ſhips: and marched againſt the *Franks*, the *Cauci*, and the *Friſians*; who inhabited *Hollande*, and the neighbouring countries on the *Rhine* and *Schelde*, and were always ready to aſſiſt *Carauſius*. Theſe he defeated and ſubdued; and then, taking away their arms, tranſplanted them into other countries, too remote to allow them to give any obſtruction to his enterprize upon *Britain*. *Carauſius*, in the mean time, was, after an uſurpation of ſeven years, murdered in *A. D.* 293, by *Allectus*, one of his officers; who immediately ſet up himſelf for Emperor, and continued for three years to enjoy the title.

A. D. 296. It was in *A. D.* 296, that *Conſtantius*, after three years preparations, having fitted out a mighty navy, reſolved to attempt the recovery of *Britain*[1]. He divided his fleet into ſeveral ſquadrons, one lying at the mouth of the *Seine*, and others at *Boulogne*; in order either to keep the enemy ignorant of the place where he deſigned to land, or to make a deſcent in ſeveral places. Theſe meaſures ſucceeded to his wiſh; for *Aſclepiodotus*, his *præfectus prætorii*, an excellent officer, bred up under the Emperor *Probus*, paſſing with the ſquadron under his command by favour of a fog, under the *Iſle of Wight*, where the fleet of *Allectus* lay to intercept his paſſage, landed on the neighbouring coaſt without any oppoſition; and immediately burnt his ſhips, that the uſurper's fleet might not ſeize them, and his own ſoldiers might have no hopes of ſafety, but in being victorious. *Conſtantius* made his deſcent in the very quarter where *Allectus* expected, and had drawn down his army to oppoſe him; but either not caring to fight *Conſtantius* in perſon, or ſurprized at the news of *Aſclepiodotus's* being landed, and perhaps in hopes of defeating him, before he could join the main army, he had quitted that poſt, and marched againſt the præfect in ſuch haſte, that leaving the *Roman* troops behind, he took with him only his principal officers and foreign auxiliaries. *Conſtantius* was received with great joy, by the *Britains*, at his landing; and followed *Allectus* in order to be preſent at the battle: but he could not come up, till after *Allectus* was ſlain, and his army defeated. The auxiliaries, compoſed chiefly of *Franks*, that eſcaped from the battle, retired to *London* in order to get back as well as they could to *Germany*: but determined firſt to plunder the town, and enrich themſelves by the ſpoils of the inhabitants. They were prevented in the moment of their execution of this deſign, by a body of *Conſtantius's* troops, who had landed in the neighbourhood, out of ſome ſhips, which had been ſeparated from the reſt of the fleet, in the fog that hindered *Allectus's* navy from ſeeing that of *Aſclepiodotus*; and had by miſtake come up the *Thames*. Theſe marching to *London*, ſurprized the *Franks* as they were diſperſed, and buſy in plundering: and made a terrible ſlaughter of them in all parts of the city, which was thus unexpectedly ſaved from deſtruction. *Conſtantius* had now a fair field for the exerciſe of his clemency and juſtice; he gave a general pardon to all that had been concerned in the revolt; he reſtored to the proprietors all that had been taken from them, even by his own ſoldiers; ſo that the people conſidered him not as an invader, but a deliverer. Thus was the ſea opened, commerce reſtored, *Gaule* ſecured from deſcents, and *Britain* recovered, after having been for ten years diſmembered from the empire.

Flavius Constantius Chlorus, was the ſon of *Eutropius* (one of the moſt conſiderable noblemen of *Dardania*, a country in the *higher Mœſia*, and by *Aurelian*

[1] *Paneg.* viii.

made

made a part of *Dacia*) and of *Claudia* daughter of *Criſpus*, the youngeſt brother of the Emperor *Claudius* II. from whom it is thought he took the *Prænomen* of *Flavius*. The ancient city of *Autun* in *Burgundy* having been ruined for its affection to that Emperor, *Conſtantius* laid out vaſt ſums in rebuilding it; defraying the charge of the public edifices, and contributing to that of private houſes: for the executing of which in the beſt manner, and with all the ſplendour that he propoſed, *Eumenius* [1] obſerves, that he ſent workmen from *Britain*, which could ſcarce be thought to abound in thoſe days with ſkilful architects. He was infinitely beloved in this iſland, where every body was happy under his government: and the ſame author tells us, that he was obeyed by the uncivilized nations in the moſt northern parts of it, who never offered to diſturb the peace of the province, till the laſt year of his life, when by a victory he forced them to a ſubmiſſion. Upon the reſignation of *Diocletian* and *Maximian Herculius* on *May* 1, 305, *Conſtantius* was declared Emperor jointly with *Galerius*, and dying at *York* on *July* 25, *A. D.* 306, appointed *Conſtantine*, his ſon by *Helena*, to ſucceed him in the empire; [2] who was immediately proclaimed by the army. *A. D.* 196. *A. D.* 306.

Helena was the daughter of *Coil*, king of the *Cumbrian Britains*, inhabiting between the walls of *Hadrian* and *Antoninus*, but dependant on the empire, like other kings on the frontiers of it in the eaſt, and elſewhere, and treated as an ally or confederate: but ſuch allies not having the privileges of *Roman* citizens, ſome have taken occaſion from thence, to diſpute as well the legitimacy of *Conſtantine*, as the quality of his mother. By the rigour of the *Roman* laws, all perſons were deemed *foreigners*, who were not free of the city, and admitted to the *jus Quiritium & civitatis*; they were incapacitated to marry [3] with citizens, to make wills, *&c.* in conſequence whereof, we have ſeen that the will of *Praſutagus*, king of the *Iceni*, though an ally of the *Romans*, was looked upon as invalid. For the ſame reaſon, *Coil*, and his daughter *Helena*, were reputed foreigners; and as ſuch, her marriage with *Conſtantius* is ſaid, by ſome *Roman* writers, to have been *illegal*, *unequal*, *unbecoming*, and their married ſtate to be a *contubernium*, rather than a *connubium*. Nor were the *Latins* and *Italians*, before the *Julian* law, in a better condition in this reſpect than other foreigners; paſſing ever till then under the ſame denomination, though *ſocii* or allies. What the *Romans* called *nuptiæ* and *connubium*, could only be contracted between *Roman* citizens, and not between citizens and foreigners, ſo as to be attended with all its civil or legal effects: yet theſe laſt could contract what they called *matrimonium*; and the grant of the people, or of the Emperor, could confer on any foreigner all the rights and privileges of *Roman* citizens. Hence foreign princeſſes of royal blood were deemed an unequal match for a *Roman*; that people being ſo extremely averſe to any union of ſuch a nature, that *Titus Veſpaſian* [4], the darling of mankind, with all his paſſion for queen *Berenice*, durſt not yet venture to marry her after he was Emperor. No wonder then that *Helena*, whoſe beauty, piety, prudence, and other virtues recommended her; even more than her birth and quality, ſhould by ſome of the haughty *Romans* who, ſlaves as they were to every tyrant put upon them by a ſtanding army, yet fancied themſelves to be ſtill lords of the world, be thought an unequal match for *Conſtantius*: but that the marriage was good, is evident from the care which *Diocletian* and *Maximian* took to make him divorce her, before he intermarried with *Theodora*. When this happened, he had lived with her above twenty years, having married her, when he was very young. It was in one of his glorious campaigns againſt the *Germans*, when he gained a ſignal victory over them, in the plains of *Vindon*, that ſhe was delivered of *Conſtantine* on *February* 27, *A. D.* 273 or

[1] *Pan.* viii. [2] *Ammian Marcel. Excerpt.* [3] *Ulpian. Fragm.* v. 4. [4] *Sueton. in Tit.* c. 7.

A. D. 306. 274, [1] at *Naiſſe* in *Dardania*, the reſidence of *Eutropius*, her huſband's father, and the place where her ſon had for ſeveral years his education.

Constantine, for his great actions ſurnamed the *Great*, was truly ſo in the ſentiments of his mind, and in all his conduct; whether in peace or war, at the head of an army, or in the adminiſtration of government. He had an enterprizing genius, that put him upon great undertakings, and a capacity that enabled him to execute whatever he undertook; great natural parts, an habitual prudence, and an extraordinary addreſs, that never ſuffered him to be ſurprized. He was good natured to a fault; polite, affable, liberal, and obliging to exceſs; ſo that none ever aſked his aſſiſtance in vain, or went away from his preſence (to which every body had acceſs) without ſome favour or other. He ſate in judgment often, and adminiſtered juſtice with great impartiality; but to ſoften the rigour of a ſentence, which right and law exacted from him indiſpenſably, he would make the ſufferers a preſent in money or land, and thus ſupply by his generoſity what he had taken from them by his ſtrict juſtice. He had given ſo many extraordinary proofs of his valour, that no body ever called in queſtion that part of his character; and the conſtant ſeries of ſucceſs, which attended him in all his warlike expeditions, was plainly owing to his military ſkill; unleſs perhaps in the engagement with *Maxentius*; the diſaffection of whoſe troops, double in number to thoſe of *Conſtantine*, and their averſion to the cauſe of a cruel tyrant, in whoſe pay they were unwillingly engaged, made them forget their uſual courage, and probably contributed to the loſs of the battle. The uſe which *Conſtantine* made of that victory, was every way worthy of his magnanimity; he pardoned all that had fought againſt him, or declared themſelves his enemies; giving them back their eſtates and dignities which they had forfeited; recalling all that had been ſent into exile by *Maxentius*; reſtoring the ſenate to its ancient honours and authority; and filling it with the moſt illuſtrious perſons; providing for the order, peace, and conveniencies of *Rome* by the wiſeſt regulations; and redreſſing all the diſorders and corruptions, which had crept into the police of that city. It was on theſe accounts, that in the inſcriptions dedicated to his honour, he is ſtyled, *Urbis liberator, quietis fundator, reipublicæ inſtaurator, publicæ libertatis auctor, reſtitutor urbis Romæ atque orbis*. His great talents, his fortitude, and his clemency are acknowledged even by the heathens, though they blame him for being too eaſy in pardoning, and for too much indulgence to offenders: but above all, his laws are an undeniable and an eternal teſtimony of the lenity and equity of his government; laws full of humanity, ſoftening the rigour of ancient ordinances; encouraging virtue, and animating a ſpirit of liberty. Such were his proviſions for relief of children, whom their parents could not maintain, allowing them corn out of his granaries, and money out of the exchequer; in favour of debtors oppreſſed, and cruelly treated by their creditors, particularly of ſuch as ſtood indebted to his own treaſury; in behalf of criminals and priſoners, for bringing them to ſpeedy trials; for making their confinement eaſy and unexpenſive, and their priſons airy, comfortable, and convenient; for preventing the arbitrary and oppreſſive methods taken by gaolers to extort money from their priſoners; againſt informers and delators, by making death the puniſhment of their infamous practice, and forbidding any credit to be given to their teſtimony; for aboliſhing tortures, whippings, and other unwarrantable ſeverities towards priſoners, invented by the craft and inſolence of judges; for making officers do their duty, without either affected delays, or bribes and perquiſites for diſpatch; for preventing all kinds of extortion, and remedying all manner of corruption, *&c.* Such laws as theſe, which appear in the *Theodoſian*

[1] *Paneg.* ix.

code, are a finer monument of a prince's merit, than the beſt ſtatuary can erect to his memory: and leave us no room to doubt of what hiſtorians ſay, in relation to the order, plenty, and quiet that reigned throughout his dominions, the happineſs that his ſubjects enjoyed under him, and his being beloved or dreaded by all his neighbours. *A. D.* 306.

Britain undoubtedly had its ſhare in the happineſs of *Conſtantine's* government: and ſeems to have enjoyed an uninterrupted tranquillity all his reign, after the firſt year of it, in which the *Caledonians* and other *Picts* (as *Ammianus Marcellinus* terms thoſe different clans of people, which *Dio* comprehends under the general name of *Maiatæ*, and who all painted as well as the *Caledonians)* having been routed juſt before his father's death, were glad to ſue for peace, and ſubmit to the conditions impoſed by the victor. Their ſubmiſſion was very early; for though *Conſtantius* died but on *July* the 25th, *Conſtantine* had time before the end of the year to paſs into *Gaule*, to march againſt the *Franks* (who had taken up arms on advice of the *Caledonian* excurſions, which they imagined would detain the emperor in *Britain)* and to vanquiſh them in battle; taking *Aſcaricus* and *Regaſius*, two of their kings, priſoners (in memory whereof he inſtituted the *Ludi Francici)* and afterwards to croſs the *Rhine*, and waſte the country of the *Bructeri*. The peace appears likewiſe to have been well obſerved by the *Caledonians*; the emperor having had no occaſion to viſit this iſland again for the quieting of any diſturbances, or the repreſſing of any incurſions; though for his expedition againſt [1] *Maxentius* he had drawn thence a conſiderable body of forces, which do not ſeem to have been ever replaced. The church here enjoyed the ſame quiet as the ſtate, being intirely ſettled, and in a flouriſhing condition; as we may judge by the regular deputation of her biſhops to General Councils [2], and to that of the Weſt held at *Arles A. D.* 314, about the affair of the *Donatiſts*. The names of *Eborius*, *Reſtitutus* and *Adelfius*, Biſhops of *York*, *London* and *Lincoln* (for this laſt place is the *Colonia Lindum* mentioned in *Ravennas)* who aſſiſted at it, are preſerved in the acts of that council.

Britain had been, till the time of *Diocletian*, governed by Proprætors and imperial Legates: but upon the general alteration made in the government of the Empire, by appointing a maſter of the ſoldiery, to command the horſe, and another for the foot, with power to order every thing relating to the army, and four prefects, *viz.* of the *Eaſt*, *Illyricum*, *Italy* and *Gaule*, to govern the provinces; this iſland being allotted to the laſt of thoſe prefects, was governed, under him, by a Vicar general, and other officers mentioned in the *Notitia Imperii*. This alteration is by *Zoſimus* aſcribed to *Conſtantine*, and *Aurelius Victor* ſays he eſtabliſhed it after *A. D.* 326; but we find the title much earlier: and as theſe præfects exerciſed within their ſeveral diſtricts that juriſdiction, which formerly had been veſted in the *Præfectus Prætorii* alone, it is reaſonable to think, it muſt have been introduced at leaſt, from the time that *Diocletian* divided the Empire between two *Auguſti* and two *Cæſars*, each of which had, in the provinces he governed, his diſtinct army and *Præfectus Prætorii*.

Constantine *the Great* dying on *Whitſunday*, *May* 22, *A. D.* 337, *Britain* fell to the ſhare of his eldeſt ſon of the ſame name: but he being ſlain in an action near *Aquileia* about *April A. D.* 340, his brother *Conſtans* got poſſeſſion of this iſland as well as of the reſt of the Weſtern Empire. It was rather to viſit this country, than on account of any diſturbance in it (for *Libanius* [3] ſays there was no war there to render his journey neceſſary) that *Conſtans*, after his treaty with the *Franks*, came *A. D.* 337.

[1] *Zoſimus*, l. ii. [2] *S. Hilar. l. de Synodis.* [3] *Orat.* iii.

A. D. 337. over into *Britain* in the winter, at the latter end of *A. D.* 342, or beginning of *A. D.* 343; it appearing from a law of his in the *Theodoſian Code*[1], that he was at *Bologne*, on *January* 25, of the laſt named year; though whether on his way hither, or on his return, is uncertain. He had not the great qualities of his father; but paſſing his time in hunting and pleaſures, left all the care of government to his miniſters, who abuſed his confidence, and laid unſupportable burdens upon the people. Having thus by their own iniquities rendered their maſter odious, they were encouraged to conſpire againſt him: and at a drunken entertainment, to which all the officers of the court were invited, they ſet up *Magnentius* (a *German* by deſcent, but born among the *Læti*, who had been tranſplanted into *Gaule*) for Emperor. He was ſo proclaimed on *January* 18, *A. D.* 350. at *Autun* in *Burgundy*: and ſhutting the gates of the place, to prevent any intelligence being ſent of their proceedings, they detached a party to ſeize *Conſtans*; who, flying towards *Spaine*, was overtaken, and ſlain at *Elna* in *Rouſſillon*. *Magnentius* thereupon became maſter of all the countries on this ſide the *Alpes*, and ſoon after of *Italy*; tyrannizing in ſuch a manner, as made every body wiſh *Conſtans* alive again with all his faults: but elated with his ſucceſs, and marching with a mighty army againſt *Conſtantius*, the only ſurviving ſon of the great *Conſtantine*, and Emperor of the Eaſt, he was routed at *Murſa* in *Pannonia*. The uſurper, as timorous and abject in adverſity, as he had been inſolent and bluſtering in proſperity, fled into *Gaule*: but being purſued thither, and routed again in *Dauphiné*, killed himſelf and his neareſt relations in a fit of rage and deſpair, about the middle of *Auguſt*, *A. D.* 354. *Conſtantius* remained maſter of the whole *Roman* Empire: but not content with the ready ſubmiſſion of all the weſtern provinces, particularly of *Britain*, where the army always followed the fate of *Gaule*, he ſent over one [2] *Paulus* a *Spaniard* by birth, a notary by profeſſion, and a common informer by practice, to make inquiſition into the conduct of the ſoldiers, who had either favoured *Magnentius*, or in their inability to reſiſt him, had ſubmitted to that uſurper. This infamous fellow proceeded ſo outragiouſly in his proſecution of all ſorts of perſons, by impriſonment, tortures, exile, death and confiſcation of eſtates, without diſtinguiſhing the innocent from the guilty, that *Martin* the worthy deputy of the province, out of compaſſion to the miſeries of the ſufferers, and indignation at *Paul's* clandeſtine endeavours to involve him in the ſame guilt, drew his ſword to diſpatch the author of theſe horrible oppreſſions (who was afterwards burnt alive by *Julian*) and miſſing his blow, ſtabbed himſelf.

But neither this cruel treatment, nor yet any civil broils or diſturbances in other parts of the Empire, had influence enough to tempt any invaſion of the province, or raiſe any commotion in *Britain*; where every thing continued quiet to the great convenience of the *Romans*: who having built ſix or eight hundred veſſels in this country, tranſported thence in *A. D.* 359, quantities of corn ſufficient to ſupply their armies and garriſons in *Germany*. *Gaule*, waſted by continual wars, was unable to furniſh the neceſſary proviſions for ſuch a number of forces: and the *Salii* with other *Franks*, who lived on the mouths of the *Rhine* and *Meuſe*, being maſters of thoſe rivers [3] to which corn uſed formerly to be brought from hence, the *Roman* ſoldiers had been put to great diſtreſs, and were ready to mutiny, when the reduction of thoſe nations afforded them means of a ſeaſonable ſupply. It is very probable, that the *Britten-huis* or *Arx Britannica*, the ruins of which are ſtill ſeen at low-water off the coaſt of *Hollande*, near the mouth of the old channel of the *Rhine*, was built to ſerve as a magazine for the *Britiſh* corn upon that occaſion. There were however at the latter end of this year, or in the

[1] *Ib.* tom. i. p. 44. [2] *Ammian. Marcel.* l. xiv. c. 5. l xv. c. 6. [3] *Liban. Orat.* xii. *Zoſim.* l. iii.

very

very beginning of *A. D.* 360, ſome depredations made in the provinces of *Britain* by the *Scots* and *Picts*, in breach of the tranquillity mutually ſtipulated, and long obſerved: but as theſe people propoſed only to get ſome plunder in the country, and then return home with their booty, they were of little conſequence, and of no continuance. *Julian* the apoſtate had at this time the government of *Gaule*, with the title of *Cæſar*: and was paſſing the winter at *Paris*, when advice came of theſe incurſions. [1] Not caring to leave that province without a governour, or not thinking the occaſion important enough to deſerve his going over in perſon to *Britain*, he ſent thither *Lupicinus*, maſter of the armoury, an haughty man, but of a warlike genius, and an experienced officer, with a body of light armed cohorts, compoſed of the *Heruli*, *Batavi*, and *Mæſians*. He was in all probability glad of an opportunity to ſend away a man, whom he conſidered as a ſpy planted upon him by *Conſtantius*; whilſt he was taking meaſures to get the army declare him Emperor. For *Lupicinus* parting at the latter end of the winter ſeaſon, *Julian* ſoon after (either towards the end of *March*, or in the month of *April)* aſſumed the purple: and diſpatched an officer immediately to *Boulogne* to ſtop the port, and prevent any intelligence being ſent of that affair to *Lupicinus*. This officer probably found the enemy retired, or elſe they quitted the country upon his arrival; for having taken care to ſecure the *Britiſh* provinces againſt the like depredations, he returned to *Gaule* before he heard any thing of *Julian's* uſurpation, and was ſeized at *Boulogne*. *Conſtantius* was at this time in the Eaſt, engaged in a war with *Perſia*, which he could not quit, till the enemy retired into their own country: and then leaving the ordinary garriſons on the frontiers, he marched with his army towards *Thrace*; but died on *November* 3, *A. D.* 361, at *Mopſucrene* in *Cilicia*; not without ſuſpicion of being poiſoned by the procurement of *Julian*, who fully expecting his death, regulated his own motions accordingly. *A. D.* 360.

The character of theſe two princes was very different; but alike fatal to themſelves, and miſchievous to the empire. *Conſtantius* was weak, careleſs, indolent, and governed entirely by his miniſters and favourites; who inſpired into him what ſentiments they pleaſed, and exerciſed in reality all that authority of which he had only the name. *Julian* had parts and learning, was active, enterprizing, vain, and wilful; and in affecting to carry war into the heart of *Perſia*, where he could not be ſupplied with proviſions, loſt his life on *June* 26, *A. D.* 363, and left his army expoſed through want to inevitable deſtruction. *Jovian*, who ſucceeded him, was forced to purchaſe their return by giving up the provinces and ſtrong cities, which ſerved for a barrier to the empire on the ſide of *Perſia:* and in his way to *Conſtantinople*, died in the night of *February* 16, *A. D.* 364, at *Dadaſtene* in *Bithynia*. He was ſucceeded by *Valentinian:* in whoſe time there opened a new ſcene in *Britain*, ſo different from any thing that had appeared before, and ſo continually productive of troubles for a long ſeries of years, that it is neceſſary to premiſe ſomething in relation as well to the parties concerned therein, as to the occaſion of thoſe diſturbances. *A. D.* 364.

Of the *Picts*.

XI. It hath been already obſerved, that the inhabitants of the moſt northern parts of this iſland were originally of the race of the *Brigantes* or *Old Britains:* which is ſufficiently confirmed by the obſervations, which Mr. *Edward Lluyd* [2], and other learned men, well ſkilled in the Celtic tongue, have made upon the ſeveral dialects of that language. The *Roman* writers, from the time of *Tacitus* to *Dio*, always call thoſe nations in general by the name of *Britains*, however they

[1] *Ammian. Marcel.* l. xx. c. 1, 9. *Ep. Julian. ad Athen.* [2] See *Archæolog. Brit. Præf. Baxter's Gloſſ. Brit. v.* Caledones.

A. D. 364. may at any time diſtinguiſh any particular nation by a peculiar denomination, drawn from ſome circumſtance of their particular ſituation: for though *Tacitus* [1] mentions the *Caledonians*, or inhabitants of the *Caledonian foreſt*, he ſtill ſays they were *Britains*, and *Martial* his contemporary, joining the two names together, calls them *Caledonii Britanni*. *Dio* diſtinguiſheth the ſame people (who, he ſays, went by many different denominations according to their different tribes or clans) by two general names, derived from the different nature of their reſpective countries, which they inhabited; that of the *Caledonii* [2] being appropriated to thoſe that dwelt in the mountains, which were all covered with thick woods, the whole track of country being called *Caledonia Sylva*: and that of *Maiatæ*, to thoſe who inhabited the plains or low country: a diſtinction, of which there is ſtill ſome intimation left in that, which is in uſe at this day, of *Highlanders* and *Lowlanders*. Both theſe people painted their bodies, probably of different colours, to diſtinguiſh their ſeveral clans, by the denomination of the *red*, *black*, *yellow*, or *blew* clan; and to ſhew to what chieftain they belonged. For in thoſe days (as *Dio* ſays) they had no king to rule over them in general: but each clan, independent of any other, was governed by its particular chieftain; who had as abſolute an authority, or, to uſe the expreſſion of a learned *Britain* [3], "as much commanding right over his vaſſals, as "any *German* prince hath over his lawful ſubjects."

This cuſtom of painting ſeems to have been originally the practice of all the *Thracian* colonies: and the *Agathyrſis*, *Geloni*, *Daci*, and *Sarmatæ*, retained it long after it was generally diſuſed in this iſland. As it ſeems to have ariſen from the want of a proper cloathing, and might, when people went naked, and lived diſperſed, ſerve to harden their ſkins and bodies againſt the inclemency of the weather, it was probably, in early times, as generally uſed among the barbarous nations of *Europe* and *Aſia*, as it hath been found to be among the *Indians* in *America*; but was left off, in proportion as thoſe nations grew civilized, and cloaths came into faſhion. The *Caledonii* and *Maiatæ* continued to uſe it in the time we are now ſpeaking of, when all the other *Britains*, adopting the cuſtoms of the *Romans*, and poliſhed by commerce with the reſt of the world, had left it off; and had even contracted an averſion to it, ſince their embracing of *Chriſtianity*. Hence, not caring to be confounded with them in the common name of *Britains*, they were fond of branding them with that of *Picts*, or *painted people*, as thoſe nations are called by *Eumenius* and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, the firſt authors who ſpeak of them under that denomination.

These *Picts* are again divided by *Ammianus*, on account of their ſituation, into two ſorts. The *Deucaledonians* [4] (for ſo the word ſhould be wrote, agreeable to *Ptolemy*, who gives the name of *Deucaledonian* to the weſtern ocean, which waſheth one ſide of their country) and the *Vecturiones*; the name of the one, expreſſing the *ſouthern*; and of the other, their *northern* poſition in reſpect of one another. This diſtinction ſeems to have been kept up for many ages afterwards, at leaſt till the time of *Bede*, and to have been in a manner pointed out by nature,

[1] *Tacit. vit. Agric.* n. 10, 11, &c.

[2] *Caledonii*, from the *Britiſh Kelydhon*, or *Colydhon*, i. e. *Silvæ*, ſo their woods were called *Coitkelydhon*; *Coil*, i. e. *Silva*. *Maiatæ*, from the *Celtic* word *Meath*, ſignifying a *plain*, or *Amaeth*, *arator*, a *ploughman*.

[3] *Mona Antiq.* p. 45.

[4] *Deu* or *Deheu* in *Britiſh*, the *right-hand*; ſo *Deucaledonians*, are the *Caledonians* on the *right-hand*, or on the *ſouth*; for the *Britains* worſhipping with their faces towards the *eaſt*, called the *ſouth* ſide of *Britain*, the *right-hand* ſide, or *pars dextralis*, and the *north* was their *left* ſide. So *Vecturiones* from *Chith*, the *Britiſh* word for the *left*; and *Urion*, the old plural for *Uyr*, the modern *Celtic* for *Viri*, whence the *Romans* borrowed their terms, *Decuriones* and *Centuriones*. See *Baxter's Gloſſ. v.* Deucaledones and Victuriones. *Uſher's Antiq. Brit.* c. xv. p. 306. But Sir *Robert Sibbald*, in his *Hiſtory of Fife*, p. 2. derives the laſt of theſe names from *Veach*, *painted*, and *Dour*, *water*; ſo that *Vecturiones* denotes a *painted maritime people*, and they ſeem, by their living near the eaſtern ſea, to be diſtinguiſhed from the *Caledonians*, who lived upon the mountains.

this people being then divided into the northern and ſouthern *Picts*, and ſeparated from each other by a long ridge of mountains. *A. D.* 364.

These were ſome of the people that infeſted the *Roman* provinces in *Britain*: but their view was rather to plunder than fix a ſettlement; and in the independent condition of their *clans*, they were not fitted to make a conqueſt. This was an advantage reſerved to ſome of their more enterprizing chieftains; who having the ſupreme command in war, and opportunities of acquiring glory, as well as of extending their territories, made uſe of both to form a royalty to themſelves: and being at once ſuperior in power, in reputation, and in a title, often given in the firſt tranſports of a great ſucceſs, eaſily brought them by degrees into dependance and vaſſalage. Thus is it, that all the kingdoms of *Europe* were formed out of the ruins of the *Roman* empire; continual wars making a ſtanding General neceſſary, and each conqueror enjoying his acquired or accumulated territories in the ſame manner as he did his particular patrimony, and with the ſame authority as he had over the *clan*, of which he was the natural head in the way of a lineal ſucceſſion; according to that well known maxim, which hath always been received in *France*, and other countries of *Europe*, and in a great meaſure alſo in this: "That what-"ever accedes, and is united to the king's *domaine*, adopts its nature; and (what-"ever it was before) becomes from thence ſubject to the ſame regulations and "modes of deſcent."

The *Picts* had learned, from the example of *Carauſius*, the uſe that might be made of alliances with foreign nations that were enemies to the *Romans*; who were hindered from attacking him for ſeveral years, by the diverſion which the *Franks* and *Saxons* had made on the borders of *Gallia Belgica*, at the ſame time that they furniſhed him with a body of auxiliaries to ſupport his uſurpation. The *Franks* had now loſt the country, which they then poſſeſſed about the mouths of the *Rhine* and *Meuſe*, and the territories they had left were all within land: but the *Saxons* lying upon the *German* ocean, from *Frieſland* to the mouth of the *Elbe*, were very conveniently ſeated to give aſſiſtance to the *Picts*: and whilſt theſe made incurſions into the northern parts, the others ravaged all the eaſtern coaſts of the *Roman* provinces in *Britain*.

XII. The *Romans* had ſtill a more dangerous enemy than theſe, in the *Scots* that were ſettled in *Ireland*: where they could not eaſily be attacked themſelves, at leaſt in the circumſtances of the empire at that time; and yet it was almoſt impracticable to guard againſt their invaſions, ſince they could land at any time in what quarter of *Britain* they pleaſed, and commit great depredations, before they could be oppoſed by a ſufficient body of forces. The firſt clear and expreſs mention, that is made of them in hiſtory, is by *Ammianus* on this occaſion: for though in ſome copies of a paſſage in St. *Jerome*, ſeeming to quote *Porphyry*, who wrote in *Diocletian's* time, he takes a ſlight notice of *Britain*, of *Scottiſh gentes*, and other barbarous nations upon the ocean; yet in other copies, inſtead of *Scottiſh*, it is read *Scythian*. There is indeed no great difference in the thing, ſince *Scoticus*, *Scotus*, and *Scotia*, are as naturally formed from *Scytia*, *Scytha*, *Scyticus*, as *Goticus*, *Gotus*, *Oſtrogotus*, &c. are from *Geta* and *Geticus*. The ancient writers likewiſe generally looked upon the *Celtæ* as a *Scythian* nation, calling them *Celto-Scythæ*, and uſing theſe words ſo promiſcuouſly, that the cape in the furtheſt north-eaſt extremity of the *European Scythia*, at the mouth of the *Oby*, was ſtyled by them the *Celtic promontory*. Dr. *Skinner* [1] derives the name from the *Teutonic* word *Schieten*, to ſhoot, whence *Schutz*, an *archer*, as the *Scythians* ſo generally were (uſing their Of the *Scots*.

[1] See *Skinner's Etymol.* v. Scythæ. *Camden's Brit.* about the *Scots*.

A. D. 364. bow in hunting, by which they chiefly ſubſiſted) that the ancients obſerving the uſe of bows in any nation, concluded them of courſe to be *Scythians*. There were other cuſtoms of the moſt ſavage of the *Scythian* nations, ſuch as drinking blood, and eating man's fleſh, practiſed by the *Scots*, ſo low as St. *Jerom's* time [1]; who was himſelf a witneſs of the practice, which undoubtedly continued till *Ireland* was converted to the *Chriſtian* religion. Thus *Gildas* calls them *Scythæ*, and gives the name of the *Scythian Vale* to the ſea they croſſed over from *Ireland* to *Britain*. *Nennius* does the ſame; and the *Iriſh* writers themſelves call them *Kin-ſcuit*, *i. e.* the *Scottiſh nation* [2]. King *Alfred*, in his tranſlation of *Oroſius*, wherever he finds the word *Scots*, renders it *Scytten*; the *Engliſh* on the borders of *Scotland* (as *Camden* ſays) call them *Scyttes* and *Scetts:* the *Cambro-Britains* call both *Scots* and *Scythians* by the name of *Y-ſcot*, as the *Dutch* and *Germans* do by that of *Scutten*.

Nor is it any objection to this derivation of their name, that the *Scots* came from *Spain* directly to *Ireland*; for the *Cantabrians* not only reſembled the *Scythians* (as *Strabo* ſays) in their manners and barbarity, and had in their country a promontory called *Promontorium Scythicum:* but the *Concani*, or *Cancani*, a conſiderable nation of the *Cantabrians*, who drank blood like the *Iriſh Scots*, are by *Silius Italicus*, who wrote in *Domitian's* time, ſaid to be deſcended of the *Maſſagetæ*; and a town of the *Lucenſii*, called *Suſana*, is ſaid to be built by the *Sarmatæ*, both *Scythian* nations. It was perhaps ſome colonies of theſe, which coming into *Ireland*, and ſettling near one another there, as they had done in *Spaine*, retained in *Ptolemy's* time the names of *Gangani* and *Luceni*, both manifeſtly pointing out their names. In *Kerry*, where the latter of theſe people ſettled, there is a tract of country called, at this day, the *Barony*, or *Hundred of Lyxnaw*, as in *Deſmond*, there is that of *Iveragh*, probably from the *Iberi* or *Iberni*, who there fixed their habitation. *Conacia*, now called *Connaght*, containing a fourth part of *Ireland*, may poſſibly derive its name from the *Coniaci*, a warlike nation of the *Cantabri*, of whom, when ſubdued, *Strabo* tells us, the *Romans* made great uſe in their armies, but who were ſo furiouſly averſe to ſervitude, that to prevent it, women would murder their children; and rather than endure it, when they have chanced to be taken priſoners with their families, boys by their fathers' order, have killed their parents, and all their near relations. *Gallicia*, a province of *Spain*, lying on the ſea, adjoining to the old *Cantabria*, but more weſtward, and inhabited by the *Gallæci*, or *Calliaci* (a general name comprehending ſeveral *Celtic* people, whoſe particular denominations *Strabo* avoided mentioning, as diſagreeable by their ſtrange and uncouth ſound) might furniſh alſo a great part of this *Scotch* colony: for we find the traces of their name not only in that of the county of *Gallive*, in *Engliſh Gallway*, but in that more generally aſſumed by the whole colony; the *Iriſh* calling themſelves, in their own language, *Gael* [3], and (as they pronounce it) *Gaelick*. The language of all theſe people was originally *Celtic*, though the dialects neceſſarily varied in ſome particulars: and the *Cantabrian* words ſtill preſerved in the *Earſe*, now ſpoken both in *Ireland*, and the weſtern iſles of *Scotland*, with the affinity of cuſtoms between thoſe *Spaniſh* nations and the *Scotch* colony, leaving no room for doubt in reſpect of the latter's deſcent, it may be proper to enquire at what time this colony was tranſplanted from *Spain* into *Ireland*.

Aristotle [4], not the Preceptor of *Alexander the Great*, but (as *Voſſius* [5] thinks) a younger of that name, ſpeaks of a deſert iſland in the ocean, beyond the pillars of *Hercules*, and ſeveral days ſail from thence, exceeding large, a good deal

[1] *Jovinian*, l. ii. [2] *Iriſh Preface* to *Arch. Brit.* [3] Mr. *Innys's Diſſert. on the Scots*, tom. ii. p. 544. [4] *De mirabil. Auditionibus. Bochart's Phaleg.* p. 716. [5] *De Hiſtor. Græcis*, p. 514.

mountainous, but a great part of it plain, wonderfully fruitful, and abounding with *navigable* rivers; which had been diſcovered by the *Carthaginians*, and was found by them ſo agreeable, that ſome of them began to ſettle in it; and others were diſpoſed to follow in ſuch numbers, that apprehending ſome great inconvenience might thence enſue to the ſtate, they thought fit to recal all that had already fixed an habitation there, and prohibited every body from going thither under pain of death; concealing the ſituation of the iſland, and the navigation to it as much as poſſible, with a view, perhaps, in caſe of a diſſolution of their ſtate, to make it the place of their general ſettlement. There is no iſland in the *weſtern ocean*, to which this deſcription can agree, but *Ireland*; no other hath in it any navigable rivers, and the *Carthaginians* could not well help diſcovering it in the voyages they made to the *Caſſiterides*, and to *Britain*. If it were ſo, and the great *Ariſtotle*, who flouriſhed about 330 years before the *Chriſtian* æra, be the author of the treatiſe in which this relation is inſerted, it is very likely that *Ireland* was not long planted before his time, at leaſt not till after the *Phœnician* colony was ſettled at *Gades* [1], and trade was from thence carried on with *Britain*. There are ſeveral preſumptions that its plantation is not very ancient; ſuch as,[2] the vaſt multitude of bogs, with which it was overſpread, much more doubtleſs in ancient times, than the *Engliſh* found it in the days of Queen *Elizabeth*; and that ſeveral other iſlands about *Great Britain* remained uninhabited, ſo low as the time of *Plutarch* [3], who lived at *Rome* in the reigns of *Domitian* and *Trajan*. It was firſt planted very probably by a colony of the *Brigantes* from the coaſt of *Galloway*, upon whoſe removal a new ſet of inhabitants came into that ſouth-weſt part of *North-Britain*, and as ſuch were called *Noüantæ*. This colony fixed their ſeats in the eaſtern parts of *Ireland*; which probably they had not poſſeſſed long enough to overſtock with inhabitants, before the *Dumnonii*, a *Belgic* colony of *Britains*, came over from *Devonſhire*, and ſettled on the eaſt and ſouth-eaſt coaſt of that iſland; the *Brigantes* probably retiring thereupon into the more inland counties of *Catherlogh*, *Kilkenny*, *Tipperary*, and *Oſſory*, where they were ſufficiently accommodated, as well with paſtures for their cattle, as with woods for hunting, their chief delight and occupation. *A. D.* 364.

It hath been already obſerved, that this ſettlement of the *Belgic Britains* in *Ireland*, could not be above fifty years before *Julius Cæſar's* invaſion: and they, as well

[1] *Carthage*, according to *Appian*, had ſubſiſted about 700 years, when deſtroyed by the younger *Scipio Africanus*, and conſequently was built about 835 years before *Chriſt*: but it muſt have been founded 878 years before that æra, if built by *Dido*, which is the general opinion; her departure from *Tyre* being 300 years after the deſtruction of *Troy*, and there was a conſiderable interval of time between the building of *Carthage*, and the foundation of *Gades*. It was a work of ſome ages for the *Carthaginians*, to free themſelves from the tribute they paid to the *Africans*, to ſubdue the maritime parts of *Lybia* and *Mauritania*, to reduce the iſles of *Sardinia*, *Corſica*, and the *Baleares*; all which was done before they attempted to make ſettlements and conqueſts in *Spaine*. It was from *Gades* that (*Strabo*, l. iii. *ad finem*, ſays) trade was firſt ſet on foot with *Britain*. *Feſtus Avienus* (*De ora maritima*, ℣ 431.) ſays, the *Caſſiterides* were firſt found out by *Himilco*, who was ſent from *Carthage* to diſcover what maritime countries lay north of the pillars of *Hercules* in the weſtern ocean, at the ſame time that *Hanno* was ſent to diſcover thoſe on the ſouth. *Pliny* (*Nat. Hiſt.* l. v. c. 1.) ſays, that *Hanno* was a *Carthaginian* General, and wrote in the moſt flouriſhing days of that republic; which circumſtance agreeing to the time of *Agathocles* (*Voſſius De hiſt. Græcis*, p. 513.) judges *Hanno* to be the General of that name, who commanded a body of the *Carthaginian* forces, as *Himilco* did another, againſt the ſon and Generals of that *Sicilian* tyrant. See *Diod. Sic.* l. xx. p. 795. (764) But however this be, it is certain the *Caſſiterides* were diſcovered as early as the time of *Herodotus*, who (l. i. n. 115.) ſpeaks of tin being brought from thence: tho' they ſeem to have been found out but a little before, and were then ſo little known, that he could not tell whether they were *Spaniſh* or *Britiſh* iſles, nor get any information about them, notwithſtanding all his enquiries. As that author wrote his hiſtory 443 years before *Chriſt*, and the navigation to *Britain* was juſt then diſcovered, *Ireland* could not fail of being found out ſoon after; though not then inhabited, nor probably for an age or two afterwards, according to what hath been obſerved before from *Polybius*, in whoſe time the weſtern coaſt of *Spaine* was little known, and had not been long diſcovered.

[2] See Sir *Robert Sibbald's* account of the formation of bogs in his *Hiſtory of Fife*, and *Philoſoph. Tranſ.* n. 170.

[3] *De defectu oraculorum.*

A. D. 364. well as the *Brigantes*, had not ſo ſtocked the country with inhabitants in an hundred and fifty years afterwards, when *Tacitus* wrote the life of *Agricola*, but (though the *Romans* were forced to employ ſeveral legions againſt the northern *Britains* beyond the *Friths* of *Cluyd* and *Forth)* that wiſe General ſtill thought all *Ireland* might eaſily be conquered by a ſingle legion and a few auxiliaries. The *Belgic Britains* were a mercantile people, and had applied themſelves ſo diligently to the buſineſs of trade, that *Ireland* was, in that author's time, more frequented by merchants, and its ports better known, than thoſe of *Great Britain* itſelf. They were, on this account, not at all diſpoſed to commit depredations upon their neighbours, eſpecially on the Empire, where they found a vent for all their commodities: and the *Brigantes*, though more wild and ſavage, as living diſperſed in woods and mountains, were yet ſo well ſatisfied with their own manner of life, and the undiſturbed enjoyment of their hunting, that no attempt was ever made by either of theſe people upon the *Roman* territories in *Britain*, till after the *Scots* came to ſettle in *Ireland*. This people did not come thither, according to the tradition of the country, and the unanimous confeſſion of all the *Iriſh* writers, till at leaſt two centuries after the *Fir-bolg* and *Fir-dumnon* (the *Belgic* and *Devon Britains)* were there ſettled; nor are they mentioned by any ancient writer on any occaſion, but what was poſterior to *A. D.* 350. *Diodorus Siculus*, who lived in the times of *Julius* and *Auguſtus Cæſar*, and *Strabo*, who wrote in the reign of *Tiberius*, poſitively ſay, that *Ireland* was inhabited by the *Britains*; all writers ancienter than that year conſider it always as an iſland of the *Britains*, and ſeem to have had no notion of its being inhabited by any other people. It is not to be imagined, that the *Scots* or *Gallicians* came all at once from *Spaine*, and in numbers ſufficient to people the ſouth-weſt part of *Munſter*, and all *Connaght*, where they made their earlieſt ſettlements. But one colony following another, they grew ſtronger from time to time, till they engroſſed all the north, and at laſt the whole kingdom; where being received at firſt without any difficulty, as their numbers perhaps were not great enough to raiſe a jealouſy, and the iſland ſufficient to furniſh ſuſtenance for them, as well as for the old inhabitants, they, either by multiplying exceedingly, or by receiving freſh recruits from *Spaine*, grew ſtrong enough to expel or reduce the others.

The firſt of the colonies that came over from *Spaine*, was probably compoſed of *Cantabrians*, upon that nation's being ſubdued by *Agrippa* in the ſeventh year of *Auguſtus*, and twenty-one years before *Chriſt*; it being reaſonable to think, that a people, ſo utterly deteſting ſervitude, ſhould be uneaſy under that of the *Romans*; and in deſpair of recovering their liberty at home, ſhould go abroad to ſeek it in another country. They could not do this ſooner, for want of ſhipping to tranſport them and their families; their wicker boats, covered with hides, and called *Corraghs*, not being fit for ſea voyages of any length, or to ſtruggle with the waves of the bay of *Biſcay:* for though (as *Solinus*[1] ſays) they ſerved to waft the *Iriſh* over the channel between them and *Britain*, there were very few days in the year in which they durſt venture to paſs it in them, and they never eat during all the time of their paſſage, how long ſoever it proved. *Strabo*[2] tells us, that the *Cantabri* and *Galliaci* had no veſſels but ſuch *Curroghs*, till after the time of *Decimus Brutus*, or perhaps of *Sertorius*; and then they began to make *Canoes* out of the largeſt trees, and to build other boats,; but they had only a few of theſe when he wrote, in the time of *Tiberius*; ſo that their paſſage to *Ireland* cannot, with any appearance of probability, be fixed earlier, or be ſuppoſed to be made at that time in great numbers at any embarkation. And even ſuppoſing there were ſeveral; yet being made in

[1] C. 24. [2] L. iii.

ſo private and clandeſtine a manner, that hiſtory takes notice of none of them, there is no reaſon to think them numerous enough to plant a ſingle county of *Ireland*, as it is now cultivated. This however might poſſibly facilitate their getting footing in the iſland, till, by their numbers increaſing inſenſibly, they were able to extend their ſettlements on the weſtern coaſt, a wild, boggy, uncultivated, and perhaps till then uninhabited tract of country; where, though they had towns in that from whence they came, and their own ſecurity required them to live together in a new one, they had but one town, *Nagnata* (now either *Gallway* or *Sligo)* in the days of *Ptolemy*. *A. D.* 364.

THERE was an infinite number of little *tribes*, or *ſepts*, among the *Cantabrians* and *Gallicians*; who inhabited what *Strabo* calls their ſeveral *portions* of country; which, becauſe each had its particular chieftain and judge, whoſe deciſions formed their ſeveral laws and cuſtoms, were conſidered as ſo many *gentes* (or *people)* all independent on one another, though uniting together on occaſion of their common defence. Theſe chiefs coming into *Ireland* with their *ſepts*, took poſſeſſion of the weſtern coaſt of that country, and dividing the ſeveral quarters of it among themſelves, aſſigned afterwards to their ſeveral followers the peculiar ſhares or *portions* of land, which they were reſpectively to cultivate and improve. Hence the whole of theſe ſhares, belonging to the branches of any *ſept*, came to be called *the country of the chieftain*; whoſe lineal deſcendants enjoyed the ſame *right* of renewing, changing, diſtributing ſuch particular ſhares at his pleaſure, as long as the *Brehon-law*[1] ſubſiſted; which continued to be obſerved in the greateſt part of the provinces in that iſland, till the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. From this particular branch of the ordinary power of the chief of a *ſept* over the members of his tribe, or the vaſſals that lived on his demeſnes, a power common to all the like heads of *clans*, *toparchs*, *dynaſtæ*, *reguli*, and *principes* (for by all theſe names are they mentioned in hiſtory) in all the *Celtic*, *German*, *Scythian*, and northern parts of *Europe*, came the title of *Teyrn*[2], given to ſuch chieftain in *Britain* and *Ireland:* which, though it hath a particular reference to the authority of allotting lands, bears the ſame ſenſe as *Tyrannus* in *Latin* or *Greek*, in its primary acceptation, and is, in *Britiſh* and *Iriſh*, the ſame as *king* and *monarch*. Such indeed they were originally as to power within their own territories, and over the ſeveral branches of their *ſepts:* and this is the reaſon why, in all ancient accounts of *Ireland*, we meet with ſuch a multitude of kings in that country, that there is ſcarce a county but boaſts of a race of royal princes, and ſcarce a family among the old natives, but claims a deſcent from ſome or other of thoſe petty monarchs. But as for a king, ruling over an united number of theſe *ſepts*, and a kingdom comprehending many of theſe counties, agreeable to the modern ſenſe of thoſe words, I ſee no reaſon to think that the *Scoti*, who, if of *Cantabrian* and *Gallician* race, had certainly no ſuch conſtitution in *Spaine*, ſhould introduce it in *Ireland*, either immediately upon their ſettling there, or before ſome enterprizing ſucceſsful chief of a *ſept* had, either by his own force, or elſe on being choſen by general conſent, in a war which rendered an union neceſſary, commander in chief of the combined forces, and as ſuch inveſted with the power of diſpoſing of the conquered lands, gotten an opportunity of extending his own territories, and of encreaſing the number of his vaſſals.

NONE of the prodigious number of *German* and *Scythian* nations had any monarchs of this kind, till they were either attacked by the *Romans*, or elſe invaded their territories: in which caſes a general chieftain became abſolutely neceſſary; in the one for their better defence, in the other for making and diſtributing their con-

[1] See Sir *John Davy's* of the Cauſes why *Ireland* was not ſooner reduced under the *Engliſh* government. [2] *Mona Antiq.* p. 26, 28, &c.

A. D. 364. queſts. No motive leſs cogent than that of ſelf-defence, or leſs powerful than an inordinate deſire of plunder, of extending their dominions, and of advancing their military glory, by the conqueſt of their neighbours (a predominant paſſion, which they were fond of indulging, whatever became of themſelves, and though it paved the way to their own ſubjection) could have engaged the heads of particular *clans*, *ſepts*, and *tribes*, to have given up any part of their original independency, and to reſt contented with a reſtriction of their natural rights, and a ſubordinate authority; which however (under the titles of *proceres*, *principes*, *primores*, *pares*, *nobiles)* they ſtill enjoyed by inherent birth-right, and tranſmitted to their lineal deſcendants according to the courſe of nature, before ever the ſplendour of courts, and a communication or exerciſe of the regal power had ennobled the great officers of the ſtate and houſhold, or the more modern way of creation by *diploma* was invented in favour of perſons, who had not the ſame natural right to their dignity. How long the *Scottiſh* chieftains (if they were really of *Cantabrian* race) retained their independency after they left *Gallicia* (under which name *Aſturia* and *Cantabria* too were formerly comprehended) and ſettled in *Ireland*; or how long they continued in this laſt country in peace with the old natives, doth not appear in the *Roman* hiſtorians; who never ſo much as mention their name, till they had occaſion to ſpeak of their incurſions and depredations in *Britain*. The firſt of theſe was in *A. D.* 360, but it was ſoon followed by a ſeries of others; the *Scots* after that time, for an hundred years together, continually infeſting the maritime parts of this iſland. This conduct, ſo extraordinary with regard to the *Romans*, who had given them no late offence, and to the *Britains*, who had never given any, either to them or their anceſtors, and ſo very different from what the *Iriſh* had hitherto obſerved with regard to both, is perfectly unaccountable, unleſs by ſuppoſing, that their time had been hitherto taken up in ſubduing the old natives (which there are reaſons to think [1] was not yet done) or that ſome late revolution had happened in the circumſtances, either of the inhabitants of *Ireland*, or of the *Scotch* colony tranſplanted from *Gallicia*, as well to increaſe their ſtrength, as to raiſe their animoſity againſt the *Romans*.

There is a paſſage in the *Chronicle* or *Hiſtory of Spain*, wrote by the learned *Alphonſus*, king of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, who was choſen Emperor of *Germany*, *A. D.* 1257; which is mentioned by *Camden*[2], in his *Diſcourſe of the Scots*, and may help to explain this difficulty. It may be proper, however, firſt to obſerve, that the Emperor *Valerian*, being in *A. D.* 260 taken by *Sapores*, king of *Perſia*, the *Goths*, and all other *Scythian* nations, as well as the *Franks* and *Alemanni*, and other people of *Germany*, upon the news of a diſgrace, the like of which had never happened to the *Romans*, joined their forces together, and with one conſent fell upon the Empire in different places. Their numbers were infinite, and from *Thrace* to the fartheſt part of the *Weſt*, they left no part of the continent unravaged, over-running *Illyricum*, *Lombardie*, and a great part of *Italy* as far as

[1] The *Brigenſes* or *Britiſh* inhabitants of *Ireland* were at this time, and for 200 years after, maſters of all the eaſt and ſouth-eaſt maritime parts of that kingdom which lay next *England*, and formed ſeveral diſtinct ſtates in thoſe quarters, as is evident to any one that reads the ſeveral lives of St. *Patrick*. Thus in *Vita* iv. c. 33. *Patricius Brigenſium fines relinquens, ultorumque* regna appetens ad *Slani oſtium venit*. And *Vit.* ii. p. 15. *Bregenſium* Campus in *Cruthenis*. The Goſpel was preached to theſe *Britiſh* colonies or nations in *Ireland*, and ſome of them were converted by *Albæus*, *Decianus*, *Ibarus*, and *Kieranus*, before St. *Patrick* came thither to convert the *Scoti*. The ſeven ſons of *Fecomagius*, a king of the *Britains* in that iſland, were the perſons, that, having killed *Calphurnius* the father of St. *Patrick* in *Armorica*, carried off the Saint and his ſiſter to *Ireland*, where they ſold them to *Milchon*, ſon of *Buani*, prince of *Dalaradia*, *Vit.* vii. c. 16. Frequent mention is made of the country *Bregiorum* and *Bregionum*, the church of *Teigh Bretan*, i. e. *Domus Britannorum*, the town of *Brettan*, near *Downe* in *Ulſter*, in the lives above-mentioned: and the ſituation of this laſt place ſhews how far *north* thoſe ſettlements of the *Britains* extended in the eaſtern parts of *Ireland*, long after the time we are ſpeaking of.

[2] *Introduction to his Britannia.*

Rome

Rome itſelf, all *Gaule* from the *Rhine* to the *Mediterranean*, and even *Spaine*, where *Oroſius*[1] ſays, that the *further Germans*, who were properly *Scythians*, made terrible havock in his country, which was *Hiſpania Tarraconenſis*, for twelve years together (*i.e.* from *A. D.* 261 to 273) burning and deſtroying all the churches and public buildings, the ruins whereof were ſtill to be ſeen in his time, a ſad monument of the fury of thoſe *Barbarians*. St. *Jerome*[2], *Aurelius Victor*, and others agree in this fact: and repreſent them as waſting all before them to the very extremity of *Spaine*, and paſſing thence over the ſea into *Africa*. *Gallienus*, an indolent prince, that made a jeſt of the calamities of the Empire, took very little care to oppoſe theſe united nations: and the various uſurpations, to which a military government is always ſubject, and which were ſupported by different *corps* of his forces, rendered it almoſt impracticable to ſtop their progreſs. *Poſthumus*, *Victorinus*, and *Tetricus*, all paſſing under the denomination of tyrants, and ſucceeding one another in *Gaule*, made head againſt them there with great bravery. *Marcian*, to whom the care of the *Scythian* war was committed in *A. D.* 267, routed the *Goths* in *Illyria*: and the Emperor *Claudius* defeated the *Germans* in the year following near *Verona*, with the ſlaughter of half their army. The two next years were famous by his victories over the *Goths* in *Greece*, where he deſtroyed 320,000 of their number, and thereupon aſſumed the titles of *Germanicus* and *Gothicus*: but death put a ſtop to his further ſucceſs. *Aurelian*, a perfect maſter of the art of war, was well qualified to improve the blow given to theſe *Scythian* nations by his predeceſſor; but he was taken up in the Eaſt, where *Zenobia* had ſeized ſeveral of the *Roman* provinces, and could not come into *Gaule* till *A. D.* 273, when he received the ſubmiſſion of *Tetricus*, and (as *Victor* ſays) obliged the *Germans* to retire out of the country; but either not entirely, or they returned ſoon after with freſh forces. For *Probus*, at his acceſſion to the Empire in *A. D.* 276, found them abſolute maſters of the whole country; but taking from them ſeventy great towns which they held in it, defeating them in many battles, with the ſlaughter of 400,000 of their number, he drove them at laſt beyond the *Necker* and the *Elbe*, meriting thereby the title of *Victor omnium gentium barbararum*. In one of theſe actions he took abundance of *Vandals*, with their king *Igillus*, priſoners, and ſent them over into *Britain*, to people ſome uncultivated parts of this iſland; where they are ſuppoſed to have founded *Vandelbury* near *Cambridge*. *A. D.* 364.

IT appears plainly, from this ſhort relation, of what prodigious numbers theſe armies of the united northern nations, which over-ran the empire, conſiſted; and the *Roman* hiſtorians take no notice of any loſs ſuſtained by that body of them which ravaged *Spaine*: all that they tell us of its fate being contained in a ſpeech of *Saturninus*[3], who afterwards ſet up for Emperor, and gloried in having recovered *Africa* to the Empire, reſtored *Gaule*, and *pacified Spaine*. When *Aurelian*, *A. D.* 273, marched againſt *Tetricus*, he had employed *Saturninus* in the *Narbonenſis*; who having recovered it, marched into *Spaine* againſt the *Barbarians* that had over-run it: and as the terror of that Emperor's name, who in activity and military ſkill had no equal in that age, was very great, it is likely that they came to an accommodation with *Saturninus*. The term *pacification* implies as much: and the time agrees exactly with the end of the twelve years, which *Oroſius* aſſigns for their ravages in that country. It was uſual in ſuch accommodations to give the *Barbarians* ſome lands within the Empire for their ſettlement, in order to accuſtom them to the *Roman* manner of living, and draw from them recruits for the armies. Thus *Probus* gave lands in *Thrace* to an hundred thouſand *Baſtarnæ*[4], a *Scythian* nation, and to abundance of the *Gepidæ*, *Juthungi*, *Vandals*, and *Franks*.

[1] L. vii. c. 28. [2] *In Chronic.* [3] *Vopiſcus in Saturnino.* [4] *Zoſim.* l. i. *Vita Probi.*

A. D. 364. Thus *Aurelian*[1] peopled other parts of the empire with the *Carpi*, another nation of *Scythians*, whom he vanquiſhed the ſame year that *Saturninus* made a pacification with thoſe *Scythians* that were poſſeſſed of *Spaine*; ſo that nothing was more natural for him to grant, or indeed for them to aſk, than a ſettlement in that country; which, it ſeems, he aſſigned them in the moſt proper part of it, for the ſafety and quiet of the reſt, in the province of *Gallicia*. There they remained, and in all appearance quiet enough, till the reign of *Conſtantine the Great*; who, either on account of their having made an inſurrection, or out of apprehenſion that they might raiſe a diſturbance, which the example of the *Carpi* and *Baſtarnæ*, who had rebelled in the time of *Diocletian*, or the ingratitude of the *Sarmatæ*, and incurſions of the *Goths* in *A. D.* 332, might give him reaſon to ſuſpect of all other *Scythians*, reſolved to remove them from a part of the Empire, which was abſolutely ſecured from all foreign wars, and could be annoyed from no quarter but theirs; who yet were enabled to do it, purely by being allowed to inhabit within the country. In conſequence of this reſolution, *Alphonſus* ſays, *Conſtantine* obliged them to quit *Spaine*, and tranſplant themſelves elſewhere: but giving them liberty to chooſe the part of the world to which they would retire, they pitched upon *Ireland*, and were accordingly tranſported thither[2]. Here was an embarkation made,

[1] *Vopiſcus in Aureliano.*

[2] There is a paſſage in *Gregory* of *Tours*, *Hiſt. Fran.* l. i. c. 32, 33, 34. which may help to illuſtrate this point of hiſtory: he ſays, that at the time when all the *Scythian* and *German* nations, upon *Valerian's* being taken, conſpired and joined together to invade the *Roman* empire; *Chrocus*, king of the *Alemanni* (a warlike people, ſo called from their being compoſed of *all* ſorts of *men*, of various *German* and *Scythian* nations) ravaged all the provinces of *Gaule*, from the *Rhine* to the *Mediterranean*; and that, not content with plunder, the uſual view of thoſe barbarians, he made it his buſineſs to deſtroy the fineſt cities, and to demoliſh all noble and ancient edifices, wherever he found any ſuch monuments of *Roman* or *Gallic* magnificence; and that he made this unuſual havock, not ſo much to gratify his own taſte, as by the advice of his mother, who told him it was the only ſure way of paſſing for a great man in hiſtory, of perpetuating his memory, and of making his name immortal. Thus he deſtroyed the famous heathen temple in *Auvergne*, called *Vaſſo* (or *Mas*) *Galatæ*, the walls of which were thirty foot thick, and it was paved with marble and moſaick work, covered with lead, and every way the fineſt ſtructure of its kind in that country. He was himſelf a pagan; and if he did not deſtroy any *Chriſtian* churches, it was becauſe there were none at that time erected: but he put St. *Caſſius*, St. *Victorinus*, and other martyrs to death, for being *Chriſtians*; and, after doing an infinite deal of miſchief, was at laſt taken in *Arles* and executed. The acts of St. *Privas*, who ſuffered by his cruelty in the *Gevaudan*, which are wrote in a natural, ſimple, and plain manner, without the leaſt deviation into any of thoſe tales, with which writers who affect what is marvellous, interlard their legends, confirm this fact: but give the king of the *Alemanni* the name of *Scorcon*. Had there been a *t*, inſtead of the *r*, in this word, and the name had been ſpelt *Scotcon*, I ſhould have thought that, as he might be called *Crocus*, from the *red* or *ſaffron* colour, which he affected in his painting, he might likewiſe from his nation be called *Scotcon*, (*i. e.* the head or chieftain of the *Scoti*) from *Con*, a chieftain, whence *Coning*, a king in *Germany*. It is doubtleſs very uſual for copiers of Manuſcripts, to miſtake the letters *r* and *t*, in names, where there is no ſenſe in the word to prevent a miſtake in orthography: but this is a point not to be cleared without examining the Manuſcripts, whence *Surius* publiſhed the acts of St. *Privas*, among thoſe of other Saints, whoſe feſtivals are kept on *Auguſt* 21. *Aimonius de rebus geſtis Fran.* l. iii. c. 2. gives us the ſame relation; and after mentioning his burning of *Mayence* and *Mets*, and putting all the inhabitants to the ſword, obſerves, that *Crocus*, whom he ſtyles king of the *Vandals* (ſo all that lived like *Nomades*, were often called) was at laſt, as he was beſieging *Arles*, taken by *Marius*. We have the ſame relation in the *Hiſtoria Trevirenſis*, publiſhed by *D'Achery*, in the 12th Tome of his *Spicilegium*, where this *Crocus* is alſo called king of the *Vandals*, and is ſaid to have the *Suevi* and *Alemanni* along with him in this expedition; wherein, beſides the two cities before-mentioned, he deſtroyed *Treves*, and abundance of other towns throughout *Gaule*. All circumſtances concur to ſhew, that the time of this expedition was about *A. D.* 260, or 261. For *Marius*, who routed and took *Crocus*, ſeems to be the ſame, that on the death of *Poſthumus* was proclaimed Emperor in *Gaule*, who being reproached for having been a blackſmith, and working in iron, bragged of it, and (as *Treb. Pollio*, in *Mario*, tells us) threatned to make the *Alemanni*, the *Germans*, and all their neighbouring nations, feel the weight and keenneſs of that iron. The *Vandals*, with other *Scythian* nations, and the *Alemanni*, never made another irruption into the heart of *Gaule*, till the time of *Honorius*; and then they made no attack upon *Arles*: nor did they put any *Chriſtians* to death for their religion, they being then *Chriſtians* themſelves, having, as well as the *Goths*, been converted a hundred and fifty years before by the *Chriſtian* prieſts, whom they took captives, in their invaſion of the empire, in the time of *Gallienus*. It was in this Emperor's reign (and even before *Poſthumus's* uſurpation) that *Eutropius*, *Aurelius Victor*, *Euſebius*, and St. *Hierome*, in their *Chronicon*, and others, tell us, the armies of the *Germans* and *Scythians*,

not by ſtealth, nor in ſmall numbers, like thoſe of the *Cantabrians*, after the *Romans* had ſubdued their country, but by the imperial authority, for the tranſporting of a prodigious multitude of mingled *Scythian* and *German* nations; who had ravaged, without controul, every quarter of *Spaine*, and been maſters of the country for twelve years together; and who had, in all probability, exceedingly propagated ſince that time, and increaſed ſo much in their numbers, as to alarm the *Romans*. It was at this time I am perſuaded, that the *gentes Scotorum*, the ſepts of the *Scots*, firſt came into *Ireland*; it is at leaſt certain, that there is no earlier mention of them in hiſtory: and *Ptolemy*, who in his *Geography* ſpeaks of ſeveral people whoſe names either entirely agree, or have a great affinity, with thoſe of the *Cantabrian* nations, takes no notice at all of the *Scoti*, who in a very few years after this tranſplantation (*viz.* in *A. D.* 360) burſt at once out of their obſcurity, and make a mighty figure in theſe northern parts of *Europe*. As they were too numerous to be tranſported at once, they muſt have come to *Ireland* at different times, and by various embarkations: and I am apt to think, it was in one of the laſt of theſe, when that iſland had been ſufficiently ſtocked, or perhaps crouded by the numbers brought over before, that the *Picts* (as *Bede*[1] and others relate) came to *Ireland*, and not finding room there for a ſettlement, were adviſed by the inhabitants, who appear to have been their friends, and to have ſpoke the ſame language, to paſs on to the next iſlands; where they ſettled in that of *Man*[2], and took poſſeſſion of ſuch other iſles lying more northward, as after the *Romans* quitting them on *Agricola's* being recalled, ſeem to have remained uncultivated[3]. *A. D.* 364.

The different names of *Picts*, *Franks*, *Alemanni*, *Saxons*, *Germans*, *Goths*, and *Scythians*, given to the ravagers of the *Roman* empire in the time of *Gallien*, can

having waſted *Gaule*, paſſed thence into *Spain*; and having ravaged it from one end to the other, made themſelves maſters of the country. They particularly mention *Tarrogona*, the capital at that time of *Spain*, as utterly deſtroyed by them: and there, as well as through the whole province, *Oroſius*, a native of it, ſays the ruins of the public edifices, and of great cities, were ſtill to be ſeen in his time, as ſo many monuments of their former miſeries. This particular rage againſt magnificent ſtructures and fine buildings, ſhews plainly they were the ſame *Vandals*, *Alamanni*, and *Scythians*, that were led by *Crocus*, or his ſucceſſor into *Gaule*, and which, after they made an accommodation with *Aurelian*, were allowed to ſettle in *Gallicia*; from whence *Conſtantine* removed them afterwards into *Ireland*. I am the more inclined to think that the name, in the acts of St. *Privas*, ſhould be *Scotcon*, and that a great part of his army was compoſed of *clans*, then termed *Scotiſh* or *Scythian*, becauſe the other name of their chieftain, *Crocus*, is certainly *Scotiſh* or *Iriſh*, and was very common among them, as ſoon as they were ſettled in *Ireland*. *Colgan*, in note 3. on the third part of the 7th life of St. *Patrick*, ſays, that *Corca* is the ſame as *Croca*, and is a very common name for women in *Ireland*: ſo is *Corcanus* for a man, and *Corcus*, which laſt was a name of one of the kings that aſſiſted St. *Patrick* in writing the *Antiquities* of *Ireland*. Another *Corcus*, was a ſon of *Fergus*, king of *Ulſter*; and there was another of the name, king of *Munſter*. Several places and countries in *Connaught*, *Munſter*, and *Leinſter*, were thence denominated, as *Corcha-ochlaid*, *Corca-themni*, *Corcaraoid*, *Corca-ghaſkiſh*, *Corca-thri*, *Corca-leigdce*, and *Druim-corcain*, famous for a battle there fought. The town of *Corke* is known to every body. So alſo *Croca*, ſiſter to St. *Felart*; and places called *Crochan*, one of them the royal ſeat of the kings of *Connact*; the mountain *Croch* or *Crochan*, where St. *Patrick* is ſaid to have faſted forty days and nights; another of the ſame name in *Conaght*, the higheſt in *Ireland*, whence it is ſaid, he threw all the venomous beaſts in that country into the ſea. In a word, this *Crocus*, or ſome other of his name, but probably this very man, who brought them from their northern abodes, to a more agreeable and better cultivated country, ſeems to be worſhipped by them, as if he was their *Hercules* or *Woden*, their God of war; for in the country of *Magſlecht*, i. e. *regio adorationis*, ſtood their famous ſtone idol, the prince or chief of all the idols of the whole kingdom, attended by twelve leſſer idols, all deſtroyed by St. *Patrick*. This idol, ſo zealouſly worſhipped by the kings, princes, and nobility of *Ireland*, with the higheſt honours, and the moſt ſolemn ſacrifices, was called *Crom-croch*, or *Cruach*: *Crom* denoting bowing, conſecration, or the being devoted, and (as the author of *Mona Antiq.* p. 47, 213, & *ſeq.* has ſhewn) being uſually joined to every thing which was uſed for acts of religion, or related to ſacrifices, and the rites of worſhip: as *Crom-lech*, *i. e.* altars of ſtone, or conſecrated ſtones, and *Crom-lhyn*, conſecrated groves, for ſacrificing. Theſe names, all appear in the lives of St. *Patrick*, and other Saints, publiſhed by *Colgan*, particularly in *Vita* iv. c. 59. not. 40. *Vit.* v. l. ii. c. 18. *Vit.* vi. c. 170. not. 43. *Vit.* vii. p. 2. c. 18, 24, 31, 37, 44, 52, 63, 69, 96, 114. not. 28, 105, iii, 120. p. 3. c. 32, 56. not. 59, 60. *Appendix of Fragments of ancient Authors*, n. 208. *App.* iii. p. 207, 402. n. 84. *Vit. St. Kieran.* tom. i. p. 594. *Vit. St. Mochiemochi*, not. 3. p. 596. *Vit. St. Ethnei*, *St. Fedelm*, &c.

[1] *Hiſt. Eccl.* l. i. [2] *Oroſius*, l. i. c. 2.
[3] *Solin. Pol.* c. 24.

A. D. 364. be no objection to what is here ſaid; ſince the *Roman* writers agree in telling us, that all the world, in contempt of that prince, conſpired together to fall upon the Empire; and that all the *Scythian* nations, as well as the *German*, joined and mingled their forces together upon that occaſion, in order to attack thoſe countries, where they expected to find the greateſt, and the eaſieſt booty. Different as they were in point of origin, they had all the ſame reſtleſs, turbulent, roving diſpoſition; the ſame paſſion for plunder and rapine; the ſame fury for waſting, burning, and deſtroying every thing that was uſeful, beautiful, ſplendid, and magnificent in a country. The *Romans* hoped to get rid of ſuch troubleſome neighbours, by tranſporting them to an iſland in the extremeſt weſtern corner of the known world: but they ſoon found themſelves diſappointed; for the *Scots* were ſcarce warm in their new ſeats, had ſcarce arranged their ſettlements, and provided for their ſubſiſtence in *Ireland* (for which leſs than twenty-five years can hardly be ſuppoſed to ſuffice) before, in *A. D.* 360, we find them making depredations on the coaſts of the *Roman* territories in *Britain*. Theſe they repeated from time to time, though in none more frequently than in the reign of their celebrated monarch *Neil*[1], the firſt of the name, ſurnamed *Naei*[2], or *Naoi-gaillac* (in whoſe time St. *Patrick* was taken captive) and whoſe very ſurname ſhews, that he was *newly come from Gallicia*; for as the *Iriſh*, in general, call themſelves to this day *Gaillac* or *Gaelick*, ſo *Naod-gaillac* ſignifies a *new Gallician*, or *new Iriſhman*; one of thoſe *Scythian* people, who (as *Alphonſus* ſays) were by *Conſtantine the Great* tranſported out of *Gallicia* into *Ireland*.

Of the *Attacotti*. XIII. Such were the *Scoti*, who at this time infeſted the *Roman* provinces in *Britain:* but *Ammianus* mentions ſtill another enemy, that made the like incurſions, whom he calls by the new name of *Attacotti*[3]; though they ſeem to be no other than the ſame hardy and warlike people, known formerly by that of *Silures*. They inhabited a vaſt tract of country, woody or mountainous in every part, extending from the banks of the *Severne* weſtward to the *Iriſh* channel, and they had rather ſubmitted to be quiet for a time, than been compleatly reduced by the *Ro-*

[1] *Uſher's Antiq. Brit.* c. 16. p. 306.

[2] *Na* in *Iriſh* is a ſign of the genitive caſe: *Noadh*, in *Armorican* or *Iriſh*, ſignifies *new*, *novus*, ſo *Naoi-gaillac* may ſerve to expreſs a perſon's being either of *Gallicia*, or a new *Gallician*. The *Iriſh*, indeed, out of a particular fondneſs for every thing that is fabulous, and appears marvellous, have, from the ſound of the word, and by a dextrous management of its orthography, ſo as to flatter their dreams of conqueſts, that have no foundation in hiſtory and are inconſiſtent with the accounts given by ancient authors of undoubted credit, made uſe of it to countenance a ridiculous notion of this *Neil's* being a conqueror of nine kingdoms; *France*, *Saxony* or *England*, *Britain* and *Albany*, having the honour to be of the number, which is made up by five provinces of *Ireland*. This is done by deriving the word from *Nii* or *Naoi*, *nine*, and *Gialla*, a *pledge* or *hoſtage*, and by aſſigning one to each kingdom; a derivation, which I ſuppoſe invented after *Ireland* had embraced the *Chriſtian* faith; for the ingenious etymologiſt, who firſt ſtruck out this ſenſe of the word *Nae-gaillac*, had he lived in the times of paganiſm, would in all probability have derived it from *Na*, *of*, and *Gealach*, the *moon*, and have given his heroe a divine original, by making him a deſcendent of that deity. At leaſt the inventor ſhews his ignorance, by giving the names of *France* and *England* to countries that were not known by thoſe names in the time of *Neil*, whom he would repreſent as their conqueror. See *Lhuyd's Archæol. in Compar. Vocab. v.* Novem and Novus, and *Iriſh Dict. v.* Na, Naoi, Gealach, Gialla.

[3] Mr. *Baxter*, in his *Britiſh Gloſſary*, *v.* Attacotti, Venta Silurum, Silures, &c. derives the word from *At a Coit*, i. e. *apud Silvas:* ſo that *Attacotti* is the ſame as *Silveſtres homines:* and this he ſays is confirmed by the authority of the great *Welſh* poet *Condelua*, in one of his poems; this word being ſynonimous to thoſe of *Argoet* and *Argoetüys*, by which they are called in the oldeſt *Britiſh* authors; particularly by *Lhomarch Hen*, who flouriſhed within 200 years of this time, and terms them *Güyr Argoe*, i. e. *Viri ad Silvas* or *Silveſtres*. I agree with Mr. *Baxter* in this explanation of the word *Attacotti*, though I cannot in his derivation of *Silures*, which he ſuppoſeth to ſignify *Viri feri* and *bellicoſi*, whereas it ſeems to me to be more naturally derived from *Coil*, or *Koil*, *Sylva*, and *Ur*, *Vir*, ſo that *Coilures* bears the ſame ſenſe as *Attacotti*, and (as *C* and *S* are frequently uſed [a] for one another in the *Britiſh* dialects as well as the *Latin*) is very eaſily, in pronouncing the word, changed into *Silures*.

[a] See *Lhuyd's Comparative Etymology*, p. 24, 29, 39. *Col.* ii. and ſo *G* alſo into *S*, p. 25.

mans.

mans. Some parts indeed of their territories, ſuch as the foreſt of *Deane*, the ſhires of *Hereford* and *Monmouth*, and the ſkirts of *Radnor* and *Montgomery*, had been ſecured by *Roman* garriſons, and by the colonies ſettled at *Glouceſter*, *Caerleon*, and *Cheſter*. On the ſea coaſts, as well on the ſide of the *Briſtol*, as of the *Cheſter* channel, roads had been made one way as far as *Caer Marthen*; and on the other, as far as *Caernarvan* and *Angleſea*, and two or three ſtations fixed on each, near the ſea: but there was no ſuch thing in all the intermediate country between thoſe two channels; ſo that all *Wales*, in a manner, was ſtill, and had ever been in the ſole poſſeſſion of the *Silures*, and their clients or allies, who there continued to enjoy their own laws, cuſtoms, and chieftains. They were always ſo diſpoſed to be troubleſome, and ſo hard to be attacked, with any ſucceſs, in their woods and mountains, that the *Romans* ſeem never to have attempted the reducing of them entirely: but contented themſelves with oppoſing their incurſions, and bridling or terrifying them with two legions, quartered at *Cheſter* and *Caerleon*; whilſt they had none to awe the *Belgic Britains*, and one ſufficed to oppoſe the *Caledonians*. In this ſituation, the *Silures* ſtood till the reign of the great *Conſtantine*, when they ſeem to be taken into the new province which he erected, and called, from his own name, *Flavia Cæſarienſis*. *A. D.* 364.

It may poſſibly appear not a little ſurprizing, that a fierce, warlike, untractable people, ranging in their woods and mountains, uncontrolled by any *Roman* magiſtrate, and uncivilized in every reſpect, ſhould, at a time when the *Roman* forces here were reduced to a very ſmall number, perhaps to a ſingle legion, and their auxiliaries (as in the time of *Carauſius*) ſubmit, without any ſtruggle or oppoſition, to be reduced to the form of a province. Many indeed of their chiefs or heads of *clans* ſerved conſtantly in the *Roman* armies; and *Conſtantine* had carried greater numbers than ordinary over with him into *Gaule*; when he went to take poſſeſſion of his father's dominions on the continent: and had drawn another body of them from hence, when he was preparing to march into *Italy* againſt *Maxentius*. All theſe may reaſonably enough be thought diſpoſed to comply with ſuch an alteration: but it may ſtill be doubted, whether they could draw in the whole nation; the ancient *Britains* being a people not eaſily led into new faſhions, or weaned from their rooted habits. They were too tenacious of their old cuſtoms, laws, and conſtitution, to be drawn into a change, unleſs there was ſomething in it to ſuit their humour, and to ſooth a vanity, which, when the virtue of a nation is loſt, is the only reſtraining paſſion in the way of giving up its liberty. This is very well accounted for by the ancient books of *Pedigrees*, compoſed by a ſet of men, particularly aſſigned for that purpoſe in all ages of the *Britiſh* government, after the uſe of letters was known among them, and carefully preſerved as valuable treaſures in the beſt families of *Wales*; all which, though drawn up by different perſons, at different times, and kept at different places, do yet agree in the following genealogy, which claſhing in no reſpect with any part of the *Roman*, or other authentic hiſtory, ſeems liable to no objection that can affect its credit.

Coil [3], king of the *Strath-Cluyd Britains*, had the united rights of many of the moſt conſiderable *Britiſh* princes or chieftains centred in him; and marrying *Stradwen*, daughter and heireſs of *Cadvan ap Conan ap Eudaff*, prince of *North-wales*, became entitled alſo to that principality. He died preſently after *Conſtantius's* landing in this iſland had put an end to the uſurpation of *Allectus*, *A. D.* 296; leaving an onely ſon, *Cenau*, who ſucceeded him, and two daughters. *Cenau*, who hath been already mentioned as the firſt *Chriſtian* king in *Britain*, and to whom, under his *Chriſtian* name *Lucius*, the converſion of this iſland is generally aſcrib-

[1] *Mona Antiq.* p. 161, 162, 163, 168.

A. D. 364. ed, dying without iſſue, the right of the *Britiſh* kingdom, between the walls of *Adrian* and *Antoninus*, devolved upon his eldeſt ſiſter *Helena*, mother to *Conſtantine the Great*. This laſt Emperor ſucceeding to the rights of her family, ſprung of *Britiſh* blood, and thereby (as *Eumenius* ſays) ennobling the country; and being their natural prince and chieftain by lineal deſcent, found no difficulty in perſuading a people infinitely devoted to their chiefs, to ſubmit to a provincial form of government, and to make a regular part of that mighty Empire of the world, which they ſaw ſubject to a Sovereign of the greateſt perſonal merit, and (what was ſtill more glorious and endearing to them) by deſcent a *Britain*. There was ſomething ſo flattering in this reflection, that the *Attacotti*, dwelling in the woods and mountains of *Wales*, kept themſelves quiet all the days of *Conſtantine*, of his ſons, and of his grandſon *Julian* the apoſtate; and the *Romans*, imagining they had nothing more to dread from dutiful ſubjects, who had behaved themſelves ſo peaceably, and contracted ſuch an habit of obedience, took no longer their ordinary care of the forts and ſtations placed on the frontiers of their country, ſuffering them generally to fall to decay. But the caſe was much altered upon the death of *Julian*, in whom the line of *Helena* ending, the ſucceſſion of the kingdom of the *Strath-Cluyd Britains* and of the principality of *North-wales* devolved upon *Cynetha*, ſurnamed *Weledig*, or *the Illuſtrious*, the ſon of *Gwawl* or *Julia*, her younger ſiſter by *Edern*, ſon of *Paternus*, a conſiderable chieftain or prince in the northern parts of *Britain*. *Valentinian* was now Emperor; and was neither allied to the *Britains*, nor had the ſame affection or regard for them as his predeceſſors. He was very rigid in point of diſcipline, and very exact in looking into his revenue; ſo that there is little doubt to be made, but he exacted the tribute uſually paid by the kings of the *Strath-Cluyd Britains* (as by all other kings in the like ſituation, under the protection of the Empire) which probably had been remitted, or at leaſt never exacted from the time of *Conſtantine*. *Cynetha* found likewiſe his authority reſtrained, and his rights diminiſhed in *Wales*, by its having been reduced into the form of a province, and probably was a ſufferer in many other reſpects; whilſt a new Emperor, a foreigner with reſpect to *Britain* and the race of her princes, would yet of courſe claim and aſſume all that authority over the *Britains*, and exact from them all thoſe dues, ſervices, and payments, which had been rightly exerciſed or chearfully paid in the reigns of the *Conſtantine* family, their natural princes. Theſe dues and ſervices having, on their advancement to the empire, been blended with the imperial authority and pretenſions, were probably afterwards, without diſtinction, inſiſted on, as uſual, by the officers of ſucceeding Emperors; though contrary to right and reaſon, againſt the grain and inclinations, as well as to the great oppreſſion of the *Britains*; who, fond of the race of their natural and rightful princes, and not thinking it lawful to defalk any of their dues, were by this means loaded with double payments, and ſervices beyond their abilities. In theſe circumſtances, nothing was more natural than for *Cynetha* and his *Strath-Cluyd Britains*, to invite their neighbours, the *Picts*, to their aſſiſtance, and for his ſubjects among the *Attacotti* of *Wales* to take up arms, and fall upon the *Roman* provinces in *A. D.* 368, as *Ammianus* tell us they did, in conjunction with the *Picts*, and at the ſame time with the *Scoti* and *Saxons*.

Of their inroads into *Britain*; and the ſtate of the *Roman* province.

XIV. These different nations[1], forming a confederacy together, fell at once, though in different places, upon the *Roman* territories in *Britain*; waſting them in a dreadful manner: and drawing *Nectaridius*, count of the ſea coaſt, which uſed to be infeſted by the *Saxons*, and *Fullofaudes*, General of the imperial forces, into an

[1] *Ammian. Marcel.* l. xxvii. c. 8.

ambuſh, the two commanders and a great part of their troops were ſlain in the action. *Valentinian* was ſtruck with the advices of this diſaſter; which overtook him on the road, as he was marching from *Amiens* towards the frontiers of *Germany*: and he immediately diſpatched away *Severus*, the ſteward of his houſehold, to correct the miſtakes and wrong conduct of the governors, whoſe corruption and oppreſſion of the ſubjects had been the chief cauſe of the inſurrections and diſturbances there raiſed[1]: but the evil not being eaſily remedied, this officer was in a little time recalled, and *Jovinus* ſent over in his ſtead to *Britain*. Both theſe governors came over without any forces, as if it was expected, that the bare offer of a redreſs of grievances would quell the inſurrections, and reſtore the quiet of the provinces: but *Jovinus* finding the caſe far otherwiſe, diſpatched *Provertuis* back in all haſt, to deſire a ſtrong army might be ſent over to his aſſiſtance, as the only remedy that could be effectual in the preſent exigency of affairs. This being confirmed by the accounts, which were continually brought, of the deſperate ſituation of affairs, and deplorable condition of this iſland, the Emperor reſolved to ſend over *Theodoſius*, a general in whom the ſoldiery had an entire confidence, on account of his great experience and conſtant ſucceſs in war, with a choice body of legionary and auxiliary forces. The cohorts of the *Batavi*, *Heruli*, *Jovii* and *Victores* attended the General in this expedition; and ſerved him for an *Eſcorte* from *Sandwich* to *London*; where he found the city in great diſtreſs, and the parts adjacent over-run by the *Franks* and *Saxons*. Theſe rovers having landed on the coaſts oppoſite to *Gaule*, deſtroyed all before them with fire and ſword; and ſpreading into various quarters, left every where marks of their fury in their ruin of houſes, the ſlaughter of captives, and the deſolation of the country. As the enemy was diſperſed, he divided his troops into ſeveral bodies, which attacking different parties of thoſe rovers, as they were laden with their plunder and incumbered with droves of cattle and priſoners, which they were carrying off, eaſily routed them, reſcued the priſoners, and recovered the booty; a ſmall part whereof *Theodoſius* diſtributed among his ſoldiers for their encouragement, and reſtored the reſt to the right owners. He returned to *London* in triumph, having re-aſſured the citizens by this ſucceſs and given them hopes of greater: but he had ſtill no ſmall difficulties to encounter, the removing of which was the ſubject that took up his thoughts, and merited his cooleſt reflections. *A. D.* 364.

THE *Roman* forces at this time, ſeem to have been very weak, and to be all either employed on the borders, or ſhut up in garriſons; for we read of none that joined *Theodoſius*. Their forts likewiſe were in an ill condition, and ſo little diſcipline and order obſerved among the ſoldiery, that abundance of them had left their colours, and rambled about the country; all the effects of a long peace, and a too great ſecurity. The enemy, on the contrary, was exceeding ſtrong; infinite numbers of different nations ravaging all parts, ſo that it was dangerous to attack them in their united ſtrength by open force; and the only ſafe way of ſubduing them, was by ſurprizing and cutting off their ſmall parties. To make this method the more effectual, he took another, very rarely, if ever, practiſed by the *Romans*; he publiſhed a general pardon and indemnity for all perſons; which brought abundance back to their duty, and many deſerters to his ſtandard. Finding the good effect of this meaſure, and thinking it proper to aſſure the provincial ſubjects of juſtice being impartially adminiſtred among them, he deſired *Civilis*, a ſtrict but equitable and upright magiſtrate, might be ſent over

[1] *Ib.* l. xxx. c. 9.

A. D. 364. to govern *Britain*, and *Dulcitius*, an excellent general, to ſerve in the army.

Theodosius[1] having by theſe and other means re-inforced his army, and prepared for the next year's campaign, marched from *London* againſt the enemy; whom he found elated with their former ſucceſs, and plundering in great ſecurity: nor did he fail of any opportunity of ſurprizing them; doing himſelf, on all occaſions, the duty of a brave ſoldier, as well as of an experienced officer, and routing the enemy in many engagements. This ſucceſs had like to have been interrupted by a conſpiracy; which might have ruined all the *Roman* affairs in *Britain*, if it had not been cruſhed in the very beginning. It was an uſual thing for the Emperor to baniſh perſons convicted of great crimes into this iſland, as the remoteſt corner of the empire, where they were leaſt capable of doing miſchief: and, among others, one *Valentinus*, of a proud, haughty, ſeditious temper, had for an heinous offence been ſent hither in the quality of an exile. This man, ever reſtleſs, and bent upon miſchief, formed a deſign againſt the General: and tried all the ways that could be contrived to draw in the other exiles and the ſoldiers; whom he tempted by promiſes of great rewards to join with him in his intended inſurrection. The plot was on the point of being executed, when it was diſcovered to *Theodoſius*: who cruſhed it at once by putting *Valentinus*, with his chief accomplices to death, and, by a conduct worthy of his wiſdom and generoſity, ſtopping all further enquiry in relation to the reſt of the conſpirators; leſt the guilt being too general, the dread of puniſhment ſhould drive many to deſpair, and revive the troubles of the provinces, which were very near being intirely pacified. Fortune, which rarely, if ever, deſerts wiſdom, attended him in all his enterprizes: he cleared the *Roman* territories of the barbarians that invaded them; and then applied himſelf to redreſs grievances, to correct diſorders, to repair the cities and forts that had been damaged, to ſtrengthen the garriſons, and make other regulations for the quiet, ſecurity, and good government of the provinces.

There were four provinces already; each under a particular preſident: to theſe he added a fifth, by recovering the country between the walls of *Adrian* and *Antoninus* from the enemy, who had ſeized it on this invaſion, and reducing it into the form of a province; to which, in honour of the Emperor, he gave the name of *Valentia*, and aſſigned it likewiſe a ſpecial governor. Having drove the *Caledonians* into their own country, he fortified both thoſe walls or *Prætenturæ*; and ſupplied them with cohorts of obſervation, or *Vigiles*, inſtead of the *Areani*; who uſed formerly to be employed in ſcouring the adjacent country in order to learn the motions of the bordering nations, but had been removed by him, upon proof of their being guilty of bribery, and giving intelligence to the enemy. The proviſions he made in all caſes were admirably adapted to the ends he propoſed, and ſo well calculated to advance the happineſs of the provinces, that they conſidered him in the ſame light as the *Romans* did *Furius Camillus* or *Papirius Curſor*; whom he equalled in the number and importance of his victories. Every body attended him with wonderful affection and acclamations to the ſea ſide, when he quitted *Britain*; being ſent for by the Emperor to fill the great dignity of *Maſter of the cavalry*; which was given him as a reward for his ſervices.

Theodosius had acquitted himſelf ſo well of his commiſſion in this iſland, that he was ſoon after employed in another full as difficult; in reducing the *Moors* who had revolted, and in pacifying the province of *Africa*; which he effected with the like ſucceſs. *Ammianus*[2] tell us, that the diſturbances in that country, as well

[1] *Ammian. Marcel.* l. xxviii. c. 3. [2] L. xxx. c. ix.

as

as thoſe of *Britain*, were entirely owing to the ill conduct, corruption, and oppreſſion of the *Roman* governours, and to the Emperor's too great indulgence of them; turning a deaf ear to all the complaints made by the provincials againſt the meaſures of his chief officers, as if he thought it a calling of his own authority in queſtion. He doth not acquaint us with the particular meaſures taken by *Theodoſius* to quiet *Britain*; but as the remedies muſt be ſuited to the cauſes of a diſtemper, we may reaſonably conclude them to be ſuch as removed the grounds of the complaints of the *Britains*, redreſſed their grievances, and eaſed them in their taxes and public contributions; meaſures which muſt naturally endear him to that people, and which were not unacceptable to *Valentinian*; whoſe ready compliance in that point, might probably be one of thoſe inſtances which occaſioned *Ammianus* to celebrate this Emperor's tenderneſs to his provinces, in lightening the burden of their tributes. We are however aſſured by *Claudian* and *Latinus Pacatus Drepanius*[1], that one of the methods he took for the ſecurity of *Britain*, was the fitting out a navy: which he employed ſo ſucceſsfully againſt the *Scots* and *Saxons*, that having beat them in ſeveral ſea-engagements, he confined the one to their bogs, and ruined the naval power of the others; thus reſtoring to the *Romans* the empire of the ſea, in the *Hyperborean* or weſtern, over which he purſued the former, as well as in the *German*, ocean, which uſed to be covered with the fleets of the latter. *Britain* thus ſecured from having her coaſts inſulted by tranſmarine nations, and ſettled within herſelf on an happy footing, by the wiſe regulations of *Theodoſius*, enjoyed ſome years of peace; till ambition came in to interrupt her quiet; and her warm eſpouſing the cauſe of an uſurper of the empire, laid the foundation of her utter ruin. *A. D.* 364.

VALENTINIAN dying on *November* 17, *A. D.* 375, was ſucceeded in the weſtern empire by *Gratian*; a young prince, given up to diverſions; negligent of ſtate affairs; corrupted by his favourites, who flattered him in all his inclinations; and ſo unhappy in the choice of the perſons, whom he honoured with his good graces, and with the moſt diſtinguiſhed marks of his confidence, that a few of the *Alani*, a *Scythian* nation, having deſerted to him, he not only loaded them with preſents, but truſted them with all his counſels, and employed them in affairs of the greateſt importance, without any regard to his own ſoldiers; who grew thereupon univerſally diſcontented. The *Roman* army in *Britain* was, at all times, the moſt ready of any to take offence, and break out into an inſurrection upon ſuch a provocation: and it was now under a commander, who made it his buſineſs to aggravate the affront, and inflame their diſcontents. *Maximus*[2], a *Spaniard* by birth (which afforded a colour for his pretence of being related to *Theodoſius*) had great talents, and many good qualities; which gained him the love and eſteem of the ſoldiery, and would have conveyed his name with honour to poſterity, if he had not ſullied them all by his uſurpation. He had ſerved with reputation in *Britain*, under *Theodoſius* above-mentioned, in an equal poſt with the General's ſon *Theodoſius*; who had on *January* 16, *A. D.* 379, been by *Gratian* declared Emperor of the Eaſt: and *Maximus* had vanity enough to think himſelf full as worthy of the imperial dignity; though the event fully juſtified the choice that had been made of his rival. He reſented this preference as a perſonal injury; and left no means untried, not only to debauch the *Roman* army under his command, in which there was little difficulty, but to engage alſo the provincial *Britains* on his ſide: which, in the happy ſituation of their affairs, would not have been an eaſy matter, were it not for ſome particular advantages he had for gaining over the moſt hardy and warlike of thoſe people to his intereſt. He had lived many years in the country, poſ- *A. D.* 375.

[1] *Panegyric. Theod. M. inter Panegyr. Veteres.* [2] *Zoſ.* l. iv. *Pacat. Panegyr.*

A. D. 375. ſeſſed of a command; which gave him a great authority over the people, and continual opportunities of obliging them: he had married likewiſe [1] *Helena*, the daughter of *Eudda*, a conſiderable chieftain of *North-wales*, in which country ſhe was born at *Caer-ſegont* (now *Caer-narvon)* where her chapel is to be ſeen ſtill remaining. This *Britiſh* lady was probably a near relation of *Helena*, mother of *Conſtantine the Great*, and daughter of *Cadvan*, prince of *North-wales:* and the affinity, which *Maximus* contracted by this marriage with the family of that Emperor, ſeems to be the only foundation for the alliance he pretended with it, as well as for his aſſuming (if he really did, as *Baronius* ſays, aſſume) the name of *Flavius*, and ſtyling himſelf *Flavius Clemens Maximus* This alliance with a people, who extend their conſanguinity, and the ties of it, to farther degrees than moſt others; the power and intereſt of his wife's relations; the name of *Conſtantine*, infinitely reverenced in *Britain*; and the hopes of ſeeing in young *Victor*, the ſon of *Maximus* by *Helena*, a prince of *Britiſh* blood, once more upon the throne of the empire, were conſiderations too flattering and powerful for the *Britains* to reſiſt: and they readily embarked in his cauſe, as ſoon as the army had declared him Emperor.

Maximus knew himſelf ſtill too weak to maintain his uſurpation, unleſs he could draw over ſome other *Roman* armies to join him: and without loſs of time, aſſembling all the braveſt of the *Britiſh* youth (which their writers ſwell up to an incredible number) tranſported them with the *Roman* forces to *Gaule*; where landing at the mouth of the *Rhine*, he was ſoon joined by the legions quartered in that neighbourhood, and by thoſe of *Germany*. *Gratian* marched againſt him with a ſtrong army; but being betrayed by his Generals, and deſerted by his troops, fled towards *Lyon*, and was killed near that place, on *Auguſt* 25, *A. D.* 383; by *Andragathius*. *Maximus*, by his death, remained abſolute maſter of *Gratian's* ſhare of
A. D. 387. the empire: but not content with it, drove, in *Auguſt A. D.* 387, *Valentinian* II. out of *Italy*; which, though it ſeemed to raiſe his power, as it did his inſolence, haſtened his ruin. *Theodoſius*, not intimidated by the menaces of *Maximus*, advanced againſt him with an army of veterans, uſed under his own conduct to victory; routed the uſurper's forces in two battles: and having taken him near *Aquileia*, in *Auguſt*, *A. D.* 388; put him to death, after five years poſſeſſion of the imperial dignity. It was during his ſtay at *Aquileia*, that *Theodoſius* publiſhed that famous law [2], by which he declared all the acts done, the edicts paſſed, and the honours conferred by the late uſurper to be null and invalid; ordering every thing to return to its former ſtate, and every perſon to his former condition: which was followed ſoon after by another of *Valentinian's* to the ſame effect; and by a third, in the beginning of the year following. The moderation and regard to juſtice, that appeared in the conduct of *Theodoſius*, after theſe victories; which the *Romans* thought ſo glorious, as to inſtitute an anniverſary feſtival to celebrate their memory, were every way worthy of his magnanimity; for he not only reſtored *Valentinian* to his former dominions, but gave him likewiſe thoſe of *Gratian*. *Andragathius* was with a fleet in the *Mediterranean*, when he heard the news of theſe events: and ſeeing his condition deſperate, threw himſelf over-board. *Victor*, who had been declared *Cæſar*, and left in *Gaule*, was taken, and put to death by *Arbogaſtes:* and the *Britiſh* forces there kept for the guard of his perſon, and ſecurity of the country, not able to return home for want of ſhipping, retired into the extremeſt province of it towards the weſt; perhaps at firſt in hopes of getting a paſſage to *Britain*; but either finding ſome of their countrymen already there, or ſeeing

[1] *Mona Antiq.* p. 166, 167, &c. [2] *Kal. Oct. dat. Aquileia*, l. vi. *De infirmandis quæ ſub Tyrannis.* And vi. *Id. Oct. Dat. Mediol.* l. vii. And viii. *eodem. Tit.* See *Cod. Theod.*

themſelves unmoleſted, whilſt all other parts of the Empire were invaded or over- *A. D.* 387.
run by innumerable multitudes of barbarians, they are ſaid to have fixed their ſeats in *Armorica*, where their poſterity hath ever ſince continued, and changed the old name of the province into that of *Bretagne*[1].

Britain, in the mean time, drained of the forces, which ſhould defend the *A. D.* 388.
country, and deprived of the fleet which uſed to guard the ſeas, was left expoſed to the invaſion and depredations of foreign nations. The *Scots* of *Ireland* did not fail to lay hold on the opportunity; for it was in this year that St. *Patrick*, in the ſixteenth of his age, was taken captive, with about an hundred perſons more, by a party of them, that landed not far from *Arcluyd* or *Dunbritton*, among the *Strathcluyd Britains* in the province of *Valentia:* but as theſe incurſions were made only by ſome particular *ſepts*, or parties of rovers, with no view but of plunder, they ſeem to have done no great miſchief. *Chryſantus* too was probably ſent over at this time, as Vicar-general or deputy of *Britain*; it not being eaſy to aſſign any other juncture, in which *Theodoſius* (in whoſe court he had been bred up) ſhould offer to intermeddle in ordering the affairs of the weſtern Empire[2]. There is little doubt to be made, but he put an effectual ſtop to the depredations of the *Scots*; ſince otherwiſe he could hardly have attained to that height of glory, which he acquired by his adminiſtration of affairs in this iſland. But this quiet ſeems to have laſted no longer than the life of *Theodoſius:* who, upon the death of *Valentinian* II. (who was murdered by *Arbogaſtes May* 15, *A. D.* 392) and his victory over the uſurper *Eugenius*, became ſole maſter of the Empire; and died full of glory, at *Milan*, on *January* 17, *A. D.* 395, leaving his ſon *Honorius*, a minor, to ſucceed him in the Empire of the Weſt, and the affairs thereof under the care and management of *Stilico*. This young prince was but ten years of age, when he came *A. D.* 395.
to the throne, at a time when the *Roman* affairs were in ſuch diſtreſs, that the wiſeſt and greateſt of their Emperors would ſcarce have been able to make head againſt the infinite numbers of enemies; which, ſurrounding the Empire on all ſides, were ready to invade it upon the firſt favourable opportunity. This being offered by the minority of *Honorius*, *Neil Nao-gaillac*, the chief of the *Iriſh* monarchs, raiſed all the power of *Ireland* to fall upon *Britain:* and ſeems to have choſen to attack that part of it, which was moſt defenceleſs, and ſo well affected always to the *Roman* government, that it needed no garriſon to keep it in due obedience. Such was the condition of what is now called the *Weſt* of *England*; nor could he well land in any other quarter, if what the author of one of the lives of St. *Patrick* ſays be true, that he ravaged the country as far as the ſea coaſt, which lies oppoſite to *Gaule*. But wherever he made his deſcent, or ranged afterwards, he was, before *A. D.* 399, by the forces which *Stilico*[3] ſent to oppoſe him and the *Picts*, who made incurſions likewiſe into the northern parts of *Britain*, forced in a little time to quit the country: and the other invaders, whether *Picts* or *Saxons*, were ſo roughly handled by the legion then ſent over, that *Britain* was for ſome time free from their depredations, and the inhabitants lived in perfect ſecurity.

In this tranquillity they remained till *A. D.* 403; when *Alaric*, with a mighty *A. D.* 403.
army of *Goths*, invading *Italy*, and threatning *Rome* itſelf, *Stilico* was forced to get

[1] This is related purely upon the credit of the ancient *Britiſh* writers, for no *Greek* or *Latin* author takes notice of this retreat of the remains of *Maximus's* army to *Armorica*; however, as ſeveral ſtates of *Gaule*, caſting off their dependence on the *Roman* Empire, ſet up for themſelves about this time; and it was natural for the remains of the *Britiſh* youth to retire to a country, with which they had in all ages held a continual commerce; and where, in the diſtreſſes of the Empire, they might naturally expect protection, the ſilence of thoſe authors, in that point, doth not appear ſufficient to warrant a rejecting the teſtimony of the *Britiſh*; eſpecially ſince one of theſe, *Lhowarch Hen*, prince of *Cumberland*, lived within 150 years of the time of this ſettlement of his countrymen in the *Armorican Bretagne*.

[2] *Socrat. Hiſt. Eccl.* l. vii. c. 12.

[3] *Claudian de laud. Stilicon.* l. ii. *& in Eut.* l. i.

A. D. 403. together all the forces he could from every quarter of the Empire, and to recal from [1] *Britain* the legion that ſerved to guard the northern borders from the *Picts*, and the eaſtern coaſt againſt the *Saxons*; in order to make up an army able to fight that dangerous enemy, whom he routed at *Pollentia* in *Piedmont*.

This weakning of the *Roman* forces in *Britain*, tempted the *Picts* on the northern borders to make ſome inroads into the province of *Valentia*, which was then left expoſed; and encouraged the *Scots* to make deſcents on the coaſt, for the ſake of plunder and captives, which they carried off to *Ireland* from time to time: but theſe piratical incurſions, ſudden, tranſitory, and difficult to be prevented, though they were very grievous to ſome particulars, do not ſeem to have affected the country in general. The ſeditious humour of the *Roman* ſoldiers, and the ſpirit of rebellion and uſurpation, which ſtill infected them, notwithſtanding the miſerable ends which had ever attended thoſe whom they advanced to the purple, was of much greater conſequence: and proved in the event fatal to the *Britains*, and the
A. D. 407. utter ruin of their country. They ſet up, in *A. D.* 407, one [2] *Marcas* for Emperor; but growing ſoon weary of the man, put him to death; and advanced in his ſtead one *Gratian*; who ſeems, by his *cognomen* of *Municeps*, to have been a citizen of one of the *Municipia* in *Britain*. This creature of theirs did not continue in their good graces above four months; when he underwent the ſame fate as his predeceſſor: and they ſet up *Conſtantine*, a man of low rank, for the ſake of his name; which was exceeding popular in this iſland. This uſurper, either more enterprizing than the others, or in hopes of avoiding their fate by employing the ſoldiery, and of ſtrengthening his party by gaining the *Roman* forces on the continent, reſolved to paſs over the ſea into *Gaule*, with all the forces he could raiſe in *Britain*: and landing at *Boulogne*, was acknowledged by all the *Roman* armies on this ſide the *Alpes*. *Stilico* ſent *Sarus* with a good body of troops to recover *Gaule*; who had at firſt ſome ſucceſs, routing *Conſtantine's* army, and purſuing him to *Valence* in *Dauphiné*, which he inveſted: but the ſiege was ſoon raiſed, upon the ap-
A. D. 408. proach of *Edobechus*, a *Frank*, and *Gerontius*, a *Britain*, two experienced generals; and *Sarus* being obliged to retire, was forced to purchaſe of the *Bagrudæ*, a paſſage through the *Alpes* to *Italy*.

Constantine having thus eſtabliſhed his power in *Gaule*, created his [3] eldeſt ſon *Conſtans*, *Cæſar*, and ſent him to reduce *Spaine*: which generally following the fate of *Gaule*, and being entirely deſtitute of forces for its defence, was eaſily reduced. *Didymus* and *Verinianus*, relations of *Honorius*, made ſome head againſt him in *Luſitania*; and gathering a number of peaſants and ſlaves together, cut off ſome of his men: but freſh ſupplies coming to the enemy, they were defeated and taken priſoners; the whole country ſubmitting without any further oppoſition. *Conſtans* thereupon returned to his father, having left a party of his men to guard the paſſes of the *Pyrenees*, which had been ever before entruſted to the *Spaniards* themſelves: who now deſired the ſame commiſſion, but were flatly refuſed; the uſurper not caring to truſt the natives with the defence of their own country. This proved ſoon after of very bad conſequence; for *Conſtans's* mercenaries, either negligent of their charge, or flying from it upon the decline of *Conſtantine's* affairs, left the paſſes open to the *Vandals*, *Suevi*, and *Alani*: who ſeizing them, did infinite miſchief to the inhabitants of the neighbouring provinces, ravaging both *Gaule* and *Spaine* at their pleaſure.

Fortune had hitherto favoured the uſurper in all his enterprizes; and flattering him with the hopes of further conqueſts, made him forget the ſervices of thoſe, to whom what he had already made were chiefly owing: but ſhe raiſed him only

[1] *Claudian. de bello Getico.* [2] *Zoſim.* l. vi. initio. [3] *Sozomen.* l. ix. c. 11, 12, 13, 14.

to cruſh him with the greater ruin, by thoſe very hands which had contributed moſt to his advancement and ſucceſs. He had drawn *Alavichus*, the chief General of *Honorius*, into a plot for betraying his maſter, and giving up the reſt of the weſtern Empire; he had, in confidence thereof, advanced with an army as far as *Verona* in *Italy*: but the conſpiracy being diſcovered, and *Alavichus* killed, he returned back into *Gaule* with great precipitation, and ſuch a loſs of reputation, as paved the way for his utter deſtruction. When he ſet out on his *Italian* expedition, he had ſent his ſon *Conſtans* back again to *Spaine*, with *Juſtus*, an officer in whom he confided, to take upon him the command of the forces in that country; which diſobliged *Gerontius*, the ableſt of his Generals, who had hitherto been poſſeſſed of that command. Enraged at this affront, *Gerontius* ſet up *Maximus*, a relation of his own, for Emperor: and leaving him at *Tarragona* with the ſoldiers he had engaged in his party, put himſelf at the head of a body of the barbarians that hovered about the *Pyrenees*, and marched againſt *Conſtantine*, whoſe ſon *Conſtans* he ſlew in his way, at *Vienne*. *Conſtantine* ſhut himſelf up in *Arles*, in hopes of being relieved by the *Franks* and *Alemanni*, whom he was ſolliciting for ſuccours; and was there inveſted by *Gerontius*: but *Conſtantius*, the father of *Valentinian*, who was afterwards Emperor, coming up with *Honorius's* army, moſt of *Gerontius's* troops deſerted. This forced him to fly with a ſmall number of *Spaniſh* ſoldiers: who deſpiſing him on this diſaſter, reſolved to take away his life; and attacking the houſe where he lay, reduced him to the neceſſity of killing himſelf. *Conſtantine* did not long ſurvive him; for the army of *Germans*, which *Edovicus* brought to his relief, being routed by *Conſtantius*, he quitted the purple, and got himſelf ordained prieſt, in hopes of ſaving his life by that expedient: but it did not anſwer his purpoſe; for *Conſtantius* ſending him, with his ſon *Julian*, to *Honorius*, he was put to death on the road to *Italy*[1]. His head was brought to the Emperor on *September* 18, *A. D.* 411: and *Maximus* ſoon after meeting with the ſame fate, *Gaule* and *Spaine* were recovered to the Empire. *A. D.* 408. *A. D.* 411.

It was during this rebellion, that, *Zoſimus* ſays, the defection of *Britain* and *Armorica* happened; ſeveral other provinces of *Gaule* following their example. The greateſt part of *Conſtantine's* army had been ſent with his ſon to *Spaine*; and when the uſurper ſubmitted, made the beſt of their way to their countrymen in *Armorica*: where, joining with thoſe that had formerly retired thither, they found themſelves ſtrong enough to ſet up an independent government; which they eaſily maintained at a time, when nothing but confuſion reigned in the Empire. All the *Roman* forces had been carried out of *Britain*; ſo that (as the ſame author ſays) the *Britains* were forced to take arms themſelves to defend the country againſt their enemies: and notwithſtanding they were, in a manner, exhauſted by the repeated levies of vaſt numbers of their braveſt youth, which had been carried into foreign parts, and never returned again, they did it for ſome time with good ſucceſs, and put a ſtop to the incurſions and depredations of the barbarians, who had been encouraged by *Conſtantine's* uſurpation to renew their hoſtilities. [2] *Sabellicus* ſays, that after the taking of *Rome* by *Alaric*, and the death of *Conſtantine*, *Honorius* recovered *Britain*, and reannexed it to the Empire: nor is it unlikely, conſidering that this iſland generally followed the fate of *Gaule*, and the affairs of the *Romans* were in a proſperous condition in that country, eſpecially after *A. D.* 414, when the *Goths* were driven thence by *Conſtantius*. This great man, by his valour and good conduct, ſupported the reputation of the Empire as long as he lived; but he dying in *September*, *A. D.* 421, the *Romans*, who were ſettled in this iſland, deſpairing

[1] *Cod. Theod. Chronol.* T. i. p. 157. *Idacius in Conſul. & Chron.* [2] *Ennead.* 8. l. i. *Uſher's Antiq. Brit.* p. 313.

probably

A. D. 421. probably, upon that occaſion, of any further care being taken of its defence, buried moſt of their treaſures under ground, and removed hence to the continent. The *Saxon Chronicle* places their departure three years earlier; but this is owing to the miſtake of the compilers about the beginning of the *Chriſtian* æra, which makes them advance the death of St. *Alban* and the council of *Arles* in the ſame manner.

A. D. 423. Honorius dying in *Auguſt*, *A. D.* 423, was ſucceeded by his nephew *Valentinian* III. in whoſe time the *Picts* and *Scots* [1], who before only uſed to make incurſions into *Britain*, in a way of piracy, and with a view of rapine, made a league together, in order to fix ſettlements, and make a conqueſt of the country. There was no garriſon at this time in *Britain*; ſo that the ſuccours which (*Sigebertus Gemblacenſis* ſays) *Honorius* had ſent over thither the year before his death, at the ſame time that he ſent others to *Spaine* againſt the *Vandali*, had been recalled before this confederacy. The invaſion, which was the conſequence thereof, doth not ſeem to be made ſo early in *Valentinian's* reign, as is gene-

A. D. 432. rally imagined; for (*Sabellicus* ſays that) *Ætius* was then in *Gaule*, and, upon application made to him for ſuccours by the *Britains*, who were unable to make head againſt the numerous forces of the enemy, he ſent [2] a legion to their aſſiſtance, for fear thoſe two warlike nations ſhould make a conqueſt of the iſland, and be enabled by that acquiſition to diſtreſs the affairs of the Empire. The *Britains* did as yet profeſs ſubjection to the imperial authority; and this legion, which routed the *Picts* and *Scots* in ſeveral engagements, and drove them entirely out of the country, reſtored the quiet of the inhabitants; who enjoyed a longer ſeaſon of peace, than they had done ſome years before, in virtue of the protection which they received from this garriſon of a ſingle legion. The phraſe here made uſe of ſhews it ſtaid ſome time in this iſland; though it doth not appear how long that ſtay was, nor when the legion was recalled: and the

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Felix* had the chief command, and was *Magiſter Militum* in *Gaule*, preſently after *Valentinian's* acceſſion to the Empire; whilſt *Ætius* took part with the uſurper *John*, and was in *Pannonia*, ſolliciting the *Huns* to eſpouſe his party. *Felix* continued in that dignity till his death, which happened *A. D.* 430, at *Ravenna*; upon which *Ætius* ſucceeded him in that command, and came ſoon after, perhaps the year following, into *Gaule*; that being the time, which *Idacius*, who was with him as an embaſſador in the expedition, fixeth for the recovery of what the *Franks* had ſeized in that country about *Cologne*. *Gaule* being thus cleared of the enemies, which attacked it on the ſide of the *Rhine*, the ſucceeding year, *A. D.* 432, ſeems to be a proper ſeaſon for *Ætius's* allowing the legion mentioned by *Sabellicus*, to paſs over and continue ſome time in *Britain*. *Blondus* (*Dec.* 1. l. ii.) agrees with *Sabellicus* in this account, and particularly in the legion's ſecuring *Britain*, *quam diu affuit*, "during "its ſtay in the country;' but both of them ſay, "it was recalled, when the *Burgundians* ſeemed to "prepare for new diſturbances; upon which the "*Scots* and *Picts* made freſh incurſions over *Bri-* "*tain*, and *Valentinian* ſent *Gallio Ravennas* thi- "ther, with the legion which *Ætius* had quar- "tered in the garriſons of *Paris*, *Sens*, and *Orleans*." This ſupply animating the *Britiſh* chieftains, they drove the enemy out of their country, but *Gallio* was ſoon recalled, in order to be ſent againſt *Boniface* in *Africa*, where he was ſlain not long after his landing. Theſe circumſtances allow very little time for the ſtay of the firſt legion in *Britain*, and ſeem to fix the ſending of the ſecond to *A. D.* 426. becauſe *Proſper*, in his *Chronicle*, placeth the war begun at the inſtigation of *Felix* againſt *Boniface*, and the death of *Gallio*, in *A. D.* 427, when *Hierius* and *Ardabures* were conſuls. Were it not for this authority, I ſhould think *Ætius's* ſending over a legion ought to be poſtponed, till he came to have the ſupreme command in *Gaule*, becauſe till that time the application for ſuccours would naturally be made to *Felix*, and not (as *Sabellicus* repreſents it) to *Ætius* himſelf. But if *Gallio* was killed *A. D.* 427, in *Africa*, his expedition to *Britain* with the ſecond legion muſt be placed in the precedent year, *A. D.* 426, and then the legion ſent over before muſt arrive there *A. D.* 425, the firſt moment of time in which it was poſſible for *Ætius* to ſend ſuch a ſuccour. This great man was born about *A. D.* 396, and was an hoſtage among the *Huns*, from *A. D.* 411, to 415. He took part with the uſurper *John*, in *A. D.* 423, and was ſent by him into *Pannonia* the year following; but returned thence *A. D.* 425. and having, upon *John's* death in *July*, ſent back the *Huns*, and made his peace with *Valentinian*, was afterwards employed againſt the *Goths*, who were beſieging *Arles*. He raiſed the ſiege indeed, routed the enemy, and took their chieftain *Anaolph* priſoner; but as this muſt take up the reſt of ſummer, there ſeems little reaſon to think he ſhould be able to ſpare a legion at that time for the ſervice of *Britain*.

application being made to *Gaule*, and not to *Rome*, for ſuccours, looks as if it was to oppoſe a different invaſion from thoſe mentioned by *Bede* and *Gildas*[1].

These two authors tell us, that the *Britains*, being haraſſed by the incurſions of the *Picts* from the north, and of the *Scots* from *Ireland*, ſent to *Rome* for aſſiſtance; with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their continuing ever ſubject to the Empire, if they might be ſecured from their enemies. A legion, not concerned in any of the late ſeditions, was ſent them, well provided with arms: which engaging with the barbarians, ſlew a great multitude of them; and drove the reſt, not only out of the provinces, but beyond the lands of the *Britains*, who, dwelling beyond the wall of *Severus*, were conſidered as allies; reſcuing the captives which had been taken. As ſoon as the *Romans* had thus done the ſervice for which they came, they returned home in triumph; having firſt adviſed the *Britains* to rebuild the wall of *Antoninus* between the friths of *Forth* and *Clyd*, for thither (*Bede*[2] aſſures us) the *Roman* dominion extended; though the *Romans* themſelves lived only on the ſouth of that of *Severus*, all the country between the two walls being inhabited entirely by the *Britains*. We ſee on this occaſion, how ill qualified the *Britains* were to defend their country; and we need not wonder at the advantages which their enemies had over them, when the natives did not underſtand either how to make arms, or to erect a fortification. This was the effect, as well of a military government; which, out of a jealouſy of the ſubject, did not care that any body ſhould be uſed to arms, or ſkilled in what might be of ſervice in war, but their own mercenaries; as of the *Roman* policy, which had particular colleges of men, to whom the fabrick of arms was appropriated, and took care to have artificers and workmen of all kinds among the ſoldiers of their legions.

The *Britains* repaired the wall, as they built their own cabbins, with ſods and turf, for want of workmen that underſtood how to build with ſtone; ſo that it proved a very weak defence, eſpecially when the defendants were liable to be attacked behind as well as before, upon the enemy's paſſing the *Friths* in their boats and curroghs. The *Scots* and *Picts*, having ſurmounted this obſtacle to their incurſions, over-ran the country, deſtroying all before them, and ſtill advancing forwards, till the *Britains* applied again by their embaſſadors to *Rome* for ſuccours, and procured another legion to be ſent to their aſſiſtance. This coming over with wonderful expedition, arrived in the autumn, ſo unexpectedly, that they ſurprized the enemy as they were ſcattered about the country, pillaging as uſual in great ſecurity, without any notion of being oppoſed: and making a terrible ſlaughter among them, drove the few that eſcaped beyond the *Friths*, to the retreats where they uſed to lay up their annual booties. The *Romans* thereupon told the *Britains*, that they could not be continually coming over ſea and land on ſuch fatiguing expeditions, to oppoſe a rabble of pilfering rovers; and therefore they ſhould take arms themſelves for the defence of their lives, liberties, and country; the enemy having no advantage over them in point of force, but what was owing purely to their own inactivity. To do them ſtill another ſervice before their departure, they directed and aſſiſted the natives in repairing the wall of *Severus*, which was built of ſtone, and lined with cities all the way between ſea and ſea; which the enemy could not ſo eaſily paſs, as they did the *Friths*, to attack them behind. They erected likewiſe on the coaſt of the ocean, to the ſouth of the wall, ſeveral exploratory turrets, affording a large proſpect of the ſea, at proper diſtances from each other; and leaving the *Britains* ſamples of arms, with inſtructions how to make them for their defence, quitted the iſland with a fixed reſolution of never returning any more to *Britain*.

[1] *Hiſt. Eccl.* l. i. c. 11. [2] *Ib.* c. 10.

A GENERAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK III.

Containing an Account of Tranſactions, from the Arrival of the *Saxons* in BRITAIN, to the End of the Heptarchy.

A. D. 448.

State of *Britain*, after the *Romans* quitted it.

I. THE time of the *Romans* quitting *Britain* is not ſo well aſcertained, as the year of the laſt application, which the *Britains* made to *Ætius* for ſuccours againſt the *Picts* and *Scots*, who were ravaging their country. The [1] melancholy letter, repreſenting the miſeries which they ſuffered, and the terrible extremity to which they were reduced, and addreſſed to him on that occaſion, proves indiſputably that it was *A. D.* 448, when that General was for the third time conſul with *Symmachus*. *Attila* with an infinite number of *Hunns*, and other barbarous people, whom he had reduced and united under his command, was at that time meditating an invaſion of the *Roman* Empire; reſolving to begin with *Pannonia*, and threatning to over-run *Gaule*, and all the weſtern provinces, that as yet acknowledged the imperial authority. All the forces of the Empire were too weak to oppoſe ſo formidable an enemy: and *Ætius* had need of all his art and credit to engage the *Viſigoths* and *Franks* to join their forces to thoſe of the *Romans*; in order to make head in the field againſt an army, which ſeemed to vye with that of *Xerxes* in number, and was ready to involve them all in a common deſtruction. The event indeed proved at laſt infinitely glorious to *Ætius*: but till the danger was over, and the ſtorm, then gathering, diſpelled, it was impracticable for him to ſpare any body of troops for the relief of *Britain*; the inhabitants whereof, untrained to war, and without either arms or ſkill to uſe them, were thereby left in a defenceleſs condition, to provide, as well as they could of

[1] *Bede in Chron.. Gildas*, n. 17.

themſelves,

themſelves, for their own ſafety. We may however obſerve in them, under theſe diſtreſſed circumſtances, a very different conduct from what appeared, about the ſame time, in the behaviour of all other nations, from one end of the Empire to the other, in the like ſituation. The *Roman* policy not allowing their ordinary ſubjects to be inſtructed in the uſe of arms and diſcipline of war, the ſole ſupport of the government reſted in the legions: and when theſe were either withdrawn or broken, all the provinces of the Empire lay expoſed an eaſy prey to the firſt invader. Hence it was, that the *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Alans*, *Franks*, and other barbarous nations, when they fell upon any province, whilſt the legions were employed elſewhere at a diſtance, never met with any oppoſition from the inhabitants: and had little more to do than to take poſſeſſion of the country. Thus were all other *European* nations, that had been ſubject to the *Romans*, ſubdued in a moment; whilſt the *Britains* alone ſtood up manfully in defence of their country: and though they were conquered at laſt, it was not without much difficulty, a great length of time, and more frequent and bloody battles, than were fought by any other people without foreign aſſiſtance. *A. D.* 448.

The enemies, which now invaded them, were the *Picts* and *Scots*; the ſame nations that had by concert been haraſſing them for near a century before; but who were now grown more formidable than ever, and more able to do them miſchief. The confederacy between them ſeems to have been made about *A. D.* 360, in the reign of *Neil Naegaillac*, the chief monarch of *Ireland*; in whoſe time, *Giraldus Cambrenſis*[1] ſays, ſix ſons of *Mured*, king of *Ulſter*, came from that country with a large fleet to the north parts of *Britain*, and ſettled there with the *Scots*, who followed them in the expedition. *Uſher*[2] is clearly of opinion, that *Reuda*, from whom this colony took the name of *Dalreudini*[3], was one, probably the eldeſt, of theſe ſons of *Mured*; and that this ſettlement was made in the time aſſigned for it in the *Tripartite*, or fourth *life* of St. *Patrick*. The parts of *Scotland*, wherein they ſettled, are univerſally agreed to be *Cantire*, *Knapdale*, *Lorn*, and *Argile*, on the weſtern coaſt of that country, and to the north of the *Frith* of *Cluyd*, and the caſtle of *Dunbritton*. This was the ſtrongeſt fortreſs of the *Strath-Cluyd Britains*; and as it lay on the northern extremity of their kingdom, the lands about it were not tilled: nor had the inhabitants any fixed habitation, but lived like *Nemetes* or *Nomades*, in tents or ſlight huts; attending their cattle whilſt they grazed, and driving them from place to place for the convenience of paſture. This appears evidently from the concurrent teſtimony of all the ancient writers of the life of St. *Patrick*, who was taken, when a boy at *Nem-thor*, in this country of the *Nemetes* (or of *tents*, as it was otherwiſe called) by the *Scots*, and ſold to an *Iriſh* chieftain in *Ulſter*. The borders of adjoining nations, living always in a ſtate either of unſettled peace, or of open war with one another, are never well cultivated, and are for the moſt part but thinly inhabited; ſo that it coſt the *Picts* little to allow the *Scots* a ſettlement in thoſe parts, when they came to aſſiſt them againſt their common enemy. This was an uſual practice, in thoſe ages, over all the world: and was continued between the inhabitants of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, ſo low down as the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; as *Camden* obſerves in his account of the *Clan-Donells* in the county of *Mayo*.

This *Dalreudian* colony was ſtrengthened, from time to time, by new ſupplies of *Scots* from *Ireland*; as the occaſions of war, or hopes of plunder invited them over: and the ſea between the two countries being paſſable for their ſmall boats, or *Curroghs*, only in ſome favourable ſeaſons or days in the year, great numbers of them muſt frequently winter, and came afterwards to ſettle entirely in *Scotland*.

[1] *Top. Hibern. Diſt.* iii. c. 16. [2] *Antiq. Brit.* p. 306. [3] *Bed. Hiſt. Eccl.* l. i. c. 1.

Theſe

A. D. 448. Theſe coming over at firſt under ſix independent chieftains, and in proceſs of time under ſeveral others of the like little potentates, ſeem to have fought under the banner of the *Picts*, and to have been frequently confounded with them by ancient writers: and being generally of the race of the *Crutheni* or *Cruitneach* [1], who inhabited *Claneboy*, might very juſtly deſerve the name of *Picts*, as well becauſe the *Iriſh* word *Cruitneach* hath the ſame ſignification, as becauſe they marked by inciſion on their bodies, thoſe figures, which the *Old Britains* generally drew on theirs by painting. This confuſion of the names of theſe different people laſted till *A. D.* 503; when [2] *Fergus*, ſon of *Erc*, bringing with him a very powerful body of *Ulſter Scots*, came over and ſettled in *Argileſhire* and *Braid Albin*. This prince, much over-topping the other *Scotch* chieftains in power, and arriving in a time, when jealouſies were ariſen, and a war going to commence between the *Albany-Scots* and *Picts* (a juncture which, rendering his aſſiſtance neceſſary to the former, and obliging them to compliment him with the chief command of all their united forces, was very favourable to his ambition) found himſelf, in a few years, enabled by his ſucceſs, to aſſume the title of King, and to lay the foundation of that monarchy; which, having flouriſhed for 300 years in thoſe parts, extended itſelf afterwards over the reſt of *North-Britain*, and cauſed it to be diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Scotland*. It is perhaps needleſs to obſerve, that theſe *Scotch* colonies, being bounded on the weſt by the ocean, and on the ſouth by the *Strath-Cluyd Britains*, whoſe kingdom ſubſiſted till after that of the *Picts* was deſtroyed, could only enlarge their ſettlements towards the eaſt and north, in proportion as the *Picts* quitted thoſe parts; till at length they poſſeſſed all the country, which lay between the eaſtern and northern ridges of the *Grampian* mountains, and the ocean.

The *Picts* naturally retired from thoſe barren parts, as they gained ground in a richer country; which they were enabled to do after *A. D.* 360; when they firſt entered into a confederacy with the *Scots* of *Ireland*, and found the benefit of their aſſiſtance. This was an alliance ſo very convenient for both people, and ſo proper to gratify, as well the animoſity of the one againſt the *Romans*, as the plundering and roving humour of the others, that it would undoubtedly have been made ſome ages before, had the *Scots* been ſettled in that iſland earlier than the time aſſigned for it, in the reign of *Conſtantine the Great*. The *Picts*, encouraged by the ſuccours of theſe new allies, were ever after in a ſtate of war with the *Romans*, and the *Britains* who lived under their dominion or protection, between the walls of *Antoninus* and *Severus*; falling upon their territories, and haraſſing them with continual hoſtilities: till at laſt, about *A. D.* 432 (for [3] *Bede* placeth it after the thirty-fourth year of the age of the Emperor *Theodoſius* II. and the eighth of the reign of *Valentinian* III. when *Palladius* was ſent to convert *Ireland*) upon hearing that the *Romans* had reſolved to ſend no more ſuccours to *Britain*, they left off the practice of carrying home the booty, which they had got in their incurſions, and took poſſeſſion of all the eaſtern part of the country that lay between the two walls; ſettling themſelves with their families in *Lothian* and *Northumberland*. Theſe wars, and the progreſs which the *Picts* were daily making, gave occaſion to two very conſiderable alterations in the ſtate of their country, and the nature of their conſtitution.

It hath been already obſerved from *Dio*, that the *Picts*, the *Mæatæ*, as well as the *Caledonians*, were, in the beginning of the third century, ſubject to no common head; but lived after the primitive manner of all the northern nations, in ſeparate clans, under the command of their particular chieftains, ſucceeding lineally to that

[1] So called from *Cruith*, *figura*, *Antiq. Brit.* p. 301. [2] *Ib.* 319, &c. [3] *In Chron. & Hiſt. Eccl.* l. i. c. 12, 13.

authority, which the firſt progenitor of a family enjoyed, by the law of nature, over the ſeveral branches thereof, and tranſmitted to his poſterity, according to the courſe of nature, in the order of their reſpective lines and deſcent. The long ſeries of peace and tranquillity, which reigned in thoſe northern parts of *Britain*, from the time of *Dio* to *A. D.* 360, afforded no occaſion for any change in this part of their conſtitution during that interval: but afterwards, when the *Picts*, ſtrengthened by the ſuccours of the *Scots*, and emboldened by the decay of the *Roman* power, entertained views of conqueſt, and embarked in continual wars to extend their territories, a General in chief became abſolutely neceſſary. This charge naturally devolved upon the moſt conſiderable of thoſe chieftains; who, living neareſt the enemy, had the greateſt experience and ſkill in military affairs, and were the moſt intereſted in the event of the war: and the powers annexed to it, of diſtributing the conquered lands among his followers; the benefits which theſe received; and the credit and glory which redounded to the chief commander from his ſucceſs; with the increaſe of force, and the enlargement of territory, which of courſe accrued to him from his conqueſts, ſoon enabled him to advance that command, which, in its original, ſeemed to be temporary with regard to all but his own clan, into an hereditary royalty, deſcending lineally to his children, like the ſovereignty of the clan, of which he was the particular chieftain. Thus is it that the kingdom of the *Franks* in *Gaule*, the *Gothic* kingdoms in various parts of *Europe*, and thoſe of the *Saxon Heptarchy* in *England* were formed: and thus I conceive the kingdom of the *Picts* was founded, ſoon after *A. D.* 360, in proportion as they gained ground in the *Roman* territories. Hence, whatever genealogies are produced of a race or ſeries of princes antecedent to that time, I look upon them only as particular enumerations of the firſt king's anceſtors, as merely chieftains of that clan, which he had a natural right to command, and not as monarchs, ruling over various clans and nations united under their government, in which laſt ſenſe the ſtyle of *king* is now generally underſtood. As the lands conquered by the *Pictiſh* kings were of too large extent to be occupied and cultivated only by thoſe of their particular clan, great quantities thereof muſt neceſſarily be diſtributed to other adventurers: and both theſe ſorts of vaſſals being blended together, ſo as, after a few generations, to be no longer diſtinguiſhable from one another, they became equally obliged to pay to their common ſovereign that obedience, which his own clan was always obliged to by the law of nature. Hence, in all appearance, aroſe that maxim of the law of *England*, as well as *Scotland*, ſo much inſiſted on in *Calvin's* caſe, that there is a *natural allegiance due to the perſon of a king, ſucceeding lineally to the crown, by inherent birth-right, and proximity of blood.* Hence likewiſe, as acceſſories adopt the nature of the principal, and become ſubject, from the time of their coalition or incorporation, to the ſame incidents and modes of conveyance and deſcent, the *Pictiſh* kings came to have the ſame authority over their acquired and adopted vaſſals, as they had before enjoyed over their natural ones: and the crown, with all its rights and prerogatives, deſcended lineally to their children in the ſame regular manner, and the ſame natural order, as the headſhip of their particular *clan* had ever uſed to deſcend. *A. D.* 448.

Whatever rights accrued to them by their conqueſts over the *Britains*, it cannot be ſuppoſed that thoſe victorious monarchs acquired any thereby over other clans, which had formerly been independent, and whoſe chieftains did not ſubmit to take any ſhare of the conquered lands, to be held on the uſual conditions of vaſſalage. But whether by the younger branches of a chieftain's family taking grants of ſuch lands, and ſucceeding afterwards, on the extinction of the elder lines, to the headſhip of the *clan*; or by the neceſſity of leſſer chieftains having recourſe, in

A. D. 448. times of diſtreſs, to a greater power for ſupport and protection; or by the influence, terror, and force, which a potent monarch may think proper to employ on occaſion for the aggrandizing of himſelf; whether it was by theſe, or any other means, that the *Pictiſh* kings came to gain their ends, they drew by degrees all the reſt of the clans into the like ſubjection; in conſequence whereof the right, they ſtill retained, of meeting in a general council was exerciſed afterwards in ſubordination to their monarchs. This however was a work of time: and I am apt to think, that the clans of the *northern Picts*, inhabiting the countries which lay north of the *Grampian* hills, in the extremity of *Scotland*, preſerved their independency for above an hundred years[1] after thoſe of the *ſouthern Picts* had given up theirs; and that it was for this reaſon they did not receive the *Chriſtian* religion, till more than 150 years after the others. It was the latter only, that were concerned in the reducing of the *Britains*, that lived between the two walls, into ſubjection to the *Romans*; and ſo came to be involved immediately in all the conſequences of that conqueſt: one of which was the converſion of the *ſouthern Picts* to *Chriſtianity*.

This great change in the religion of that people was brought about by the means of St. *Ninian*, biſhop of the *Strath-Cluyd Britains*; whoſe epiſcopal ſee, at firſt, was *Glaſgow*, till he erected a new church at *Whithern*[2], and made it the ordinary place of his reſidence. All writers agree in fixing the time of this converſion to the reign of *Honorius*; when the *Roman* forces being drawn out of *Britain*, the *Picts* were enabled to over-run the country as far as the wall of *Severus*, and to become better acquainted with the religion of the inhabitants, than they had opportunities of being before, whilſt divided from them by the *Friths* of *Cluyd* and *Forth*, ſubject to a different government, and debarred all correſpondence with them, except in the way of hoſtilities, and during the hurry of their tranſitory incurſions and depredations. The learned *Uſher* particularly aſſigns *A. D.* 412, for this converſion; whereas St. *Columba*, the apoſtle of the *northern Picts*, did not come into *Britain*, in order to convert that nation, till *A. D.* 565. Both theſe changes, the one in the religion, the other in the government of the *ſouthern Picts*, were very favourable to their views of conqueſt; the former diſpoſing the *Britains*, who were already *Chriſtians*, to ſubmit the eaſier to their dominion; the latter uniting their own forces, and enabling them to exert their whole ſtrength, reinforced by that of their allies, under one and the ſame ſpirit of direction, in a more regular, conſtant, uniform, and effectual manner, than was poſſible to be done, whilſt the ſeveral clans or tribes of the nation remained in their original independency.

Whilst the *Picts* were thus better qualified, and more bent than ever, to make conqueſts in the country of the *Britains*, the latter were in a very ill condition to oppoſe their attempts. The *Romans* had left them forts enough for their ſecurity, where they might rendezvous in numbers, and be ready to cut off the ſtraggling parties of the enemy, as opportunities offered; but it was incompatible with their humour, to fill them with garriſons. The *Britains* were, in all ages, much fitter for an attack than defence; they could not bear to be cooped up within walls; they hated ſieges, and ſlighted all manner of fortifications; their woods ſerving them inſtead of caſtles, and moraſſes being the only entrenchments and ramparts to which they truſted. This humour, which was common to them with the *Iriſh*[3], and ſtill prevails among the Highlanders in *Scotland*, is the reaſon why their hiſtory is ſo full of the relation of battles, and

[1] They probably preſerved it ſome ages longer; for in the ninth century, the laws of *Kenneth Mac Alpine* treated the defaming of a chieftain of a clan with the ſame ſeverity, as the defaming of a king; cutting out the tongue being the puniſhment in both caſes. *Concil. Mag. Brit.* T. i. p. 179. [2] *Candida Caſa.* [3] *Gir. Cambr. Topogr. Hiberniæ*, c. 37.

ſcarce ever ſpeaks of ſieges. They were not only unexperienced in war, deſtitute of arms, ignorant as well of the fabrick as the uſe of weapons, but (what was ſtill worſe) divided among themſelves; without any common or regular chieftain eſtabliſhed among them, or any ſettled method of forming an union, ſo as to be able to act with a proper concert. By the *Romans* withdrawing their officers and forces, the uſual government of *Britain* was diſſolved; and the power of the nation naturally reverted to the heirs of the *Britiſh chieftains*, who had enjoyed it before the *Roman* conqueſt. It was difficult to diſtinguiſh theſe, at the diſtance of ſo many ages, as had paſſed ſince that conqueſt; at leaſt in the countries, where the *Roman* laws and cuſtoms had univerſally prevailed, and the *Britains* had lived intermixed and intermarrying with the *Romans*. The pretenſions of various perſons to the headſhip of particular clans and nations could not fail of producing inteſtine broils, and of opening a terrible ſcene of diſorder and confuſion; whilſt each powerful leader was more earneſt to make good his private claim, than to oppoſe the common enemy. It is not unlikely, but the old animoſity between the *Belgic* and the *ancient Britains* might revive in this ſtate of *anarchy*; and hinder them from taking meaſures in concert for their common defence: there will be ſoon occaſion to mention ſome paſſages, which favour this notion. The *Romans*, probably as ſoon as they had reduced the powerful kingdoms of the *Brigantes*, *Iceni*, and *Catuvellauni*, had taken care to extinguiſh the race of their princes, either by death, or by ſending them to *Rome* and the moſt diſtant parts of their Empire, in order to prevent all thoughts of inſurrections; which the *Britains* would not eaſily entertain, but under the direction of their natural chieftains. There was only one kingdom, of any conſiderable force, ſtill ſubſiſting among the old natives, *viz.* that of the *Strath-Cluyd Britains*, called generally the kingdom of *Cumbria*, after the inhabitants of *Cumberland* and *Weſtmorland* had, upon the *Romans* quitting the iſland, put themſelves under the protection of the princes of the race of *Coil*; who poſſeſſed not only that kingdom (which originally comprehended all the *weſtern Lowlands* of *Scotland*, from *Dunbritton* to *Carliſle*) but alſo the principality of *North-Wales*, called *Guynedh*, from *Cynedda*, grandſon to *Coil*; who, about this time, [1] drove out the *Iriſh*, that had, in the weakneſs of the *Roman* government, ſeized on the coaſts of *North-Wales*. Theſe territories, with the intermediate counties above-mentioned, being, at this time, united under the dominion of [2] *Eneon Urdd* (i. e. *the honourable*) ſon of *Cynedda*, a brave and warlike prince, formed a power too great for the enemy to attack with any hopes of ſucceſs: nor do any of our ancient writers ſpeak of any invaſion of thoſe parts, till this kingdom came, in conſequence of the *Britiſh* cuſtom of Gavelkind, to be ſplit into the principalities of *North-Wales*, *Cumberland*, and *Galloway*, under ſo many diſtinct chieftains, called indifferently either kings or princes. A. D. 448.

The reſt of *Britain*, rent by inteſtine factions, which employed their ſwords againſt one another, lay expoſed an eaſy prey to the incurſions of the *Picts* from the *North*, and [3] of the *Scots* from *Ireland*: who made ſuch terrible havock in the country, that the *Britains* flying to their foreſts, mountains, and marſhes for ſhelter, the ground remained untilled, and an horrible famine enſued. Taught, by ſad experience, the miſchiefs of diſunion, they made various eſſays to unite under a common chieftain; ſetting up ſeveral one after another, to whom *Gildas* gives the ſtyle of kings (though the *Britiſh* word *Rich* denotes a General, or any other Potentate, as well as a monarch) and chooſing them not ſo much for their goodneſs and virtue, as for their cruel (ſo perhaps he terms their warlike) diſpoſition. But the heat of parties, and the luſt of ſovereignty, baffled all theſe endeavours for an union:

[1] *Append.* 1. *ad Nennium.* [2] *Mona Antiq.* p. 146, &c. [3] *Gildas.*

ſcarce

A. D. 448. ſcarce was one advanced to the ſupreme command, but he was either aſſaſſinated or depoſed, to make way for another, who enjoyed his power for as ſhort a while as his predeceſſor; of ſo little weight are elections of rulers, in a country divided by factions. Forced at laſt by unavoidable neceſſity, the *Britains* ſallied out of their faſtneſſes, fell upon the invaders that were deſtroying their country, and routed them in ſeveral engagements; forcing the *Scots* to return to *Ireland*, whence they ſoon after renewed their incurſions, and the *Picts* to betake themſelves to their homes, where they continued afterwards generally quiet, without attempting any new invaſions; except now and then, in ſmall parties, for the ſake of ſuch depredations, as it is ſcarce poſſible to prevent on the borders of two different nations, who have been, for ſome time, in war with each other. This meaſure of peace they did not ſo much enjoy as abuſe; for the ground being now tilled, after lying waſte for ſeveral years, yielded ſuch extraordinary crops of corn, and ſo amazing a plenty of all things, that the *Britains* abandoned themſelves to luxury and riot; minding nothing but the gratifying of their paſſions, and indulging of the vices, with which all orders of men among them were infected. In the midſt of all this jollity and ſecurity, they were alarmed with a report, as if their old enemies were preparing for another invaſion, with the deſign of extirpating the natives, and making an entire conqueſt of their country, in order to ſettle in it themſelves. The *Britains*, ever haſty in their reſolutions, and never conſidering the conſequences of any meaſures propoſed for the removing of a preſent evil, were ſeized with ſuch a panick, upon hearing this uncertain rumour (for which there appeared no rational grounds, nor was there any author produced) that, being denied ſuccours by the *Romans*, they reſolved, with an imprudence not to be matched in hiſtory, to call in the *Saxons* to their aſſiſtance.

Of the *Saxons.*

II. These were a people, that had for 150 years paſt frequently infeſted the coaſt of *Britain*, and committed great ravages in the country; and it was to oppoſe their deſcents, that the *Roman* Emperors, from the time of *Diocletian*, had maintained a conſiderable military force, under an officer ſtyled *the Count of the Saxon ſhore in Britain*; which was quartered along the eaſtern coaſt in ſtations erected expreſsly for that purpoſe. They ſtill retained in their name ſome remains of their oriental original, and deſcent from the *Sacæ*, being probably a tribe of the *Cimmerii* or *Cimbri*, inhabiting the *Cimbric Cherſoneſe*, in the tracts of country ſince known by the names of *Jutland*, *Angelen*, and *Holſtein*; the eaſt of which was more particularly the ſeat of the *Saxons*, as the others were of the *Jutes* and *Angles*, two tribes, who joined with them in the conqueſt, and were equally concerned in the peopling, of *Britain* with new inhabitants. The *Jutes* ſettled chiefly in *Kent*, the *Iſle of Wight*, and part of *Hampſhire*; the *Saxons* poſſeſſed all the other counties which lay ſouth or weſt of the *Thames*, beſides *Eſſex*, *Middleſex*, and the ſouth parts of *Hertfordſhire*; as the *Angles* did all the reſt of *England*, as far north as the *Frith* of *Forth* in *Scotland*. As the *German* and northern nations quitted their ancient ſeats, about the middle of the third century, in prodigious numbers, in order to fall upon the *Roman* Empire, and ſeize the provinces which they choſe to invade, the *Saxons* extended their ſettlements along the *Elbe* and *Weſer*, and took poſſeſſion of all the maritime parts, from the mouths of thoſe rivers, to that of the *Ems*; aſſociating or incorporating with themſelves the *Chamavi*, and other tribes of people, who afterwards paſſed generally under the common name of *Saxons*. Among theſe were the *Friſians*, who compoſed (as [1] *Ubbo Emmius* maintains) the greateſt part of thoſe adventurers that followed *Hengiſt* and *Horſa* into

[1] *Rerum Friſ. Hiſt.* l. iii.

Britain; as appears from the greater affinity of the *Engliſh* language with the *Friſian*, than with the *Saxon*, or any other *German* dialect. [1] *Bede* reckons the *Friſians* among the nations from whom the *Engliſh* are deſcended; [2] *Procopius* puts them among the inhabitants of *Britain*; and it is certain, that *Wilfrid*, *Suidbert*, *Willibord*, and other *Engliſh*, who preached the Goſpel in *Frizeland*, and converted the inhabitants to *Chriſtianity*, ſpake the *Friſian* language, as if they had been natives of the country. *Marcellinus*, cotemporary with *Bede*, in his life of *Suidbert*, the firſt biſhop of *Utrecht*, and the annals of *Leyden* atteſting this fact, aſcribe the original of the *Engliſh* equally to the *Friſians* and *Saxons*. To this argument, drawn from the language, may be added another inſiſted on by Sir *W. Temple* [3], and derived from the peculiar conſtitution and repreſentation of the people of *Frizeland* in their ſtates, ſo different from what he obſerved in all other parts of the *United Provinces*, and ſo agreeable to the method and cuſtoms of *England*, that he made from thence the ſame concluſion, being fully perſuaded, that the *Friſians*, from whoſe ports the paſſage to *Britain* was eaſier than from any other belonging to the old *Saxons*, made a principal part of the *Saxon* colonies ſettled in *England*. A. D. 448.

THE *Franks*, who began to be known under that name about the ſame time with their allies the *Saxons*, were alike compoſed of different nations, under the ſame form of a free government. Among theſe were the *Chauci*, upon whoſe removal from the coaſts of the northern ſea, the *Saxons* took poſſeſſion of thoſe parts; whilſt the *Chauci*, advancing with the other *Franks* more within land towards the *Rhine*, about *A. D.* 250, loſt their ancient name, and are never mentioned afterwards, but under the general denomination of *Franks*. Their conſtitution, cuſtoms, and manners were ſo agreeable to thoſe of the *Saxons*, that they might well enough paſs for different tribes of the ſame people: and their language was ſo little different, that when *Auguſtine* was ſent to convert the *Engliſh*, of whoſe language he was utterly ignorant, *Pope Gregory* [4] directed him to carry over with him from *Gaule* ſome *Franks* to be his interpreters. They poſſeſſed, in the time of *Carauſius*, all the country between the *Saxon* territories, the *Weſer* and the *Rhine*; inhabiting along the banks of this laſt river to its very mouth, which they commanded by being maſters of *Taxandria* and *Holland*; from whence they iſſued, from time to time, in conjunction with their neighbours the *Saxons*, covering the ſeas with their fleets, and waſting the coaſts of *Gaule* and *Britain*. It was to oppoſe their depredations, that *Carauſius* was made commander of that naval armament, which enabled him to debauch the legion that ſerved for a garriſon to *Britain*, and to aſſume the purple: and it was by their aſſiſtance, that he maintained himſelf for ſome years in his uſurpation. *Conſtantius Chlorus*, and his ſon *Conſtantine the Great*, defeating the *Franks* in ſeveral battles, forced them to remove from the mouth of the *Rhine*, higher up the river; but the *Saxons* ſeem to have taken poſſeſſion of the countries which they quitted. For in *A. D.* 356, when *Julian* the apoſtate wanted to bring corn from *Britain*, for ſupplying the *Roman* armies and garriſons in *Germany*, he was forced to make an accommodation with them, before he could uſe the *Rhine* for that purpoſe, or erect his famous magazine at *Britten-huis* for the reception of the neceſſary proviſions. Thus conveniently ſeated for naval expeditions, they exerciſed themſelves continually in piracies at ſea (which were by the *Scandinavians* and maritime *Germans* deemed matters of glory ſufficient to immortalize their greateſt heroes) and in annoying ſoon after, in the reign of *Valentinian* I. all the coaſts of *Britain*. This practice

[1] L. v. c. 9. [2] *De Bell. Goth.* l. iv. [3] *Obſerv. on the United Provinces.*
[4] *Bede Hiſt. Eccl.* l. iv. c. 25.

A. D. 448. they continued from that time, through all the ſucceeding reigns, till they came to ſettle in *England*.

It doth not appear at what time the *Saxons* took poſſeſſion of the *Orcades*, which (we learn from *Claudian*) were inhabited by them in the reign of *Honorius*. It is not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that they ſettled there in the time of the great *Conſtantine*, or at leaſt in the beginning of the reign of his ſon *Conſtantius*; becauſe theſe iſles were all of them, in the time of *Solinus* (who was put to death by the Emperor *Severus*) uninhabited and overgrown with weeds and ruſhes; and if the *Saxons* had not planted them before the *Scots* were well ſettled in *Ireland*, they would in all probability have been ſeized either by that people, or by the *Picts* [1], that followed, and were directed by the *Scots* to ſail to the north of *Britain*, to ſeek an habitation. Whenever it was that the *Saxons* took poſſeſſion of the *Orkneys*, it is very probable that they planted a colony at the ſame time in *Cathneſs*; a country in the northern extremity of *Scotland*; divided from thoſe iſlands by a narrow ſtrait; affording great plenty of all ſorts of corn; abounding in excellent paſtures for cattle; and remarkably diſtinguiſhed in that climate by a temperature of air, as mild as in the middle of *England*. Theſe natural advantages in all appearance engaged that colony to continue there, when their countrymen ſoon after quitted the ſettlement they had made in the *Orkneys*, to find a better in the more ſouthern parts of *Britain*, upon the *Saxons* attempting the conqueſt of this iſland. It cannot but appear ſurprizing, that ſuch a colony ſhould ſubſiſt for ages, unmixed with any other people, environed by barbarous nations, in a remote corner of the world, and a level country, without any mountains and faſtneſſes, to ſerve in any exigence for a refuge to the inhabitants. But if this may be accounted for, either from the condition of the adjoining northern provinces, which in thoſe days were very thinly inhabited, or from the terror of the naval force, and the great power of the *Saxons*; who ſoon extended their conqueſts as far north as the *Frith* of *Forth*, and would not fail to revenge any inſult offered to their countrymen, even in the remoteſt part of *Britain*: It muſt ſtill appear more wonderful, that theſe inhabitants of *Cathneſs* ſhould ſpeak *Engliſh* to this very day, and, ſecluded as they were, by their ſituation, from correſpondence with any nation, but what ſpoke either the *Earſe* or the *Britiſh* dialect, ſhould be able to preſerve their own, without learning the language of their neighbours; which, I have been aſſured by gentlemen of undoubted credit, and curious in their obſervations, is the caſe of the people of *Cathneſs*.

Of the Alleluiah victory, and the acts of S. *Germain* in *Britain*.

III. The *Saxons* undoubtedly were, in thoſe days, on good terms with the *Picts*, and they frequently joined their forces together, in order to make deſcents in the ſouthern provinces of *Britain*. Their neighbourhood allowed them to do this with all the convenience that could be deſired; as their ſituation in the *Orcades*, and the north of *Scotland*, favoured their landing on the coaſt of *Wales*; which could not be ſo well invaded from *Friſeland* and *Germany*, and had been formerly ſubject only to the depredations of the *Scots* from *Ireland*. It was near *Guid-cruc* [2] (now *Mold*) in *Flintſhire*, where the place of battle is called to this day, *Maes Garmon, i. e. the field of Germain*, that the famous *Allelujah* victory was gained by the *Britains*, under the conduct of St. *Germain*, over the united forces of the *Saxons* and *Picts*; which is referred to by *Gregory* the *Great* in his *Expoſition upon Job*, publiſhed before the miſſion of *Auguſtine* into *England*. *Gildas* [3], a *Britiſh* author, who wrote in the ſixth century, alludes to this victory, as *obtained by the bleſſing of God, without any human aſſiſtance*; which ſufficiently ap-

[1] *Bede Hiſt. Eccl.* l. i. c. 1. [2] *Uſher's Antiq. Brit.* p. 179, 180. [3] *Epiſt.* n. 17, 18.

pears from the circumſtances of the relation: but placeth it after the fruitleſs application of the *Britains* by letter to *Ætius*, and the famine which afflicted their country, probably at the ſame time with that which reigned all over the *Roman* Empire, in *A. D.* 446, according to the vulgar æra, but really *A. D.* 448, the very year in which that letter was written. Had this author; inſtead of a general alluſion, made expreſs mention of this victory, I ſhould make no difficulty in fixing the time of it to *A. D.* 447[1], when St. *Germain* came over the ſecond time to *Britain*, or to the week after *Eaſter* in the year following; later than which it could not happen, becauſe that holy biſhop, on his return from thence, ſet out immediately for *Italy*[2], and died at *Ravenna* on *July* 31, *A. D.* 448[3], thirty years after the death of *Amator*, his predeceſſor in the ſee of *Auxerre*. *A. D.* 448.

ST. GERMAIN made two journeys into *Britain*; accompanied in the former by *Lupus*, biſhop of *Troyes*, and in the latter by *Severus*, biſhop of *Treves*: both were undertaken upon account of the *Pelagian* hereſy; which, having been ſuppreſſed in *Gaule* by the ſevere execution of the Emperor *Valentinian's* edict in *A. D.* 425, for baniſhing thoſe who maintained it, ſeems to have been brought over hither by *Agricola*, ſon of *Severianus*, a *Pelagian* biſhop, and to have made ſome progreſs in this iſland. The *Britiſh* clergy, alarmed at ſuch an innovation in doctrine, and unuſed to the quirks and ſubtleties with which the artful *Pelagian* endeavoured to colour and ſupport his tenets, ſent over to *Gaule*, whence the ſeducer had been expelled, for aſſiſtance againſt the growing evil, and for ſome learned men to defend the Catholic doctrine. In compliance with their requeſt, *Germanus* and *Lupus* were, by a council of *Gallican* biſhops, deputed to paſs over to *Britain* for that purpoſe: and accordingly arrived there (according to the common opinion) in *A. D.* 429; where, in a full ſynod, held at *Verolam*, and in a public diſputation before a numerous auditory, they drove the *Pelagians* from all their ſubterfuges, and effectually refuted their errors. [4] *Conſtantius*, a perſon of great reputation in that age, and though younger than theſe prelates, yet in his youth cotemporary with both, ſays, in his *life of St. Germain*, "that having with his collegue, by their preaching, "ſettled the *Britains* in the ancient faith, they proceeded to viſit ſome parts of the "country, where, either through groſs ignorance, or a wretched careleſsneſs for "religion, the people had not been properly inſtructed in *Chriſtianity*, or at leaſt "had not been baptized; and that there they made, by their preaching and mira-"cles, a vaſt multitude of converts." Theſe were baptized at the feſtival of *Eaſter*, and compoſed the greateſt part of that religious army; which, immediately after their baptiſm, St. *Germain* drew together to oppoſe the *Saxons* and *Picts*; who, ſtruck with a ſudden panick, were defeated, as hath been already obſerved [5].

GILDAS and *Bede* ſpeak of this victory, as one of the laſt acts of St. *Germain* in *Britain*, and during his laſt miſſion: which receives no ſmall confirmation from

[1] *I. e.* of the vulgar æra.

[2] *Vit. S. Germani.*

[3] *Sirmondus* obſerves, that *Auxiliaris*, whom St. *Germain* viſited at *Arles*, in his way to *Italy*, was præfect there *A. D.* 449, and placeth this prelate's death, as *Sigebert* and others do (ſee *Uſher's Antiq. Brit.* p. 204, 205.) in *A. D.* 450. But this may be accounted for by the difference of two years between the *vulgar*, and the true *Chriſtian* æra: ſo that *A. D.* 448 of the former is really *A. D.* 450 of the latter computation. It muſt be obſerved likewiſe, that, in the old *Saxon* times, the years aſſigned for events are generally thoſe of the *vulgar* æra, and conſequently two years earlier than the events really happened.

[4] *Sidon. Apoll.* l. ix. Ep. 16.

[5] This is related by *Conſtantius*, in the courſe of his narration of what paſſed in that noble and pious biſhop's *firſt voyage to Britain*: and it is upon his authority alone (for *Erric*, and others writers who agree with him, take their accounts from his relation) that the *Allelujah* victory hath been generally thought to have happened at that time; notwithſtanding it is placed ſo many years before the arrival of *Hengiſt* with his *Saxons*. This indeed is no weighty objection, ſince that people had been uſed for a much longer ſpace of time to make deſcents in *Britain*: but there are other circumſtances and reaſons for fixing it to the time of his ſecond miſſion; which do not admit ſo eaſy a ſo-

what

A. D. 448. what St. *Germain* is, by the ancient regiſter of *Landaff*, called the book of St. *Theliau* [1] (agreeable to the teſtimony of other ancient writers, allowed generally by our beſt antiquaries and critics) ſaid to have done in *Britain:* and which, though a work that required ſome time for its perfecting, ſeems, from the circumſtances thereof, to be incompatible with that of his firſt miſſion. Such, to ſay nothing of his introducing the *Gallican* liturgy [2] into the uſe of *Britiſh* churches, was his inſtitution of ſchools of learning among the *Britains*; his conſecrating biſhops in ſeveral places, and making *Dubricius* archbiſhop of *South-Wales*. In the flouriſhing times of the *Roman* Empire, great care was taken for the encouragement of learning, eſpecially in greater cities. [3] *Conſtantine the Great*, out of his particular regard for men of learning, granted ample privileges and large ſalaries to the profeſſors of it in the ſeveral cities of the Empire. The ſchool at *Rome* was ſo particularly the care of the Emperors [4], that they condeſcended to eſtabliſh proper regulations for it, and to take cognizance of the numbers, qualities, and behaviour of the ſtudents, who reſorted thither from all parts of the Empire: and the reputation thereof was ſo great, that it was the occaſion of the frequent applications made, in caſes that required advice and inſtruction, by remote churches, where knowlege was leſs general, to *Rome*, as *the moſt eminent ſeat of learning*; and which have been ſince perverted by the abettors of the papal power, to countenance their modern pretences of its being done, as to *the principal ſeat of authority*. [5] *Gratian*, by an edict directed to the præfect of *Gaule*, *required all the chief cities in his dioceſe*, which comprehended all the weſtern parts of the Empire, particularly *Britain*, to *ſettle* and *maintain profeſſors* of *learning*, both of the *Greek* and *Roman languages*. The uſurpations of *Maximus*, and others which commenced ſoon after; the withdrawing the *Roman* forces; the precarious ſtate of their authority, which followed thoſe events, and laſted till its utter extinction; the troubles and confuſion which reigned in *Britain* from the time of the firſt of thoſe uſurpations, probably hindered this iſland from receiving the benefit of that edict: and this might be the reaſon why the *Britiſh* biſhops applied the firſt time to *Gaule* for help againſt the *Pelagians*; and why, notwithſtanding thoſe heretics being ſo publickly refuted by St. *Germain*, they were forced, in ſo ſhort a time, to recal him to confute them again, and ſtop the progreſs they had made in his abſence. It was likewiſe this want of ſchools in the mountainous parts of *Wales*, which occaſioned ſuch a general igno-

lution. It muſt be obſerved that *Conſtantius* doth not affix any year for St. *Germain's* firſt miſſion, and *A. D.* 429 is aſſigned for it, in conſequence of what is ſaid of *Lupus*, by the unknown author of his life, but chiefly on the credit of *Proſper's Chronicon*, a work of which there is no genuine copy, and conſequently of very dubious authority. *Conſtantius* ſpeaks of the two miſſions in ſuch a manner, as to repreſent them following the one preſently after the other: and he ſays ſo little of the latter, that it looks as if he had put all that paſſed material in both, into the account which he gives of the former. This appears further from what he ſays of St. *Genievieve*, whom he repreſents as a mere girl at the time of St. *Germain's* voyage, and as juſt entering her *adoleſcentia* (which was uſually reckoned, except in the imperial race, to begin at the age of ſixteen) when he went the ſecond time to *Britain:* for if ſhe died *A. D.* 513, as *M. Weſtminſter* ſays, and was then eighty, as is ſaid at the end of her *life*, ſhe was not born at the time of St. *Germain's* firſt voyage, if it be fixed to *A. D.* 429, whereas, by aſſigning *A. D.* 433 for the year of her nativity, and *A. D.* 446 for that of St. *Germain's* firſt miſſion, and *A. D.* 449 for his ſecond, ſhe might be juſtly ſtyled in the former *puella*, and in the latter *adoleſcentula*, as ſhe is accordingly by *Conſtantius*. *Bede* [a], who copies from this *Biographer* what he relates of the *Allelujah* victory, repreſents it in his *Chronicle*, as the laſt act of St. *Germain* before he quitted *Britain*, in order to go to *Ravenna*, where he died. *Paulus Diaconus*, *Ado*, *Freculphus*, and other chronographers place it about the ſame time. *Gildas* hath been already mentioned as favouring this opinion, and as the greateſt deference is due to the teſtimony of a learned *Briton* bred up under *Iltutus*, and writing of the affairs of his own country, it was very probably his authority which influenced *Bede*, when he was in his *Chronicle* to deliver his judgment as to the time of this victory (a particular in which *Conſtantius*, from whom he borrowed all the other circumſtances of the relation, is deficient) to fix it ſo late as the year of St. *Germain's* deceaſe.

[1] *Uſher du Primord.* p. 343. [2] *Stillingf. Orig. Brit.* c. 4. p. 202, &c. [3] *C. Theod.* xiii. Tit. iii. l. i. 1, 2, 3. [4] *Ib.* l. xiv. Tit. ix. l. i. *A. D.* 370. [5] *Ib.* xiii. Tit. iii. l. ii.

[a] *Hiſt. Eccl.* l. i. c. 20.

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rance of *Chriſtianity* among the inhabitants, that vaſt numbers of them ſtood in need of being inſtructed and baptized by that apoſtolical prelate and his companions; as we may reaſonably infer from the obſervation made by *Julian* [1] the apoſtate, that the *Chriſtian* religion ſpread, in proportion as learning was propagated by means of thoſe ſchools; for which reaſon he reſerved the approbation of all the public profeſſors to himſelf. *A. D.* 448.

St. Germain, at his ſecond miſſion, to do a work over again, which he ſeemed to have compleated effectually in his firſt, could not help either reflecting on the cauſes of the ſudden relapſe of the *Britains* into *Pelagianiſm*, or diſcovering, that it was owing to a defect of learning, and to the want of ſchools for the education of the *Britiſh* clergy: and it was for this reaſon, as *Bollandus* and *Henſchenius* think, that he inſtituted ſchools [2] of learning among the *Britains*; by which means *theſe churches* (as *Bede* [3] obſerves) *continued afterwards pure in the faith, and free from hereſy*. *Wales* was the country which moſt wanted his care in this reſpect; it was there he paſſed the greateſt part of the time he ſtaid in *Britain:* and from thence, at his departure, he carried over with him into *Gaule* St. *Brioc* [4] a young gentleman, ſon of a nobleman of *Cardiganſhire*; who, after a courſe of inſtruction and ſtudy in the biſhop's ſeminary at *Auxerre*, returned home, converted his parents and relations, who were as yet pagans, and, paſſing afterwards into *Armorica*, was the firſt biſhop of St. *Brieu*, which was erected into a ſee, and endowed by *Conan* count of *Treguier*, his relation and convert. For the more effectual propagation of the Goſpel, and advancement of learning in *South-Wales*, St. *Germain* ordained *Iltutus*, then very young, a preſbyter, and conſecrated *Dubricius*, archbiſhop of *Landaff*; charging them with the care of ſeveral ſchools or colleges; which ſoon grew famous for the numbers, learning, and merit of the perſons there educated. Two of theſe ſchools, under the immediate direction of the latter, were ſeated at *Hentlan* and *Moch-rhos*, places lying upon the *Wye*, where perſons of all ranks and orders reſorting to him from every part of *Britain*, he had a thouſand ſcholars with him for years together; the names of the moſt eminent of which are mentioned in the life of *Dubricius* [5], wrote (as ſome maintain) by his ſucceſſor St. *Theliau's* own hand, in the ancient *Landaff* regiſter; which mentions another particular, too curious and

[1] *Ib.* l. v.

[2] *Act Sanct. Feb.* ix. *in vita S. Teliai.*

[3] *H. E.* l. i. c. 21.

[4] In the life of St. *Brioc* (publiſhed by *Andrew Sauſſage*, in *Martyrol. Gallic Apr.* 30.) he is ſaid to be a *Britain* of a noble family in *Provincia Corticiana*, which *Camden*, and after him *Uſher*, *Antiq. Brit.* p. 184, miſtake for the county of *Corke* in *Ireland*; though St. *Germain* never was in that iſland, and it is ſaid in the very paſſage quoted, that he took this young gentleman away with him, whilſt he *was preaching the Goſpel in the ſaid* province, which I take to be *Cardiganſhire*. I am apt to think St. *Germain* was the founder of the biſhopricks of *Wales*, properly ſo called, which till his time was much over-run with paganiſm; and *Dubritius*, whom he conſecrated biſhop of *Landaff*, is univerſally allowed to be the firſt biſhop of that ſee. There might indeed very well be a biſhop of *Caerleon* earlier; but his care was principally employed about thoſe parts of the *Roman* province which afterwards formed the dioceſes of *Hereford* and *Worceſter*. It was neceſſary to take more care, than had yet been done for propagating the faith in *South-Wales*; in parts where the *Romans* had ſcarce any ſettlement: and for this reaſon probably St. *Germain* fixed the ſee of *Dubritius* at *Landaff*; which dioceſe extending at firſt over all *South-Wales*, there were, as converts multiplied, two others taken out of it, *viz. Llan-badern-vawr* and St. *Davids*, to which the archiepiſcopal dignity was annexed, on account perhaps of its firſt biſhop's extraordinary merit. That there was occaſion enough for St. *Germain's* going into *Cardiganſhire* to plant the *Chriſtian* faith, appears plainly from the ill character, the heatheniſm, the cruel, violent, and perſecuting ſpirit, aſcribed by all the writers of St. *Patrick's* lives to the prince of that country; for ſuch I conceive the *Britiſh prince* to have been, whoſe name is ſpelt *Coroticus*, to whom St. *Patrick* wrote an Epiſtle which is ſtill preſerved. The miſtake of a letter, as of an *o* for an *e*, is ſo common in tranſcribing names out of old manuſcripts, that I make no difficulty in concluding him to be either ſo called, as being prince of that country; or that he was the *Ceretus* or *Cereticus*, the chieftain from whom that county is by ſeveral ancient writers ſaid to be named *Ceretica*; with which the time wherein he lived very well agrees. Accordingly I take the province *Corticiana* to be wrote ſo by miſtake, inſtead of *Coriticana*, and to be the ſame which hath been ſince ſpelt *Cereticana*, now *Cardiganſhire*, in *Latin*, *Ceretica*.

[5] *Stillingf. Orig. Brit.* p. 349.

A. D 448. important to be omitted, becauſe it relates to the conſtitution of *Britain* in thoſe early ages. It ſays, that on occaſion of the founding of that ſee, the lands, with which it was endowed, were given to *Dubricius* in a *general council* of the nation by *Mouric* I. king or prince of *Glamorgan*, with the conſent of the *princes*, or chief nobility, *clergy*, and *laity*: and it was in ſuch *general councils*, that the like grants to that church were conſtantly made, from that time, down to the *Norman* conqueſt; a great number of which are duly entered in the ſaid regiſter, and ſeveral of them may be ſeen in *Godwin De præſulibus Angliæ*.

The ſchools of *Iltutus*, either at *Llan-iltut* (now *Lantwit*) near *Boverton*, or at *Llan-elty* near *Neath* in *Glamorgan*, were in the like repute, and filled with the ſons of the nobility. Some of his diſciples were, the famous *Gildas*, St. *Leonorius* biſhop and confeſſor, *Samſon* archbiſhop of *Dol* in *Bretagne*, St. *Magloire* couſin-german and ſucceſſor to *Samſon* in that ſee: *Macutus* or *Maclovius* equally related to the ſame *Samſon*, and the firſt biſhop of St. *Malo*; *Paul Aurelian*, and *Daniel*, the former biſhop of St. *Pol de Leon*, and the latter conſecrated by *Dubricius*, and made biſhop of *Bangor*, where he inſtituted likewiſe a ſeminary for the *Britains*. *Paulinus*, another diſciple of St. *German*, did the like at *Whiteland* in *Caermarthenſhire*; where St. *David* ſtudied under him for ten years, as well as St. *Theliau*, who ſucceeded *Dubricius* in the ſee of *Landaff*. Theſe and other ſeminaries ſpread through *Wales*; ſuch as that of *Lancarvan* near *Cowbridge*, and the famous one of *Banchor* in *Flintſhire*, were noble monuments of the particular care which St. *Germain* took of the churches in that part of *Britain*: and they carry with them as well ſuch a notoriety in their nature, as ſuch laſting benefits in their effects, that there is no room to doubt of theſe facts, which are atteſted by many ancient writers, and univerſally admitted by the learned criticks and antiquaries of later ages. But if theſe facts, particularly the ordinations of *Dubricius* and *Iltutus*, be put among the acts of St. *Germain*, during his firſt miſſion in *Britain*, and this be fixed to *A. D.* 429, they ſeem ſcarce reconcileable with the age either of the former, who conſecrated *Daniel*, biſhop of *Bangor*, *A. D.* 516, and was living *A. D.* 519, when, upon his reſignation, St. *David* was declared primate of *Wales*, in the ſynod of *Lhan-Dewy-Brevy*, or at leaſt of the latter, who lived till near the end of king *Arthur's* reign, not dying, as ſome ſay, in *A. D.* 527, but, according to the learned [1] *Uſher*, *A. D.* 540. It is for this reaſon that I think the *Allelujah* victory over the *Saxons* and *Picts*, as well as the other acts of St. *Germain* in *Wales*, are to be placed among the tranſactions that paſſed in the time of his ſecond miſſion: and it is obſervable, that till after *A. D.* 448 there is not any ſchool, ſeminary, or monaſtery in that country mentioned in any of the *Lives* of *Britiſh* ſaints that lived in thoſe times; great numbers of which are ſtill preſerved. To ſupply this defect, ſuch *Britains*, as between the years 431 and 448 were deſirous to be inſtructed in religion and learning, went into *Ireland* to ſtudy under St. *Patrick*; as is particularly remarked of St. *Canoc* [2], and his eleven brothers, the ſons of *Brachan*, king of *Brecknock*; St. *Winwaloc*, and others. Theſe circumſtances afford ſuch objections to the general opinion in relation to the time of St. *Germain's* firſt miſſion, and the tranſactions ſaid to have paſſed therein, that they cannot be reconciled to it, but by ſuppoſing it to have been in *A. D.* 446, as *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* doth, and is therein followed by the late editor of the *Councils of Great Britain and Ireland*.

Condition of the *Britains*, when the *Saxons* were invited over.

IV. Had the *Britains* been united among themſelves, and made a right uſe of St. *Germain's* victory and of thoſe which they had gained under the command of other leaders, they would, in all probability, have ſoon ſeen an end of their trou-

[1] *Index Chronol. ad calcem. Antiq. Brit.* [2] *In vitis S. Canoci, S. Winwaloci,* et *S. Dubani.*

bles:

bles: and might have found a favourable opportunity for correcting the diſorders of their government, and for eſtabliſhing their conſtitution on a wiſe and laſting foundation. Their enemies had experienced their valour, and were made ſenſible that they could no longer ravage the country with impunity: the original cauſe of their animoſity, ariſing from the *Roman* encroachments and views of conqueſt, was now removed; and they might have lived, in a ſhort time, as neighbourly with the other *Britains*, as they did with the *Strath-Cluyd*. They were humanizing likewiſe in their temper, and falling into a more civilized and quiet manner of life, by degrees as *Chriſtianity* was gaining ground among them, and the belief of its doctrines influenced their conduct. *Gildas* accordingly aſſures us of the *Picts*, that they lived afterwards very quiet, and never made any general invaſion of *Britain*; the inhabitants whereof were no way moleſted, except now and then by ſome depredations of private robbers on their borders. Nor was the behaviour of the *Scots* much different; the preaching of St. *Patrick* and his companious having, by this time, made a conſiderable progreſs in turning the minds of that people to religion, and taking them off from their roving and plundering diſpoſitions: but, whether owing to this or any other reaſon, it was in this juncture that happened the laſt deſcent of theirs upon the *Britiſh* coaſts, of which we have any authentic relation. *Sirigi*, ſtyled the *rover*, a chieftain of the *Iriſh Picts* or *Crutheni* in *Ulſter*, landing in *Angleſey*, routed the inhabitants at a place called *Cerrig-y-Gwyddel*[1], and ſeemed, by the cabbins he erected, inclined to ſettle in the iſland. *Eneon Urdd*, king of *Cumberland*, and ſovereign of *North-Wales*, ſending his eldeſt ſon *Caſwallon-law-hir* to clear the country of the enemy, this young and gallant prince, coming up with *Sirigi* at *Lhan-y-Gwyddel* (now *Holy-head*) where the *Iriſh* fleet lay, ſlew him with his own hand, routed his forces, and drove them entirely out of *Angleſey*[2]. *Caſwallon* was ſo pleaſed with the ſituation and natural advantages of the iſland, that, leaving the ſucceſſion of *Cumberland* to a younger brother, he choſe *North-Wales* for his ſhare of *Eneon's* dominions, and fixed his ſeat in *Angleſey*; where the ruins of his palace, called, to this day *Llys Caſwallon*, i. e. *the abode of Caſwallon*, are ſtill to be ſeen near *Llan-Elian*; and the judicious Mr. *Rowlands* adds to this account, that he had in his cuſtody the copy of a charter of lands and immunities, granted by him, about *A. D.* 450, to St. *Elian*[3] (the founder of the church) and his ſucceſſors, and confirmed to the owners of the lands by the kings of *England*, who generally recited former grants in their charters of confirmation. *A. D.* 448.

THE *Britains* were thus on the point of enjoying their poſſeſſions in a ſtate of peace and tranquillity, undiſturbed by any foreign invader; when, running into a real evil, in hopes of avoiding one that was purely imaginary, they took a ſtep which brought a ſudden ruin upon themſelves and their poſterity. This was owing to certain moral defects in their character; for which they have in all ages been remarkable, and of which there is too much reaſon to apprehend, they are never to be cured by any experience. Ever haſty in their tempers, ſudden in their reſolves, impetuous in their motions, impatient under either the preſſure or the dread of any evil, taken up with the preſent object that fills their minds, and thoughtleſs of any future conſequences; they have always been ready to embark in any meaſures propoſed by deſigning men for their own ends, if gloſſed over in ſuch

[1] *I. e.* the *Iriſhmen's* cottages.

[2] He ſeems likewiſe to have driven thoſe *Iriſh Scots* out of *Pembrokeſhire*; for they were doubtleſs thoſe *quidam populi de Scythia* (qui ſive a pictis veſtibus, ſive propter colorum ſtigmata *Picti* dicebantur) innumera claſſe *Britanniam* devenerunt, and waſting the ſea coaſt, ſeized the town of St. *David's*, when St. *Teliau* and St. *David* were as yet *pueri*, and at ſchool in that country. *Vita S. Teliavi in regiſtro Landav.* p. 126. *& ſeq. Nennius*, c. 8. ſpeaks of theſe invaders of *South-Wales*, as being *Scots* of the *clan* of *Liechan*.

[3] *Mona Antiq.* 142, 146.

A. D. 448. a manner as to flatter them with any hopes of immediate relief. That eagerneſs, which appears in them when they are to remove a grievance which they feel, or to guard againſt one that they barely apprehend, turns to violence when the queſtion is of taking revenge for one that is already paſt; and in all theſe caſes, hiſtory affords us abundance of inſtances, wherein they have taken ſteps, and created preſidents, which have expoſed their liberties to the utmoſt danger, and their country to utter ruin. This unhappy temper, ſo inconſiſtent with true wiſdom, which is ever cool and unpaſſionate when ſhe takes a reſolution, and never forms any but after conſidering things in all their conſequences, ſtriking in with that exceſſive and ſenſeleſs credulity, to which all the *Celtic* people were naturally ſubject and habitually given, diſpoſed the *Britains* to be the *dupes* of that crafty and ambitious tyrant, whom *Gildas* repreſents as the chief inſtrument of his country's ruin, and whoſe character, as well as circumſtances, it is neceſſary to explain.

There was at this time (as hath been already obſerved) but one kingdom of any conſiderable force among the *Britains*; the foundation whereof was laid in the *Roman* times, upon the emperor *Adrian's* withdrawing his garriſons from *Agricola's prætentura* between the *Friths* of *Cluyd* and *Forth* to the *Vallum* which he raiſed between *Solway Frith* and the mouth of the *Tyne*. This kingdom of the *Strath-Cluyd Britains* (as it hath been commonly called) had afterwards increaſed much in power by the union of *North-Wales*, upon *Coil's* marrying the heireſs of that principality, and by the acceſſion of the intermediate countries lying on the *Iriſh* channel; which, upon the *Romans* quitting *Britain*, had put themſelves under the protection of the *Strath-Cluyd* princes. All theſe territories were now united under *Eneon Urdd*; but this union continued no longer than his life: and his dominions, being divided among his poſterity, formed afterwards the principalities of *North-Wales*, *Cumberland*, and *Galloway*. This diviſion was a neceſſary effect of the cuſtom of *Gavelkind* the ancient common law, or conſtitution of the *Britains* in the great point of ſucceſſion to eſtates, requiring them to be equally divided between the male children of the proprietor; with this only difference, that the younger held their ſhares under the eldeſt; to whom the ſuperiority was always reſerved[1]. This rule was invariably obſerved with regard to the inheritance of princes, as well as of private perſons; and was the ſource of infinite miſchiefs, not only by reducing the power of a monarchy, till by ſucceſſive diviſions it dwindled almoſt to nothing; but chiefly by furniſhing perpetual occaſions for thoſe civil wars, to which *Gildas* aſcribes the ruin of *Britain* and the conqueſt of it by the *Saxons*; as later writers do, the reduction of *Wales* under the dominion of the kings of *England*.

The reſt of *Britain* was filled with an unconceivable number of little princes[2], or heads of *clans*, who were in thoſe days dignified by writers with the pompous title of Kings, though their territories were ſeldom ſo large as an ordinary ſhire, and never perhaps of greater extent; except in the inſtance of the *Dumnonii*, who,

[1] Of this we have two remarkable inſtances in the lives of St. *Gundleus* and St. *Cadoc*, kings about this very time, one after another, in *South-Wales*. With regard to the former, the words of *John de Tinmouth* are theſe. *S. Gundleus filius regis Auſtralium Britonum extitit, & poſt mortem patris, regno in ſeptem partes diviſo, ſex ejus fratres portiones ſuas acceperunt & ipſi quaſi ſeniori in omnibus parebant:* When *Gundleus* retired to a monaſtery, and reſigned his kingdom to his ſon *Cadoc*, there was a like diviſion; for it is ſaid that *Codoc* poſſeſſed only a *portion* of his father's kingdom; which enabled him, when he charged himſelf with the preſidency of the ſeminary of *Lancarvan*, to ſupply the poor ſcholars with all neceſſaries. See *Uſher's Ant. Brit.* p. 248.

[2] *J. Tinmouth*, in the life of St. *Ninian*, who converted the *Picts*, as ſoon as the *Romans* had quitted the north of *England*, on occaſion of the oppoſition that ſaint met with from a king in that country named *Tudwald*, obſerves, that all *Britain* was under ſuch little princes; *tota inſula diverſis regibus diviſa ſubjacuit.* See *Uſher's Ant. Brit.* c. 15. p. 347.

having been leſs intermixed with the *Romans*, and ſuffered fewer alterations in their original cuſtoms and conſtitution by the laws and police of the Empire, than any other people of this iſland, reverted eaſily to their priſtine ſtate; and, poſſeſſing the ſame provinces of *Cornwall*, *Devon*, and the adjoining parts of *Somerſet*, as they had inhabited before the *Roman* invaſion, formed a powerful principality, which under the government of a race of chieftains, ſtyled uſually princes and dukes of *Cornwall*, continued unimpaired all the time of the *Saxon* heptarchy, and was not entirely reduced till the *Norman* conqueſt [1]. Thus *Meluas* [2] was king of the marſhy parts of *Somerſet* that lay about *Glaſtenbury* and on the *Severn* ſea; and I take the famous *Ambroſius* to have been prince of *Wilts* (where the place of his reſidence, called of old *Urbs Ambroſci*, now *Ambreſbury*, is ſituated) and perhaps of the adjoining county of *Hants*; for it was in theſe parts that he oppoſed *Cerdic*, and, upon their being reduced by that *Saxon* prince, his degenerate deſcendents ſunk to the condition of private men, in which they remained at the time when *Gildas* wrote his *Epiſtle*. The conqueſts of the *Saxons* put an end, in thoſe parts where they founded kingdoms, to all learning among the *Britains*; and the *Saxon* annaliſts, intent upon preſerving ſome ſhort memorials of their own affairs, take no notice at all of the *Britiſh*; ſo that we are left entirely in the dark as to the police and condition of the *Britains* in thoſe parts before they were ſubdued; though, from what hath been ſaid of their cuſtom of *Gavelkind*, there is little doubt to be made, but that they were much in the ſame ſtate, and divided into the like petty chieftaineries, as we find them to have been in *Wales*. The *Welſh* writers, though not very diſtinct in their accounts, nor writing profeſſedly on the ſubject, do yet furniſh us hints enough to aſſure us of this fact; and that moſt of their countries and leſſer diviſions of provinces derived their names about this time from the chieftains to whom they belonged; as it is well known the like tracts of land in *Ireland* were, from the names of the heads of their ſepts, denominated the countries of the *O-neiles*, *O-connels*, *O-moores*, *O-byrnes*, *&c.* Thus *North-Wales* was called *Gwyneth*, from *Cunedha* or *Cunetha* ſurnamed *W'ledig*; "the princes of whoſe family [3] made, for many "ages, a noble ſtand againſt the *Saxons* in different parts of *Britain*; and whoſe "victorious ſons, coming to be poſſeſſed of ſeveral *Cantrev's* in that principality, "left their names on them to this day;" though theſe ſeparate precincts had undoubtedly paſſed by other names before they came into their poſſeſſion. Thus the ſhire of *Merioneth*, anciently *Meraonia*, was denominated from his grandſon *Meraon* [4]; *Glewyſſig* a country between the rivers *Uſke* and *Rumney* in *Monmouthſhire*, was ſo called from *Gliwiſus*, who was prince of it, and father to St. *Gundleus* or *Gunlyu*, from whom the tract of it which fell to his ſhare was called *Gunlyuvauc*, as the other ſix portions thereof were denominated alſo from his brothers who poſſeſſed them. *Gwlad-Morgan* [5], now *Glamorgan*, of which *Mouric* was king, when *Dubricius* was promoted to the ſee of *Landaff*, appears from its very name, ſignifying the *country of Morgan*, to have been ſo called from one of its princes of that name; which ſtill prevails ſo generally in thoſe parts, notwithſtanding many ages have paſſed ſince the *Norman* conqueſt, that it ſeems to have been the name of a mighty clan, to which it was once common, whilſt under the peculiar dominion of thoſe princes. The kings of *Gwent* or *Monmouthſhire* are mentioned on various occaſions: and *Pepiau* [6] father to *Dubricius* was king of *Erchyng*, a tract of country in *Herefordſhire* now called *Irchen-*

A. D. 448.

[1] They kept their old *Celtic* dialect in *Cornwall* till the time of Q. *Elizabeth*. See *Camden's Brittannica*, Ed. 1723. t. i. p. 44.
[2] *In Vit. Gildæ.* [3] *Mon. Ant.* p. 117. 146. [4] *Vit. S. Gundlei in Bibl. Cotton. Veſpatian.* A. xiv. 3. [5] *Gir. Cambr. Itin. Camb.* l. ii. c. 5. [6] *Regiſtr. Landav.* p. 92. *Chron. Warwic. Uſher's Ant. Brit.* p. 238.

A. D. 448. field. *Cathwallain*[1] was king of *Denbighſhire* in the time of St. *David* and St. *Kentigern*, as *Trifunus*[2] was of *Pepidiauc* a centred of *Pembrokeſhire*, when *Gildas*, who was cotemporary with the others, preached in that country. *Xanthus*[3] father of St. *David* was king of *Cardiganſhire*, and ſon of *Ceretus* or *Cereticus*, who was likewiſe king of that country, and from whom it derived the name of *Ceretica*. *Cadel* was about the ſame time king of *Powiſland*: and *Brachan*[4], king of *Brecknockſhire*, in right of his mother *Marcella*, daughter of *Theodore ap Tethphalt*, cauſed the name of that county to be changed from *Garth Mathrin* to *Brecheiniauc* or *Breconia*.

Adjoining to this laſt principality lay the territory of *Vortigern*; ſuch was the name[5] of the tyrant or uſurper mentioned by *Gildas*: he was a chieftain among the *Silures*, and his clan ſeem to have inhabited the country now called *Radnorſhire*[6]. Here it is, that *Nennius* placeth the territory called *Guortigermaur*; here ſtood the city called from him *Caer-Guortigern*, out of the ruins of which aroſe the caſtle of *Gurthremion*: to a wilderneſs in this county was it that *Vortigern* retired for refuge, after he had incenſed the *Britains*, by betraying their country to the *Saxons*[7]; and here likewiſe, as is generally agreed, *Paſcentius*, after his father's death, poſſeſſed the regions of *Buelt* and *Guorthigurniaun*. Theſe ſeem to have been all the territories which originally belonged to *Vortigern*, and which his poſterity enjoyed in the time of *Nennius*: it is certain he had no other in *Wales*; nor is there any reaſon to think he ever had the property of any other in the reſt of *Britain*; or indeed any command, but what was given him by the conſent of the ſeveral princes of this country, to exerciſe under the title of *General*[8], rather than of *monarch*. He is generally allowed to have been an active, enterprizing, crafty, and ambitious prince: the barren and mountainous country, of which he was Lord, naturally inured him to hardſhips; and formed him for war, like his anceſtors, who had ſo bravely oppoſed the *Romans* in former ages. The invaſions of the *Scots* and *Picts* furniſhed him with opportunities of exerting his warlike genius, and improving his talents for military affairs: and having probably diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſome ſucceſsful engagements with the enemy, he was choſen commander in chief of all the forces in *Britain*. The chronology, at the end of *Nennius*, dates the commencement of his authority about *A. D.* 427, three years before *Taurus* and *Felix* were conſuls, but whenever he entered upon a charge, which, among the *Gaules*, and *Old Britains*, was, in a time of war, attended with powers little leſs than abſolute, he had learned, by the unhappy fate of ſeveral of his predeceſſors in it, who had been murdered or depoſed, that the enjoyment thereof was very precarious. His intereſt ſeems to have lain among the *Old Britains*, as well thoſe of the *Roman* province, on the borders of which his territories were ſituated, as the *Silures*, and others, who lived in *Wales* beyond all the ſtations of the *Romans*, and whoſe reputation for war might make the others think it neceſſary to engage their aſſiſtance. But he was probably jealous of the *Belgic Britains*; as ſeems inſinuated by *Nennius*, in repreſenting him jealous of the *Roman* intereſt; which[9] at this time could be only that of the *Britains*, ever attached to the *Romans*,

[1] *Ib.* p. 292. [2] *Ib.* p. 237. & *in vita Gildæ.*
[3] *Ib. in vita S. Davidis, vita S. Carantor.*
[4] *Gir. Cambr. Itin. Camb.* l. i. c. 2.
[5] His name in *Welſh* was *Gwrtheyrn*, as he is called in the *Annales Menevenſes*, and the *Britiſh* hiſtory, which ſignifies, *Vir princeps* or *Vir potens* from *Gwr*, *vir*, and *Teyrn*, *princeps*, *potens*. See Dr. *Davis's Dictionary*.
[6] *Camb. Brit.* Radnorshire. *Bede's App.* n. 3.
[7] *Uſher's Antiq. Brit.* p. 244.
[8] So *Gildas*, c. 23. calls him only *Britannorum dux.*
[9] *Proſper* calls *Britain*, *Romana inſula*; thoſe parts of it, which ſpake the language of the *Romans* (which perhaps had in ſome places extinguiſhed the *Britiſh*) and conformed to their cuſtoms, were called *Romania*, thoſe which did not were termed, *Barbaria*; in which ſenſe theſe words are uſed by *Venantius Fortunatus*. So *Gildas*, n. 5. Solo nomen *Romanæ* ſervitutis hæſit, ita ut non *Britannia* ſed *Romania* cenſeretur. And n. 10. *Inſula nomen Romanum tenens.* A law is ſaid to be made by *Antoninus Caracalla*, to oblige all the ſubjects of the Empire to be called *Romans*. The *Roman* language and

and of *Ambroſius*, who was neither of an age, nor in a condition, at that time, to diſpute with him the poſt of ſupreme commander. To guard againſt any danger from that quarter, and to have an army of auxiliaries ready to ſupport him on all occaſions, he reſolved to invite over a body of foreign forces, and to place them in ſuch a ſituation, as might enable them as well to curb the *Belgic Britains*, as to march in any exigence to his own aſſiſtance. A ſtep ſo odious in its nature could not be taken, nor even attempted, without ſome plauſible pretence: and the rumour of a new invaſion by the *Scots* and *Picts*, with a formed deſign of extirpating the *Britiſh* nations, and planting the iſland with their own people, ſerved admirably for that purpoſe. It was dangerous for *Vortigern* to attempt this by his own authority, which, great as it was, could not yet empower him to bring foreigners into the country, and put them in poſſeſſion of the lands of the natives: he was therefore obliged to call a *general council*[1] of all the princes and chieftains of *Britain*, to conſider of proper meaſures to be taken for their defence in a caſe of ſuch extremity. It is no difficult matter for an artful prince, preſiding in an aſſembly of men frighted out of their ſenſes, though they know not why, to work up their fears to what height he pleaſeth; and to bring them into the moſt irrational and deſtructive meaſures, that his own views ſhall put him upon recommending. They could not have reſolved on any more fatal to their poſterity and their country, than they did, in agreeing to call over the *Saxons*; an heathen nation, who hated their religion, and whoſe cruel ravages they had for ſome generations felt on their coaſts; and to receive them, as it were, into their own bowels, by aſſigning them the *Iſle of Thanet* for their habitation. *A. D.* 448.

The *Saxons* land and form ſeveral kingdoms.

Various are the ſentiments of different authors with regard to the year in which the *Saxons* firſt came over to ſettle in *Thanet*: nor is there any thing ſtrange in this diverſity of opinions, ſince, without a fixed and certain meaſure of time, all chronology muſt be as uncertain as the *Greek* hiſtory is before the æra of the Olympiads. The computation of time from the year of our Lord was firſt propoſed by *Dionyſius Exiguus*, *A. D.* 525, when he wrote his firſt Epiſtle to *Petronius*: but though it might be adopted from that time by ſome perſons in their private uſe, it was not publickly received in *Europe* till the reign of *Charle Magne*, nor here till the time of *Bede*, or the latter end of the ſeventh century. In times more ancient, the beſt rule that writers had to follow was the *Faſti conſulares*, and the years of the *Roman* Emperors: but on the fall of the Empire, and in a corner of the world ſo remote from *Rome* as *Britain*, it was no eaſy matter to be exact in

was not ſpoke, nor did their laws and uſages prevail either in *Wales* or *Scotland*, nor probably in ſome of the wild, mountainous, and marſhy parts of *England*; where there was no commerce, and the people lived after the *Old Britiſh* faſhion: but about *London*, and all over the weſt, where the *Belgic* colonies, ever employed in trade, inhabited, the *Roman* language and manners were univerſally adopted; and theſe *Belgic Britains* might well enough be taken by *Nennius* for the *gens Romana*, mentioned by *Gildas*. I take this to be the ordinary language of that age, in the like caſes. Thus when *Clovis* entered *France A. D.* 486, ten years after the *Roman* weſtern Empire had been deſtroyed, and *Rome* itſelf had been in the poſſeſſion of the *Heruli*; the *Gauls*, who having not been ſubdued by the *Goths* and *Burgundians*, had ſet up for themſelves under *Ægidius* and *Syagrius*, their countrymen, and not of *Roman* race, are ſtyled *Romans*: and in *Armorica*, the old *Gaulic* inhabitants of that province, which had ſo long withdrawn themſelves from the imperial dominion, that probably there was not a *Roman* amongſt them, are yet called *Romans*, ſo late as the ſecond council of *Tours*; where for ſecuring the rights of the archbiſhops of *Tours*, who had always been primates there, till the *Britains* ſettled in that country, it is provided, *nequis Britannum* aut *Romanum* in *Armorica* ſine metropolitani aut comprovincialium voluntate vel literis *Epiſcopum* ordinare præſumat. So in the laws of the *Viſigoths*, l. x. tit. viii. the *Gauls* that inhabited the provinces ſouth of the *Loire* are called *Romans*: and by the ſame in *Hiſt. Eccl.* l. i. c. 26, 33. *Bede*, I am perſuaded, means the *Britains*, becauſe St. *Martin* not dying till *A. D.* 400, it is not likely that a church ſhould be built and dedicated to him before the *Roman* forces were withdrawn from *Britain*.

[1] *Gildas.*

[a] See *Uſher's Antiq. Brit.* c. 12. p. 220. and c. 16. p. 416.

A. D. 448. either of thoſe points; ſo that the moſt judicious authors, writing of thoſe times, choſe rather to mention things as happening in the reign, than in any particular year, of an Emperor. With regard therefore to the time of the *Saxons* coming over, we can only judge from the order of events, and ſuch chronological marks, taken from the conſuls or Emperors, as are given us by hiſtorians, who are moſt diſtinguiſhed by their care, judgment, and abilities, and had the beſt opportunities of knowing the truth of what they relate: ſuch I take *Bede* and *Gildas* to be in this caſe: and as they both aſſure us, that the *Saxons* were not invited over till after the *Romans* had refuſed their aſſiſtance, till after *A. D.* 448, when *Ætius* and *Symmachus* were conſuls, this cuts off at once all thoſe computations which fix their arrival earlier. The former [1] likewiſe ſays, it was a *few years* after St. *Germain's* coming into *Britain*, which he quitted in the ſpring of *A. D.* 448; ſo that there is no fixing the arrival of the *Saxons* earlier than *A. D.* 449: which is indeed the year aſſigned for it by the *Saxon Chronicle*, by *Fabius Ethelwerdus*, *Malmeſbury*, *Huntingdon*, and the generality of our hiſtorians. But I have already ſhewn in the inſtance of St. *Alban's* martyrdom, that, in thoſe early times, the *Saxon Chronicle* placeth events three years earlier than they really happened: and *Bede* being a more ancient authority than any of them, it is reaſonable to think that all thoſe writers were led into this chronological error by miſtaking the ſenſe of a paſſage in his hiſtory. He ſays, that the Emperor *Martian* [2] began his reign *A. D.* 449, but doth not ſay, that the *Saxons* arrived here that year; nor doth he mention the time of this event more particularly, than by placing it in ſome of the years of his reign; whilſt he governed the Empire jointly with *Valentinian*, who died *A. D.* 457. The *Chriſtian* æra was not then, at its firſt coming into uſe, ſo well underſtood as it hath been ſince: and *Bede* might eaſily miſtake *A. D.* 449 for the firſt year of *Marcian*; though it is now no longer doubted, that this Emperor did not begin his reign till *A. D.* 452, when *Valentinian* and *Avienus* were conſuls; the very year which *Florence* of *Worceſter* and *John Pike* [3] aſſign for the arrival of the *Saxons*. It could not be earlier according to *Bede*: and it is fixed two years later by the *Chronicle* of *John Clinn* [4], and the *Annals of the church of St. Trinity, Dublin*; which laſt opinion hath the advantage of being ſupported by the learned *Uſher's* approbation.

The *Saxons* were a ſtate compoſed of different people and of a vaſt number of independent clans; all paſſing upon their coalition or aſſociation, by the ſame general name; agreeing in the ſame cuſtoms and uſages; and united together under the ſame form of polity and government. They were ſubject to no monarch or ſingle ſuperior (except, when in the field, to a General choſen by common conſent to command on particular occaſions) till after they were reduced by *Charle Magne*; the government being ever before carried on by a *great council* of all the particular chieftains of their clans convened in a general aſſembly. Such chieftains were *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, ſons of *Wictgilſus*, great grandſon to the famous *Woden*, whom all the nation worſhipped as the God of war, and from whom all the *Saxons* princes, which compoſed their *heptarchy* in *England*, were likewiſe deſcended. Theſe two princes, bringing with them a number of their vaſſals (which ſome compute at 1500, nor could they well be more, being tranſported in three long flat-bottomed veſſels or *ciules*) landed at *Hypwins-fleote*, now *Ebs-flete*, in the *Iſle of Thanet*: and were ſoon obliged to march to the northern parts of *Britain*, beyond the *Humber*; where they routed the *Picts*, who had made incurſions into the bordering provinces. This ſervice being very acceptable to the natives, helped to

[1] *Hiſt. Eccl.* l. i. c. 17. [2] *Ib.* c. xv. l. v. c. 24. [3] *MS. Bibl. Cotton. Julius D.* vi. 1.
[4] *Antiq. Brit.* c. 12. p. 219.

facilitate the ſettlement of the *Saxons*; who having, in the expedition, had opportunities of obſerving the fertility of the land, the ſlothful indolence of the *Britains*[1], and the diſſenſions that reigned among them, gave notice thereof to their countrymen in *Germany*. This intelligence, flattering them with the hopes of an eaſy conqueſt of the country, ſoon brought over, in eighteen ſhips, a reinforcement of 5000 men, with their wives and children; and theſe being followed from time to time by further ſupplies, the *Britains* began to be terrified with their numbers, and apprehenſive of their deſign, when it was too late to find a remedy. The *Saxons* were now ſtrong enough to declare it openly: and picking an occaſion of quarrel with the *Britains*, on account of their pay not being duly advanced, nor their proviſions furniſhed in ſufficient quantity according to the ſtipulations between them, they threatened to deſtroy all the iſland with fire and ſword, if they were not better ſupplied: and ſcarce allowing time for the *Britains* to deliberate on their demands, put their threats immediately in execution. *A. D.* 448.

To ſtrengthen their party, and prevent the natives oppoſing them with all their united force, the *Saxons* made a league with the *Picts*: and falling upon the provinces adjoining to their own ſettlements, waſted them in a terrible manner; taking towns, demoliſhing fortifications, burning churches and houſes, putting great numbers of the clergy and people to the ſword, and exerciſing horrible cruelties in all places. The *Britains* aſſembling their forces, fought ſeveral battles with the enemy, the number and events of which are variouſly reported by the *Britiſh* and *Saxon* writers: *Nennius*[2] ſpeaks of three victories gained by [3]*Vortimer* or *Guortimer*, whom he makes to be ſon of *Vortigern*, and whoſe name implies he was a *warrior*; and ſays that after the laſt of theſe, at a place which he calls *Lapis Tituli*[4], probably *Folkſtone*, *Hengiſt* was forced to retire into *Germany* for freſh ſuccours; not daring to return from thence till after the death of that brave General; which however happened[5] preſently after that victory, and before the battle of *Creccanford*. The other two battles, in which *Vortimer* is ſaid to command, are placed, the firſt at *Dartford*, on the *Darent*; and the ſecond at *Æglesford* or *Æglesthorp*, now *Ailesford*; near which is a ſtone monument of the *Britiſh* form, called *Keith-coty-houſe*, as is imagined from *Catigern* or *Catiges*, a *Britiſh* commander, and a village named *Horſted*, from *Horſa* the *Saxon*, who are both thought to be killed in this action. Some place it at *Episford*, which *H. Huntingdon* takes to be *Elſtre*, and *Camden*[6] judgeth to be *Ailesford*; the rather becauſe *Horſa* is ſaid to be there killed; which ſhews it to be the ſame action. Whether the others were too inconſiderable to deſerve notice, or the *Saxons* did not care to perpetuate the memory of their defeats, the *Saxon Chronicle* mentions only one of theſe actions, *viz.*

[1] *Gildas.* [2] C. 45.

[3] His *Britiſh* name was *Gurtheuir*; *u* being always changed to *m* in latiniſing a *Britiſh* word, which derived from *Gurth (contra, conflictus, reſiſtere)* and *uyr*, i. e. *vir*, ſignifies *vir pugnax* or *bellicoſus*. But I ſee no reaſon to ſuppoſe either him, or *Catigern*, by the *Saxon* writers called *Catiges* (whoſe name, in the *Britiſh* hiſtory, tranſlated by *Geffrey* of *Monmouth*, is *Kyn-deyrn* or *Kynteyrn*, *i. e.* the *firſt* or *principal chieftain*, and being probably ſo of the army[a], might be alſo called *Catiges*) to be the ſons of *Vortigern*; there being no authority for it but *Nennius*, a fabulous writer, and ſome who copy from him, where his fables are not too abſurd. For my part, I am apt to think that all the battles here mentioned, were fought only by the *Belgic Britains* that lived either in *Kent*, the ſcene of all thoſe actions, or in the country adjoining; and that *Catigern* was a *Kentiſh chieftain*, ſeems implied in the very name of *Cantigern*, given him by *Nennius*, c. 52. which I take to be his true name or appellation, ſince *n* in the middle of words, was in old manuſcripts generally marked by a ſtroke over the precedent vowel, and ſeldom wrote when a conſonant follows: and it is more likely that ſuch a ſtroke ſhould be over-looked, than a redundant letter be inſerted; which laſt could ſcarce be done but by deſign, though the former might by heedleſſneſs, and mere miſtake.

[4] *Antiq. Rutupin. Somner's Roman* forts in *Kent.*

[5] *H. Hunt.* [6] *Brit.* in *Kent.*

[a] Quaſi *Cat-gues*, from *Cat*, *exercitus*, and *Guas*, *vir*, i. e. the *man of the army*, or the *leader* of it. See *Baxter's Gloſſ. v.* UBLIOCATUS.

A. D. 448. that of *Ailesford*, in which *Horsa* was killed; whose monument was in *Bede's*[1] time to be seen in the eastern parts of *Kent*.

Of *Kent*.

VI. By his death, *Hengist* was left the sole chieftain of the *Saxons*: and their writers give him the title of King from the year following, which they consider as the first of his reign. This battle is placed in *A. D.* 455: and two years after, was fought a more decisive one at *Creccanford*, now *Creyford* near *Dartford*; in which the *Britains* being routed with the loss of four of their chieftains, and 4000 men, fled to *London*; leaving *Kent* entirely to *Hengist*: who possessed it so quietly for several years, that it looks as if it was yielded to him, (as some writers[2] say) by a treaty; which may account likewise for the visit, which it is generally agreed[3], he made about this time to his native country in *Germany*.

Whether the *Britains* were obliged, by treaty, to quit that country, or were drove thence by the enemy, it was at this time, that great numbers of them, as the ancient authors of the lives of St. *Josse* and St. *Winwaloc*[4] assure us, went over to *Armorica*; where they understood there was a large tract of country, full of woods, and thinly inhabited; and took possession of the western parts of that province. The prince, who carried over this colony, which consisted of a considerable army, and required a very great number of ships to transport it, is, by *Abbas Florentius*, the first of those writers, called *Rio-valus*; whom *Usher* takes to be the same person with *Rio-thamus*[5] mentioned by *Sidonius Apollinaris*[6], as commanding the *Britains* seated upon the *Loire* about *A. D.* 467, when his Epistle to this chieftain was written. About three years after, *Rio-thamus* advancing further into *Gaule*, with a body of 12,000 men, to the assistance of the *Romans*, was defeated (as we are told by[7] *Jornandes* and *Gregory* of *Tours*[8]) with the loss of a good part of his troops by *Euricus*, king of the *Visigoths*, at *Dole* in *Berry*. His very name insinuates that he was a *Kentish* chieftain, and head of a clan near the *Thames*, which the circumstances of his country at this time, seem to confirm; for that he came over to *Gaule* upon the battle of *Creyford*, may very reasonably be concluded from the *Britains* being seated in *Armorica* before *A. D.* 461, when[9] *Mansuetus*, their bishop, assisted at the council of *Tours*; his name, with the title of *Britannorum Episcopus*, being found among the subscriptions. He seems to have been their only bishop at that time, and had been consecrated by the archbishop of *Tours*: but this colony being reinforced from time to time, as the *Saxons* gained ground in *Great Britain*, by fresh supplies of refugees from thence, they erected new sees at *St. Malo*, *St. Brieu*, *Treguier*, *St. Pol de Leon*, and in other cities; and getting *Dol* raised to an archbishoprick, withdrew themselves from the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of *Tours*, to whom *Armorica* had been ever subject; whilst it continued part of the Empire, and before it was formed into a distinct independent state by

[1] *Hist. Eccl.* l. i. c. 15. [2] *W. Malmesbury de gest regn.* l. i. c. 1. [3] *Gildas*, *Nennius*, c. 48.

[4] See *Usher's Antiq. Brit.* c. 12. p. 226.

[5] These two names are much of the same signification, and both express the same thing as *Lugotorix*, the name of another *Kentish chieftain* already mentioned in the account of *Julius Cæsar's* second expedition into *Britain*: for *Rix*, and *Rhi*, do both signify *dominus*, *satrapa*, *nobilis*, a lord; as *Lug* and *Tam* do *flumen*, a river; and *Bal*, and *Bala*, *fluminis ostium*. So that *Rio-thamus* and *Rio-valus* denote a prince who is lord of a *country lying on a river*, or on the *mouth of a river*. The series of the *British* history shews that the river here referred to must be the *Thames*, which well deserves being styled, by way of emience. *the river*; though it is no infrequent thing in the *British* language, for common appellatives to be changed into proper names. See *Baxter's Gloss. Brit. v.* Lugotorix, Otodini, and Dr. *Davies's Dictionary*. And that these were the same person appears clearly from the two lives of St. *Samson*, archbishop of *Dol*, one in the old register of *Landaff*, the other published by *Johannes a Bosco*, from an ancient manuscript in *Biblioth. Floriacensi*; in the first of which *Judhual*, who was drove out of *Bretagne* by the usurper *Commorus* or *Conomorus*, is said to be the son of *Jonas*, the son of *Riogual*; in the latter the same *Judhual* is called the son of *Jonas*, the son of *Riodham*.

[6] L. i. Ep. vii. and l iii. Ep. ix. [7] *De rebus Getic.* c. 45. [8] L. ii. c. 18. [9] *Concil. Gall.* Tit. i. p. 126.

the

the *Britains*. The people of that province had endeavoured ſeveral times before, to ſet up for themſelves, but without ſucceſs: *Litorius* had defeated them *A. D.* 434; and in the year following *Ætius* granted their country to the *Alani*, who reduced them entirely. They continued afterwards ſubject to the *Roman* Emperors; but mutinous, and frequently breaking out into inſurrections; till *A. D.* 448, when St. *Germain* [1] returning from *Britain*, they deſired him to make their peace with *Valentinian*; which was the occaſion of his journey to *Ravenna*, where he died. It was this colony from *Britain*; which firſt eſtabliſhed the province in the independency it had long deſired: and occaſioned its uſual name of *Armorica* to be changed for ever after into that of *Britannia*. *A. D.* 448.

The removal of ſo numerous a colony from *Kent*, ſeems to have been the occaſion of *Hengiſt's* viſit to *Germany*; to bring from thence a number of his countrymen to people the country: at leaſt he brought back with him a multitude ſufficient for that purpoſe; the *Britiſh* hiſtory computing them at three hundred thouſand. It is immediately after his return, and about *A. D.* 460, that *Nennius*, and others imagine the maſſacre of the *Britiſh* noblemen at *Stonehenge* was perpetrated; a ſtory borrowed from *Witikind* [2], who relates it of the *Thuringians*, that were murdered by the *Saxons*, on a like occaſion, and upon a ſignal given in the very ſame words, made uſe of by the *Britiſh* writers. Theſe repreſent *Vortigern*, as taken at the ſame time, in order to his redeeming himſelf by the ceſſion of *Suſſex*, *Eſſex*, and *Middleſex*, to *Hengiſt*: who poſſeſſed of a compact territory, proper for a diſtinct principality, and divided from the reſt of *England* by ſuch natural fences as the *Thames* and foreſt of *Anderida*, doth not appear ever to have been maſter of any of thoſe counties. They ſeem to have been terribly apprehenſive, leſt the *Saxons* ſhould be thought to have conquered any part of their country by mere force: and this I take to be the very reaſon why they invented the ſtory of *Rowena*, in order to have a pretence for *Kent's* being yielded to *Hengiſt*, as a conſideration for his daughter, rather than as a conſequence of the battle of *Creyford*. Thus when *Cerdic* had, in the courſe of many years, and by a ſeries of victories, ſubdued *Dorſet*, *Hants*, and part of *Wilts*; *Geffrey* chooſeth to impute his poſſeſſion of thoſe and other counties farther weſt, which he is pleaſed to aſſign him, to a grant of *Mordred*; as *Higden* [3] does to the gift of *Arthur*; who being tired with beating *Cerdic*, *conſented at laſt, that he ſhould hold a great part of the weſt of him in* Vaſſalage. *A. D.* 460.

Whether the *Picts* had not made any diverſion in the north, as *Hengiſt* expected from his league with them, or had agreed to any exchange of ſettlements, he thought it proper to get a colony of *Saxons* ſettled in thoſe parts: and having engaged his brother *Oeta*, with his ſon *Ebiſſa*, to undertake the affair, they ſoon, after his return to *Britain*, fitted out a fleet of forty flat bottomed veſſels, and ſailing with a numerous army on board, to the *Britiſh* coaſt, took poſſeſſion of *Northumberland*. This country was then but thinly inhabited; all the inland part of it being full of woods and mountains, and as much a deſert, as the county of *Durham* (which was at this time a barrier between the *Picts* and *Britains*, and ſerved afterwards for a boundary between the kingdoms of *Deira* and *Bernicia*, being reckoned of neither) continued to be for two hundred [4] years after, till the time of St. *Cuthbert*. The maritime parts of it were poſſeſſed by the *Picts*: with whoſe conſent it is probable the *Saxons* ſettled there, ſince we hear of no wars between them, and both nations lived very friendly and mingled together all over *Lothian*,

[1] *Vita S. Germani.* [2] *De geſtis Saxon.* l. i.
[3] *Polychron.* l. v. c. 6.
[4] So *John de Tinmouth in vita S. Oſwaldi Regis.* *Quicquid inter Tynam* et *Teſam* fluvios extitit ſola eremi vaſtitudo tunc temporis fuit, et idcirco nullius ditioni ſervavit, eo quod ſola indomitorum et ſylveſtrium animalium ſpelunca et habitatio fuit.

A. D. 460. and even in the city of *Edenburgh*, for above an hundred and twenty years afterwards at the time of the battle of *Arderydd*, as the learned Mr. *Robert Vaughan*, of *Hengurt*, obſerves in his *Remarks on the Britiſh Chronology*. As this country lay beyond the wall of *Severus*, it had belonged to the *Picts*, ever ſince the *Roman* legions had been withdrawn from *Britain*: yet *Nennius*, being ignorant enough to imagine it was at this time a part of the *Britiſh* territories, and *Malmſbury* copying after him implicitly, are fond of repreſenting the *Saxons* taking poſſeſſion of it, to be done by the leave and conſent of *Vortigern*; to whom they are deſirous to impute the ruin of their country, rather than to the real cauſe of it, the diviſions of the *Britains*. They ſay, that this new colony touched in their way at the *Orkneys*, and laid waſte thoſe iſles, and the coaſts of the *Pictiſh* territories: which inclines me to think it was at this time, that the *Saxons* quitted their ſettlement in thoſe coaſts and iſlands; and *Oeta* probably paſſed that way to perſuade them to remove to a better country, and more ſoutherly climate. This indeed ſeems implied in the words, which immediately follow in *Nennius*[1], who adds, "that *Hengiſt* invited "the *Saxons* to him, by degrees, *from their plantations about Britain*, by which "means the iſles, where they had before ſettled, were left without inhabitants." This colony of *Saxons* thus removing from the *Orcades*, and other iſles, ſome to *Kent*, and others to the north in both quarters upon the *Old Britains*; who loſing ground, by degrees, felt continually the ill effects of their invitation of that people.

Vortigern now began to be conſidered as the author of all the calamities, which his country ſuffered, and became infinitely odious. The *Britiſh* writers load him with all manner of crimes, and repreſent him as ſuch a monſter of iniquity, that it was not fit to let him go out of the world like other mortals: and therefore they invent various kinds of death to ſend him hence under marks of the divine vengeance; ſuch as being ſwallowed up by the earth, and being burnt by fire from heaven. It is reaſonable to think, that when he found himſelf under a general odium, he ſhould retire of his own accord, if he was not forced by the terror of his enemies, to ſome remote corner of the world, either to hide his ſhame, or provide for his ſafety: and *Nennius*[2] accordingly ſays, that he built a caſtle in *Caernarvonſhire*, in the mountainous tract of *Snowdon*, to ſerve him for a place of refuge; where he paſſed the remainder of his life, deteſted by all the world, and in continual terror. Hither the author of the hiſtory of *Aldchiſter*[3] ſuppoſeth him to have fled, after his own town in *Radnorſhire* had been burnt by his enemies, or ſet on fire by himſelf, to make them imagine he had periſhed in the flames, and ſo prevent their farther purſuit; and that the place of his retreat was at the foot of the mountain *Rivel* near *Caernarvon*. It was very conveniently ſituated for his purpoſe: there being no coming to it, but over the mountain, and by one narrow paſs, ſcarce allowing three perſons to march abreaſt; which is ſtill called *Bwlch-Guortigern*, i. e. *Vortigern's paſſage*. There is near it a *tumulus*, or hillock, covered with a large heap of ſtones, called *Bedn-Guortigern*, i. e. *Vortigern's grave*; which the inhabitants of *Llanbayeron* (in which pariſh it lies) digging up ſome years ago, and removing the ſtones, found a ſtone cheſt at the bottom of the heap, and within it the corpſe of a very tall man incloſed. Theſe circumſtances and memorials afford a ſtrong preſumption in favour of this opinion; which is ſupported likewiſe by the expreſs teſtimony of the old *Welſh* bards, who aſſert in their ſongs that this was the place of *Vortigern's* abode and ſepulture. The time of his death is not ſo well aſcertained; though it is generally ſuppoſed to have happened not long after the battle of *Wippeds-flete*: which was fought[4] *A. D.* 465; *Hengiſt* not being returned

[1] C. 37. [2] C. 20, and *H. Hunt.* l. ii. [3] *Kennet's Paroch. Antiq.* p. 698. [4] *Chron. Saxon.*

to

to *Kent* above two or three years, before he was again engaged in war with the *Britains*. It doth not appear who were the aggreſſors: but the *Britains* ſeem to have united their forces, and to have had at firſt ſome conſiderable advantages over the *Saxons*, having driven them into the *Iſle of Thanet*; for there it was that the battle was fought at *Ebs-flete*, called afterwards *Wippeds-flete*, from *Wipped*, a *Saxon* nobleman, who was ſlain in the action. *Hengiſt* re-eſtabliſhed his affairs by the compleat victory which he there gained over the *Britains*, with the ſlaughter of a great number of their common ſoldiers, and twelve of their moſt conſiderable chieftains. It is uncertain whether the father of *Ambroſius Aurelian* fell in this battle, or in that of *Creccanford*; but he ſeems to be killed in one or other of them; ſince it appears from *Gildas* and *Bede*, that he was ſlain, not by the *Britains*, as ſome ſuppoſe, but by the *Saxons*; at leaſt, it is from this time that his ſon began to make a figure in the world, and appeared at the head of the *Britiſh* forces. *Ambroſius* was a *Roman* by deſcent, born of noble parents and anceſtors, who had been poſſeſſed of royal power, and had enjoyed the authority of ſovereigns, probably among the *Belgic Britains* (with whom it was uſual for the *Romans* to intermarry) by an alliance with ſome heireſs of a *Britiſh* clan, perhaps of the *Carvilii*: and this, or elſe thoſe *Britains* willing ſubmiſſion to them, in the poſts they had filled with benefit to the nation, might naturally tempt them to ſtay here, after the diſtreſſes of the Empire had called off the legions from *Britain*, and all the reſt of the *Romans* had buried their treaſures, and quitted the country. *Ambroſius* is the onely prince or commander in chief of the *Britiſh* forces mentioned by *Bede* and *Gildas:* it appears that he was ſo for life; and, as among his other virtues, [1] *Bede* particularly extols his modeſty, we may reaſonably conclude, that his election to that ſovereign command was an effect of his merit, rather than ambition; and that he was choſen by a general conſent of all the *Belgic Britains*. [2] *Nennius* allows him to have had the command of all the provinces inhabited by them in the weſt of *England*, though he would have it thought to be by a grant of *Vortigern*. Whenever thoſe two authors, and the *Saxon Chronicle*, ſpeak of the *Britains*, and of any action between them and the *Saxons* before this time, they never mention a ſupreme commander; perhaps becauſe he was only ſo on the particular occaſion: but take notice in general of ſeveral principal leaders killed; as if the *Britains* aſſembled and united only for the preſent exigence, and fought in their ſeveral clans under the command of their reſpective chieftains, none of them having a pre-eminence over the others. There were ſo many of theſe ſlain in the battle of *Wippeds-flete*, that the *Belgic Britains* had probably little choice of proper perſons equal to ſo important and exalted a dignity, when they came to be ſenſible of the neceſſity of a ſtanding General: and this ſeems to be inſinuated in what is ſaid of *Ambroſius* being almoſt the onely one of the *Roman nation* that ſurvived the battle. He ſoon juſtified by his actions the choice which they had made of his perſon: and, gaining a great victory over the *Saxons*, put an effectual ſtop to the progreſs of their conqueſts. *Gildas*, who celebrates it, doth not mention either the time or place of this victory: but it was certainly after the battle of *Wippeds-flete*, ſince it was won under the conduct of *Ambroſius*; and perhaps after *A. D.* 473, when the *Saxons* again routed the *Britains*; whoſe affairs, after that defeat, might be in an ill condition, till reſtored by this ſucceſs of *Ambroſius*; which is plainly the opinion of *Bede* and *Ado*; who, in their *Chronicles*, relate it as happening in the time of the Emperor *Zeno*, whoſe reign began *A. D.* 474, and ended *A. D.* 490. The ſcene of it muſt be placed in *Kent*, or in the borders of that county; becauſe, whatever advantage *Hengiſt* gained over the *Britains* in the engagement of *A. D.* 473 [3], it was ſoon loſt, *A. D.* 460

[1] L. i. c. 16. [2] C. 44. [3] *Chron. Saxon.*

A. D. 460. and he never extended his territories further. This *Saxon* prince, who was crafty, politic, cruel, and enterprizing, died, poſſeſſed only of *Kent*, after a reign of forty-four years, about *A. D.* 488, but more truly 490[1], when *Dinamius* and *Siphidius* were conſuls. His ſon *Æſc* ſucceeded; who, with his deſcendents to the time of *Ethelbert*, being princes of a different genius from *Hengiſt*, and very quiet in their nature, [2] contented themſelves with that ſingle province, never ſtirring out of it, and ſtudying rather to defend, than enlarge, [3] their dominions.

Of the *South-Saxons.*

VII. The *Saxons* of *Kent* were not the onely enemies which the *Britains* had to oppoſe: for *A. D.* 477, *Ælla*, another *Saxon* chieftain, landed with his [4] three ſons and a ſtrong force in *Suſſex*; defeated the *Britains* in battle; and, forcing them to retire into the foreſt of *Anderida* for ſhelter, took poſſeſſion of the maritime parts of that county. His firſt attempt was on the country between *Arundel* and *Shoreham*; in which he landed at *Cimenſore* near *Wittering*: and enlarging his ſettlement along the coaſt eaſtward, he laid the foundation of the kingdom of the *South-Saxons*; which afterwards took in the above-named foreſt and the greateſt part of *Surrey*. The *Britains* of thoſe parts did not part with their poſſeſſions eaſily; ſome years being ſpent, and ſeveral battles fought (particularly [5] that of [6] *Mearcredes-Burn*) before they were reduced. *Ælla* ſuffered ſo much in theſe actions, that, till he was joined after *Hengiſt's* death by a very numerous body of auxiliary *Saxons* from *Germany*, he durſt not undertake the ſiege of *Andred-ceaſter*: which proved a very difficult and dangerous enterprize [7]; the *Britains* haraſſing him continually, attacking one quarter or other of his camp every night, and falling on the back of his men by day, whenever he gave an aſſault to the city. Their arrows and javelins were unequal weapons to thoſe of the *Saxons* in a cloſe fight: but when hard preſſed by the enemy, they ſtill found a ready retreat into the adjoining foreſt of *Anderida*, and rallying again, left the *Saxon* General no leiſure to advance in the ſiege; till, dividing his vaſt army into two bodies, he employed one entirely to oppoſe the *Britains* and cover the beſiegers. *Ælla* was ſo exaſperated by the great loſſes he ſuſtained in theſe attacks, that, taking the town at laſt by ſtorm, he demoliſhed it entirely, and put all the inhabitants, as well as garriſon, to the ſword: and having thus extended his conqueſts to the frontiers of *Kent*, thought fit in the year following to aſſume the title of [8] King, fourteen years after his landing in *Britain*. This he refrained from doing as long as *Hengiſt* lived: but ſuch was his reputation afterwards for wiſdom and power, that he had great deference paid him by the other *Saxon* princes in *England*; and is reckoned by *Bede* [9] to be the firſt of thoſe great men, who, on account of their influence or authority over ſeveral parts of the heptarchy, were reputed monarchs of the *Saxons*. He died after a reign of thirty-two years, leaving his ſon *Ciſſa* to inherit his dominions; who, improving his father's conqueſts, reduced *Chicheſter*, an old *Roman* ſtation, the *Regnum* of *Antoninus's* itinerary: which being rebuilt and fortified by this prince, took from him the name of *Ciſſa-ceaſter*. The conqueſts of another *Saxon* chieftain in *Hampſhire* hindered *Ciſſa* from extending his further on that ſide: but in the courſe of a long reign, he ſubdued the *Britains* in the foreſt of *Anderida*, and raiſed the kingdom of the *South-Saxons* to the greateſt height of power it ever attained.

[1] *Ib.* and *Flor. Wig.* [2] *W. Malmſ.* [3] *Æſc* reigned twenty-four years; *Oëta* his ſon, twenty; and *Immeric* his grandſon, twenty-nine. [4] *Ælla's* ſons were *Cymen*, (from whom the place of his landing derived its name) *Ulenting*, and *Ciſſa*.

[5] *Flor. Wigorn. Chron. Sax. A. D.* 485.

[6] *Matth.* of *Weſtminſter* ſays *Ambroſius* commanded the *Britains* in this battle, and remained maſter of the field, though with great loſs: *Florence* of *Worceſter* makes the *Saxons* to have a compleat victory: the *Saxon Chronicle* and *Ethelwerd* do not ſay who had the advantage, though the preſumption is in favour of the latter, ſince *Ælla* ſtill went on with his conqueſts.

[7] *H. Huntingdon*, l. ii. [8] *Ib. A. D.* 490. *Flor. Wigorn.* puts this in *A. D.* 491. [9] L. ii. c. 5.

VIII. The

VIII. The kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons* was the next founded: but, being ſupported by a more numerous colony than any of the reſt, proved the ſtrongeſt of the *heptarchy*; and contributed more than any of them to break the power of the *Britains*. *Cerdic*, chieftain of a powerful clan of *Saxons*, landed, *A. D.* 495, with his ſon *Kenric*, at *Cerdicſore*, which *Camden* and others place at *Cerdicſand* near *Yarmouth* in *Norfolk*: but *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* ſuppoſeth it to lye on ſome part of the coaſt in the weſt of *England*; and it being full as proper for this *Saxon* prince, as it had been for *Ælla* before him, to land in a place, where he might be eaſily joined, on occaſion, by the forces of his countrymen already ſettled in this iſland, and the ſcene of his actions lying in *Dorſet*, *Hants*, and the adjoining counties, there is little doubt to be made, but this laſt opinion ought to be preferred. He was a wiſe, active, brave, and warlike prince; had much experience in military affairs, and a great character in his own country, where he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour and conduct on many occaſions: and he found, from the moment of his arrival here, a continual exerciſe for his talents. The *Britains* fought him the very day of his landing, but were worſted; and in the courſe of twenty five years afterwards, during which there was no intermiſſion of the war between them, ſcarce one paſſed without ſome conſiderable engagement. To ſupply the loſs of men which he muſt ſuſtain in theſe actions, however ſucceſsful they proved in the event, and to plant the territories which he reduced, he was reinforced from time to time by freſh corps of recruits from *Germany*; one of which is particularly mentioned as arriving [1] *A. D.* 50, at *Portesmuthe*, (ſo called, according to the common opinion, from the name of the chief commander) but more probably at *Portland* or *Porteſham*, lying on the ſea near *Abbotſbury* in *Dorſetſhire*. *Porte* landing there with his ſons *Bieda* and *Megla*, was attacked by a body of *Britains*, haſtily got together and led on by a young nobleman, who was killed in the engagement. But the moſt conſiderable of the *Saxon* victories was that gained by *Cerdic* in *A. D.* 508 [2], when *Natan-leod*, the greateſt of the *Britiſh* kings, was with five thouſand of his men left dead on the field of battle; from whence all [3] the country, as far as *Cerdicsford* now *Charford*, was called *Natan-leage*. In this action *Cerdic* was aſſiſted by the forces of the *Suſſex* and *Kentiſh Saxons*; and the *Britains* had collected theirs, in order to decide the fate of their country by a general engagement: in which *Natan-leod* charged *Cerdic* and the wing he commanded with ſo much fury, that he drove him out of the field; but purſuing him too warmly, was ſurrounded by *Kenric*. This prince, either not oppoſed, or victorious in the other wing, obſerving his father's diſaſter, did not amuſe himſelf in following a retreating enemy: but wheeled about, and, attacking *Natanleod* in the rear, whilſt his troops were diſordered by the purſuit, turned the fortune of the day in favour of the *Saxons*.

A. D. 460.

Of the *Weſt Saxons*.

This battle was fought in the weſtern extremity of *Hampſhire*, on the borders of *Wilts* and *Dorſet*; in which quarter *Camden* [4] fixeth it at *Charford*, a place preſerving ſome remains of the name of *Cerdic*; though he could find none which had the leaſt trace of that of *Natanleod*. In attempting to remove this defect, I muſt firſt obſerve, that the *Charford* here mentioned could not be the place, where either *Cerdic* or *Withgar* landed; it being ſeated near twenty miles within land, at a ſmall diſtance from the head of the river *Alaun* or *Avon*, which falls into the ſea at *Chriſt-church*. *Cherford*, lying between *Corſe-caſtle* and the ſea, in the iſle of *Purbeck*, and *Charmouth* [a] near *Lyme* in *Dorſetſhire*, are

[1] *Chron. Sax.* [2] *Chr. Sax. Ethelwerd. Flor. Wigorn.* [3] *Hunt.*
[4] *Britannia*, Hantshire.

[a] This place may well enough paſs for *Cerdicsore*, as every body allows *Char-ford* to be a corruption of *Cerdics-ford*.

A. D. 460. both very proper places for a deſcent on the coaſt of this country; where I am entirely of opinion that *Cerdic* landed. The *Dumnonii* were a powerful, hardy, and united people: and neither their character, nor the nature of their country, offered him any temptations to attack them; nor do I ſuppoſe that he poſſeſſed any part of that country farther weſt than the river *Axe*, which parts *Dorſet* from *Devon*, and the town of *Charde* in *Somerſet*, about twelve miles north of *Charmouth*. The more he advanced towards the eaſt, the nearer he approached the other *Saxons*, whoſe ſuccours he might want on occaſion; and as all the northern parts of *Dorſet* were taken up by the foreſts of *Blakemore*, the *White-hart*, and *Gillingham*, which running along a wild country as far as the marſhes of *Somerſet*, and the woody hills which ſerved for a defence to *Wilts* on that ſide, ſeemed to forbid all advances northward, he directed his march along the ſouthern and maritime parts of the [1] firſt of thoſe counties, which had been well cultivated by the care and induſtry of a trading people, and afforded him all the way the con-

A. D. 508. venience of his ſhipping. In this tract of country, notwithſtanding the diſtance of ſo many ages, there are ſtill ſeveral memorials of this prince's name, particularly in *Char-miſter* near *Dorcheſter*, *Cherford* by *Corfe*, and *Char-barowe* about five miles from *Poole*, and *Winburne Minſter*. He was now advanced to the borders of *Hants* and *Wilts*, the particular territories of the brave *Ambroſius*[2]; whom I take to be the *Natan-leod* in queſtion, who certainly well deſerved a name implying him to be *the defence of the country*, and *protector of the people*; to whom alone the title of *Rex maximus Britannorum* at this time could agree.

There is a tract of country in the weſtern part of *Hampſhire*, running along the borders of *Wilts* to the edge of *Dorſet*, which in thoſe days was wild, uncultivated, and covered all over with woods, and is now known by the names of *Chure* and *Buckholt* foreſts. This I judge to have been the region formerly called *Natanleage*, or, in more modern ſpelling, *Natanley*. It runs from *Tanley* (about four miles from *Andover*, and ten from *Ambreſbury*) its northern extremity, to *Charford*, which is univerſally allowed to be *Cerdics-ford*: and as it is very common in *England* for the old names of places to be cut ſhorter by the firſt ſyllable in their modern appellations, I judge *Tan-ley* to have been the *Natan-ley* in queſtion; from which, as from the chief town in an hundred, the reſt of the country was denominated, and in which its name ſeems ſtill preſerved. *Cerdic* found from the *Britains* in this country an oppoſition worthy of the ſubjects of *Ambroſius*, and anſwerable to the reputation of that warlike monarch; for on the other ſide of the ford, on which *Charford* ſtands, lies *Serchfield*; and about three

[1] *M. Weſtminſter*, *A. D.* 494, ſays he made it his buſineſs to get poſſeſſion of the ſea coaſts, where he advanced continually, but not without frequent battles with the *Britains*.

[2] Though *Ambroſius Aurelian* was his *Roman* name, proper to keep up the memory of his deſcent from a race of *Romans*, *Natan-leod* might be his *Britiſh*: and it is certainly agreeable to the *Britiſh* manner of giving names to perſons, being derived from *Naid*[a] (*refugium*, *aſylum*, *protectio*) *an* a ſign of the genitive caſe anſwering to *of*, and *Leod*, *populus*: So that it ſignifies the *defence* or *protector* of the *people*: The manner of this prince's death by poiſon, given him by a *Pict* at the inſtance of *Paſcentius*, as related by *Nennius*, and copied from him by other writers, is apparently fabulous; and they all differ, as well about the length of his reign, and the year when he began or ended it, as about the time of his deceaſe. But he muſt live to *A. D.* 508, if there be any truth either in what *Nennius* ſays, that he reigned forty five years, or in the famous *Arthur's* ſerving under him; which is aſſerted by *Malmſbury*; and is, in reſpect of time, agreeable to all the accounts given of this laſt prince in the lives of the many *ſaints* that flouriſhed in his days. For in thoſe lives he is ſpoken of as cotemporary with *Brachan* king of *Brecknock*, grandfather of St. *David*; and as being king of *Guent* at the time of St. *Gundleus's* marriage with *Gladuſa*, *Brachan's* daughter, and mother to *Cadoc*, *i. e.* many years before *A. D.* 500. He is indeed only mentioned there as king of that particular country; nor could he be repreſented otherwiſe, till after the death of *Ambroſius*, when he came to be general in chief of all the united *Britains*; which ſeems to be the reaſon, why thoſe who are willing to have him thought, in contradiction to the plaineſt facts, univerſal monarch of *Britain*, make his reign not to commence till after *A. D.* 508.

[a] See *Davies's Welſh Dictionary*, and explanation of names at the end of *Chron. Sax. v.* Natanleod.

miles further towards *Rumſey*, is *Sharfield* or *Cherfield*. There is another place of the ſame name near *Baſingſtoke*; *Fifield* and *Clanfield* lye in the foreſt of *Chure*; *Lichfield* near *Andover*; and there are above twenty towns in *Hampſhire*, whoſe names terminate in *feld*, the uſual mark all over *England* of places that have ſerved formerly for fields of battle. This ſhews what a deal of blood muſt be ſhed before *Cerdic* could reduce this county; which ſeems to have been won by inches, and the progreſs he made in the conqueſt of it ſo very ſlow, that notwithſtanding his victory at *Charford*, *A. D.* 519, and another at *Cerdicſley*, placed by the *Saxon chronicle* in *A. D.* 527, he did not advance to the *Iſle of Wight* till *A. D.* 530[1], when his great victory at *Witgara by rig*, now *Cariſbrooke-caſtle*, enabled him to ſubdue that iſland. The place laſt named was ſo called from *Witgar*, nephew to *Cerdic*, who, *A. D.* 514, landed at *Cerdicſore* with his brother *Stufus* and a freſh body of *Saxons*; a very ſeaſonable recruit to that prince: who, five years after, aſſumed the title of King, on the very day he gained the battle of *Chardford*[2]. *Huntingdon* ſays, the *Britains* received a terrible blow in that battle: and this gave ſo much confidence to *Cerdic*, that, concluding them unable to take the field with an army ſufficient to oppoſe his progreſs, he ventured the year following to enter the borders of *Berkſhire*, and laid ſiege to mount *Badon* or *Badbury*, a place of conſiderable ſtrength in that age by reaſon of its elevated ſituation. The *Britains* of thoſe parts applied to their friends and allies for aſſiſtance; ſuccours came to them from all quarters; the famous *Arthur*, marching with a body of the hardy race of the *Silures* to the relief of the place, raiſed the ſiege: and by his incomparable valour routed *Cerdic* in a bloody battle, with the ſlaughter of ſuch a multitude of *Saxons*, that they were forced to be quiet for ſome years; and never attempted, during that prince's reign, to advance further towards the *Severne*. *A. D.* 460.

THIS is the heroe, and this the battle, ſo much celebrated by the pen of *Taliеſſin*, and other ancient *Britiſh* poets; whoſe juſt praiſes of *Arthur*, and faithful account of his glorious atchievements, have been ſo clouded by the abſurd and ſenſeleſs fictions of later bards, and other romantic writers, in their injudicious endeavours to embelliſh them, that not only his actions, but his very being, have been queſtioned. What is ſaid by *Nennius* and *Geffrey* of his birth and deſcent, is evidently fabulous: there is no authority worthy of credit for there ever being ſuch a man as *Uther*; who ſeems to have owed his creation to the name of his pretended ſon, for *Uthr*[3] ſignifying, *wonderful* or *admirable*, and *Ar-uthr*, *more wonderful*, or *ſuperior to Uthr*, ſome perſon of a fertile imagination might thence take occaſion to ſuppoſe, that the name of *Arthur* was given him to ſhew that he was greater than his father. *Malmſbury*, ſpeaking of *Arthur* owns him to be a great man, and lamenting the fabulous ſtories of him ſpread over *Wales*, and ſwallowed too implicitly, doth him the juſtice to ſay, "that he was the ſupport of his country for a "long time; that he raiſed the broken ſpirits of the *Britains*, and formed them "into warriors." This author repreſents him however not as a monarch, but as a general ſerving under *Ambroſius*; which he probably did in his younger years: but it is full as probable, that after the death of this king he acted as *General in chief* in all the wars of his time between the *Saxons* and the *Britains*, who invited him to their aſſiſtance. It is in this light that *Nennius* and *Huntingdon* repreſent him: and the merit of the ſuccours which he brought them, beſides his great reputation, courage, military ſkill, and experience, naturally recommended him to that dignity. His own dominions lay remote from danger, and were not infeſted by any incurſions of the enemy: it was the generoſity of his mind, and the ardour

[1] *Chron. Sax.* [2] *Flor. Wigorn. H. Hunt.* [3] Dr. *Davies's Welſh Dict. v.* UTHR.

A. D. 460. of his courage, which put him upon marching with his forces to the aſſiſtance of the *Belgic Britains*, whenever they were preſſed by the *Weſt-Saxons*. His territories were ſituated more conveniently than any others of the *Welſh* princes for that purpoſe; for he ſeems to have been king of *Gwent*, which comprehended all *Monmouthſhire*, part of the dioceſes of *Hereford* and *Worceſter*, and the part alſo of *Gloceſterſhire*, lying between the *Wye* and the *Severne*. St. *David*, who was deſcended from *Brachan*, king of *Brecknock*, by one of his daughters, and founded the ſee of *Menevia*, was his uncle by the mother's ſide: and all circumſtances concur to ſhew that he was, like him, a native of *South-Wales*. As to his being a king, it is a fact put out of doubt by the teſtimony of *Lhowarch-hen*, a nobleman among the *Cumbrian Britains*; who ſays in his poems, that he had in his youth been himſelf at king *Arthur's* court; which, by all accounts, ſeems to have been uſually kept at *Caerleon*[1] upon *Uſke*, as is expreſsly aſſerted in the *Triades*. There is, on the ſouthern border of *Brecknockſhire*, an exceeding high mountain, aſcending nearer the clouds than any other in the neighbourhood, and terminating in a double top, like the famed *Parnaſſus*, which is called[2] *Cadair Arthur*, i. e. *Arthur's chair*; one part of the name being taken from its ſhape, the other from its ſuperior elevation, which induced the *Britains* to denominate it from the greateſt and moſt eminent of their princes. It was a name more in requeſt in thoſe parts than it appears to have been in any other quarter of *Britain:* and the ancient regiſter of *Landaff*, among ſeveral benefactions made to that church in the times of *Dubricius*, *Teliau*, and *Oudoceus*, the three firſt biſhops of the ſee, recites at length two grants; one, of the lands of St. *Kinmarc* by *Arthruis*, king of *Gwent*, ſon of that *Mouric*, king of *Glamorgan*, who gave *Moch-ros* to *Dubricius*; the other, of *Cairriow*, by another *Arthruis*, king alſo of *Gwent*, but the ſon of *Fernvail*, king of the ſame country. Theſe grants do not expreſs the year wherein they were made; it not being uſual in thoſe days to date them, and the leſs neceſſary in theſe inſtances, becauſe they were ſigned and offered, upon the altar of the church, in the preſence of all the chieftains, nobles, and clergy of the country, aſſembled in a general council. But the language and orthography in which they are written[3], ſcarce intelligible now to any of the *Welſh*, but ſuch of the learned as are verſed in the writings of *Lowarch* and *Talieſſin*, are ſufficient vouchers for their antiquity: and the lands were enjoyed by the ſee of *Landaff*[4], from the time of its firſt biſhops to that of the reformation. As the times agree, there is little room to doubt but one of theſe kings of *Gwent*, moſt probably the former, was the *Arthur* in queſtion; whoſe death, as it is generally agreed, happened *A. D.* 542[5].

This heroe ſeems to have been unfortunate in his marriages; the *Britiſh* antiquities aſſigning him three wives[6], all of the name of *Gwenever*; of which only the ſecond deſerved to be interred with him in the ſame ſepulchre. The firſt was carried off by *Meluas*[7], king of the *Somerſetſhire Britains*, in *A. D.* 509, and detained for a year at *Glaſtenbury:* but *Arthur* finding out the place of her retreat, and advancing with an army of his ſubjects and allies to inveſt it, peace was made between the two princes, and the lady reſtored, by the mediation of *Gildas Albanius*. The third proved the occaſion of his death by her intrigue with his nephew *Modred*[8]; which ſeems to have been the motive of that rebellion, in which the

[1] *Rob. Vaughan's Critic on the Britiſh Chronology.*
[2] *Gir. Cambrenſ. Itin. Cambriæ*, l. i. c. 2.
[3] See Sir *J. Pryſe's Brit. Hiſt. defenſio*, p. 25, &c.
[4] *Godwin De præſul. Angl.* [5] *Uſher's Ant. Brit.* p. 272, and Mr. *Vaughan's Critic on Britiſh Chronol.* [6] *Hiſt. Brit. defenſio*, p. 134.
[7] *Caradoc's Life of Gildas Albanius, Uſher's Chron. in Brit.*
[8] *Modred* was the ſon of *Anna, Arthur's* ſiſter, not by *Lotho* (or *Lewthin Luyddawg*, i. e. *the popular*) king of the *Picts*, as by *Geffrey of Monmouth's* miſtranſlation of her huſband's name is erroneouſly ſuppoſed, but by *Llew* (as he is called in the original) or *Leo*, ſon of *Meirchion*[a]; as is expreſsly aſſerted in ſome very authentic books of *Britiſh* antiquities and genealogies ſtill extant, which mention

traitor loſt his life, and *Arthur* received his death's wound at the battle of *Camlan*. *A. D.* 460. The name of this place ſhews it to be a valley, near ſome river called *Alaun*; but there were, in the old *Britiſh* times, ſo many rivers of this name throughout *Britain*, and conſequently ſo many valleys near them, which might be called *Camlan*, that it is not eaſy to aſcertain the particular place of the battle, nor even the quarter of the iſland in which it happened. It is more certain, that, wherever he was wounded or died, his body was tranſported to *Glaſtenbury* (where there was an old church in ſuch high veneration, that the corpſe of [1] St. *Iltut* and other *Britiſh* ſaints, as likewiſe of ſeveral princes who died in *Wales*, or other diſtant places, were tranſported thither) and was there buried near the church, between the two pyramids, as *Malmſbury*[2] deſcribes the place, ſome years before the grave was opened. The ſongs made in his honour by the bards, and ſung all over *Wales* (where *Henry* II. heard them, as he paſſed through the country on his *Iriſh* expedition) taking notice of his being interred at *Glaſtenbury*, raiſed the curioſity of that king: and drew from him an order, at the latter end of his reign, to have a ſearch made for *Arthur's* body. This was done about 1189; when after digging ſeven foot under ground, a broad grave-ſtone was found; in the upper part of which nothing appeared: but there was inſerted in the lower a croſs all of lead, with theſe words engraved on it; HIC JACET SEPULTUS INCLITUS REX ARTHURUS IN INSULA AVALLONIA. The modeſty of the inſcription, ſo ſuitable to the ſimplicity of thoſe times, and ſo very different from the pompous titles aſcribed to *Arthur* in the forged ſeals affixed to a ſpurious charter, which ſome pretend he granted to the univerſity of *Cambridge*, is a ſtrong preſumption of its being genuine, and engraved at the time of his funeral; before any of the legends were framed, which have deſtroyed the memory of his real actions, by ſubſtituting in their ſtead an heap of romantic ſtories, and a ſeries of imaginary conqueſts, inconſiſtent with the undoubted circumſtances of the *Britiſh* affairs. Some feet lower in the ground than this ſtone, was diſcovered a wooden coffin, in which lay the body of a very big-made man, anſwerable to the general opinion of *Arthur's* ſtrength, and the idea

both theſe princes, but ſpeak of them as diſtinct perſons. *Llew* was undoubtedly one of the *Cumbrian princes*; abundance of which are celebrated in the writings of the ancient bards, but ſeldom with any diſtinction of their territories; which, however generally known in their days, cannot now be eaſily traced (though in many inſtances they were denominated from their princes) through the want of monuments to preſerve their memory, and the changes that happen in the names of places in the courſe of ſo many ages. There is ſtill, on the edge of *Cumberland* and *Northumberland*, a wild and mountainous tract of country, called at this day *Lew's foreſt*, running north-eaſt from *Thirlewall* and *Belliſter caſtles*, not far from which the river *Alne* falls into the *South Tyne*, as the *Weſt* and *Eaſt Alaun* do ſomewhat lower. There is likewiſe, but more ſouthward in the *Cumbrian* dominions, another very conſiderable river, called *Laun* or *Lane*, which running by *Kirkby Laundale* falls into the ſea below *Lancaſter*. It is in a valley through which one of theſe rivers runs, that I ſuppoſe the battle of *Camlan*, or *Cwmlan*, as it is indifferently called, was fought; but more probably in the large tract of valley about the laſt, ſtill known by the *Saxon* name of *Laundale*, anſwering exactly in ſenſe to the *Britiſh Camlan*. It was equally natural for *Mordred* to retire with *Gwenever* to his own territories, and for *Arthur* to purſue him thither: nor was it more difficult to tranſport this laſt prince, when mortally wounded, from thence, than it was from *Camelford* in *Cornwall*, by ſea to *Glaſtenbury*: where, probably out of a motive of religion, he choſe to die and be buried. *Geffrey's* relation is too romantic and inconſiſtent with the hiſtory of the times to need a refutation. *Mordred* had no territories in the weſt of *England*, nor any in *Wales*, for though his brother *Gwalchmai*, or *Walwain*, a very pious and brave prince, who continued faithful to *Arthur*, was buried in *Ros*, in *Pembrokeſhire* (a quarter of which country ſtill paſſes by the name of *Commot Gwalchmai*) and his ſepulchre was there found in the time of *William* the *conqueror*, it is very certain he had no dominions in that county; though it may admit a doubt, whether he retired thither out of a devout veneration to St. *David's* memory, after ſeeing the miſeries brought on his country by his brother's rebellion and *Arthur's* death, or becauſe he was driven out of his own territories by the *Saxons*, as [b] *Malmeſbury* affirms. This writer adds, that *Gwalchmai's* dominions lay in *Walweithia* (or *Galloüidia* now *Galloway*) on the borders of which county lies the foreſt of *Lewes*, and being north of the wall, was formerly comprehended in that province, which took in a much greater extent of country, than it doth at preſent.

[1] *Vita S. Iltuti.*

[2] *De Antiq. Glaſton.* p. 306.

[a] See Mr. *Vaughan of Hengwrt's Diſſertation on the Britiſh Chronology.*

[b] L. iii.

one

A. D. 460. one ſhould naturally form of ſo renowned an heroe: but the uncommon ſize of the head, and ſome marks about it, ſeemed more worthy of a particular deſcription to *Giraldus Cambrenſis*[1], an eye-witneſs of what is here related; who obſerved therein the ſcars of above ten wounds, all of them healed, except one, larger than the reſt, ſtill open and gaping wide, which alone appeared to be mortal.

With this prince expired the glory, the ſtrength, and the virtue of *Britain*; which, being left by his death without a leader diſtinguiſhed enough by his merit, talents, and reputation, to unite the many little princes that ruled in their ſeveral territories or clans diſperſed through the various provinces of the iſland, and to enjoy the chief command of all their forces, undiſturbed by any competitor, loſt all hopes of expelling the *Saxons*, and haſtened apace to her ruin. If this had been hitherto delayed, it was owing purely to the great abilities and eminent virtues of *Arthur* and his predeceſſor *Ambroſius*; who infuſed their own ſpirit into the *Britiſh* nations, and animated them to thoſe great and glorious actions, of which they ſet them ſuch illuſtrious examples. It is of their times that *Gildas*[2] ſpeaks, when he extols the religion, piety, and virtues of the *Britains*, and repreſents the regularity of conduct univerſally obſerved by their kings and princes, the clergy, public magiſtrates, and private perſons, by all orders of men amongſt them: ſo general is the influence of the example; ſuch the happy effects of the wiſe government of great and good princes. That writer particularly celebrates the goodneſs, modeſty, affability, juſtice, honour, and fortitude of *Ambroſius*; and though he doth not expreſsly mention *Arthur*, yet he takes notice of the victory of mount *Badon* (which other cotemporary writers unanimouſly aſcribe to this prince) of the tranquillity which, in conſequence thereof, the *Britains* enjoyed for many years; and of the hopeful condition of their affairs, whilſt the race of men, who lived at the time of that battle, ſubſiſted; till another generation, growing up in the plenty and ſoftneſs of peace, and indulging themſelves in all kinds of luxury and exceſs, fell into the worſt of vices and enormities, which overſpread the land like a deluge, and made every part of it a terrible ſcene of rapine, violence, bloodſhed, and confuſion. They muſt be more than ordinary virtues, which can enable a prince to reform a nation, and preſerve an union between different ſtates and divided intereſts: nor can we deſire a more convincing proof, than the condition of the *Britains* in his time gives us, of the many excellent qualities aſcribed to *Arthur* by *Lhowarch-hen*, *Talieſſin*, and other cotemporary writers. The great reſpect he always ſhewed to *Dubricius* and St. *David*; his benefactions to churches; his encouragement of the many ſeminaries erected in his time for the inſtitution of youth in learning and religion; and the number of excellent prelates which filled the ſees during his government, are ſo many teſtimonies of his piety and zeal for religion. His very court was a ſchool of virtue; where *Lhowarch-hen* (whoſe poems, ſtill preſerved, are full of admirable precepts in morality) *Urian Reged*, *Kindelu*, ſon of *Kendroin*, *Cumbrian* princes, and *Gereint*, prince of *Cornwall*[3], were formed for the good government of their vaſſals, and for actions which have tranſmitted their memory with honour to poſterity. The generoſity of his nature, the nobleneſs of his ſentiments, the love of his country, and the public ſpirit which animated all his actions, appear manifeſtly in the continual expoſing of his life on all occaſions, whenever any other *Britiſh* princes deſired his aſſiſtance againſt their enemies; which, affording him opportunities of diſplaying his extraordinary valour, could not fail of being recorded by the poets of his time, ever fond of celebrating that ſhining quality, more than any other accompliſhments in their heroes.

[1] *L. De inſt. princ. & in ſpeculo eccleſiaſtico.* [2] C. 26. [3] See Sir *J. Pryſe's Defenſio hiſt. Britannic.*

IT is probably owing to the ſongs and poems, which they compoſed in honour of *Arthur*, that the names of the places, where he gained twelve of his victories, are ſtill preſerved[1]: They were all gained before *A. D.* 520, except that of mount *Badon*, which happening in that very year, is placed by all the *Britiſh* writers as the laſt in order of time: and the defeat there given the *Saxons* is ſaid by *Gildas* to be the laſt conſiderable one they had ſuffered before the time of his writing; which, was forty four years after that famous battle. They ſeem all to be gained over the *Northumbrian* or *Weſtern Saxons*; the ſcene of them lying in the north and weſt of *England*; countries poſſeſſed by the kings and people of the *Britains*, with whom thoſe of *Wales* held the greateſt correſpondence, and made the moſt frequent alliances. The effect of them was the peace and tranquillity before mentioned; which *Gildas* repreſenting to be general as well as laſting, it is very probable the *Northumbrians*, before weakened by the loſs of an hundred and forty of their nobility ſlain (as *Merlinus*[2] *Caledonius* ſays) by *Arthur* in the battle at *Coit-Kelydhon*, continued quiet all the remaining two and twenty years of *Arthur's* reign, as it is very plain from all accounts the *Weſt-Saxons* did; *Cerdic* never attempting, after his defeat at mount *Badon*, to paſs out of *Hamſhire*; but contenting himſelf with reducing the ſouthern part of this county (which lay too remote for *Arthur* to ſuccour) in order to make his territories contiguous to thoſe of the *South-Saxons*. *A. D.* 460.

THE *Britains* living in the countries that lay between the *Trent* or *Humber* and the *Thames*, in the midſt of the colonies and garriſons of the *Romans*, had been ſo long inured to the cuſtoms of the latter, that they retained very little of the *Britiſh*: and being thoroughly intermixed with them for ſeveral ages, it is not unlikely but they had, in that length of time, loſt the uſe of their ancient language. Whether it was for this or any other reaſon, we do not find in any of the poems of the *Bards*, in any of the *Lives* of *Britiſh Saints*, or in any other ancient writer, the

[1] The firſt of *Arthur's* battles is placed at the mouth of the river *Glen*; probably that which runs through *Glendale* in *Northumberland* on the borders of *Scotland*; the ſecond, third, fourth, and fifth were fought on the *Douglas*[a], a river running by *Wigan* in *Lancaſhire*, and together with a very large pool, called *Mereton-mere*, encloſing a tract of country which might from thence deſerve the name of *Lhyn-uis*, *i. e.* in *Britiſh*, *a pool of water*, or *Inis*, as *Higden* (in *Polychron*) calls it; being a kind of *iſland*[b]. The ſixth is placed on a river called *Baſſas* (perhaps from *Bas*, *ſhallow*, and *Eſſa*[c], *water*) a name which agrees well enough with the ſmall river, at the head of which lies *Baſingſtoke* in *Hampſhire*, and a little lower on it, *Baſing*, near which is *Cherfield*, preſerving the memory of ſome battle of *Cerdic*; with whom both the *Britiſh* and *Saxon* writers agree, *Arthur* had ſeveral bloody engagements. The ſeventh was in *Coit-Kelydon*, probably in the *Cumbrian* kingdom, and the place where *Merlinus Caledonius* lived, who ſpeaks of it in his poem, entitled *Avallenau*; though *M. Weſtminſter* imagines this battle was fought near *Lincoln*, a notion utterly groundleſs; and ſays that ſix thouſand *Saxons* being killed in it, the reſt of their army fled to the woods of *Kelydon*, and was forced to ſurrender. They were routed likewiſe with great ſlaughter in the eighth battle; which is ſaid to be fought at the caſtle of *Guinion*, probably the *Vinonia* of *Ravennas* and *Ptolemy*, now *Bincheſter* in the county of *Durham*; as the ninth was at *Caer-legion*, now *Cheſter*. The tenth was at *Arderith*, where, about fifty eight years afterwards, was fought between ſeveral *Cumbrian* princes one of the three frivolous battles of the *Britains* mentioned in the *Triades*, and which Mr. *Vaughan*[d] gueſſes to be *Arterith*, about ſix miles from the mouth of the rivers *Solway* and *Eſk* in the borders of *Scotland*. The eleventh is placed at the mountain of *Agned-Cath-Regenion*, which Mr. *Camden* takes for *Cathbregion* or *Cadbury* in *Somerſetſhire*, but Mr. *Lloyd* and others more probably for *Edinburgh*; the old *Britiſh* name of which was *Agned*, and the eaſt part of the old town is overlooked by an high mountain which is now called *Cadr Arthur*, perhaps formerly *Cadr Brenion*; words ſignifying either *Arthur's* or the *King's chair*, *caſtle*, or *fortification*. The twelfth of *Arthur's* battles hath been already mentioned, as fought, not at *Bath*, which was a famous city beautified[e] by the *Romans*, and too well known, if beſieged, to be called by any other name than *Caer Badon*; but at mount *Badon* in *Berks*, on the borders of *Hampſhire*, the ſituation of which agrees to its name; whereas *Bath* is ſeated in a bottom, and could never be taken for the *Mons Badonicus*, but by the gueſs of ſome unſkilful perſon, whoſe note of its lying near the *Severne* chanced to creep into the text of a copy of *Gildas*.

[2] See *Pryſe's Defenſ. hiſt. Brit.* p. 121.

[a] See *Brompton*, col. 1153. [b] *Neunii Hiſtoria Britonum*, and *H. Hunt.* l. ii. [c] See *Baxter's Gloſſ. Brit.* v. BEGISSA.
[d] *Diſſertation on the Britiſh Chronology.* [e] See Dr. *Muſgrave's Belgium Britannicum.*

A. D. 460. leaſt veſtige of their holding any correſpondence with either the *Welſh*, the *Cumbrian*, or the *Strathcluyd Britains*; or of their making any application to *Arthur* for ſuccours; though they ſtood in need of his aſſiſtance to enable them to make head againſt their enemies. Among other *Britiſh* cuſtoms grown obſolete among them, they ſeem to have loſt the uſe of *Bards*; at leaſt there is no account of any they had: nor do the *Welſh* and *Cumbrian* poets ever touch upon any tranſactions that paſſed in thoſe countries, after they were quitted by the *Romans*. Thus deſtitute of all memorials to aſcertain facts and explain the nature and particulars of the conſtitution of theſe people, we can only conjecture, that upon the extinction of the *Roman* power, the colonies, *Municipia*, and the countries adjacent, formed themſelves into little ſtates, under the government of ſuch of the *Roman*[1] officers in their reſpective diſtricts as thought fit to ſtay in *Britain*; or in caſe of their departure, under the command of ſuch of their own chieftains as had preſerved any account of their deſcent, or any remains of their ancient authority. Whether any union or league was made among theſe ſtates, as there had been of old in *Gaule*, and among their anceſtors in *Britain*, for their common defence, doth not appear: but in their divided condition, they were ill qualified to oppoſe the invaſions made upon them by the *Saxons*, in the time of *Arthur*.

Of the *Eaſt-Angles*, *Mercia*, and the *Eaſt-Saxons*.

IX. The conqueſts made by their countrymen in *Britain* not only drew over freſh bodies of men to recruit their forces, and plant the countries already reduced; but tempted other *Saxon* chieftains to engage in the like adventures, and to come over with their vaſſals, to ſettle in other parts of the iſland. The coaſt from the mouth of the *Humber* to that of the *Thames* lay very convenient for their making deſcents in the provinces, which afterwards compoſed part of the kingdoms of *Mercia*, and the *Eaſt-Angles:* and thither they firſt came, *A. D.* 527[2], in a very conſiderable body, being followed continually by numerous armies of other adventurers. It was not till after an infinite number of battles fought with various ſucceſs, that the *Britains* were reduced, and the *Saxon* chieftains got poſſeſſion of the ſeveral countries which they invaded. As theſe chiefs were many in number, all independent of each other, and made war ſeparately in their reſpective quarters, none of their names have been preſerved: and for the ſame reaſon, none of them aſſumed the title of King till *A. D.* 575[3], when the kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles* was founded by *Uffa*; as that of *Mercia* was, *A. D.* 582[4], by *Crida*, a deſcendant of *Withleg's*, the ſecond ſon of *Woden*; though the firſt of theſe did not arrive at its full extent till the time of *Redwald*, nor the laſt, till that of *Penda*. The *Eaſt-Saxons* came over at the ſame time with the others; and ſeized, by degrees, *Eſſex*, *Middleſex*, and the part of *Hertfordſhire* belonging to the dioceſe of *London:* but as they were likewiſe under ſeveral independent chiefs, none of them aſſumed the royalty till the time of *Erkenwin*. The kingdom of *Mercia* comprehended all the reſt of the middle of *England*, eaſt of the *Severne*, and ſouth of *Lancaſhire* and *Yorkſhire*, except *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Cambridgeſhire*, which compoſed the kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles*. The *Britains* in thoſe parts, divided as they were, might perhaps think they were able to repel the attacks of a parcel of little chieftains, who appeared to be as much divided as themſelves: and being naturally diſpoſed to have a good opinion of their own prow-

[1] The names of ſome of the little *Britiſh* princes at this time are plainly *Roman*; as *Caton*, ſpoken of in the life of St. *Winwaloc*, and *Conſtantine*, king of the country between the *Wye* and *Severne*, mentioned in his ſon-in-law *Pepiau ap Erb's* grant of lands to the church of *Landaff*. *Regiſter. Landav.* p. 92. *in Vita Dubricii*. This *Conſtantine* was uncle to the famous *Arthur*, and repaired *Worceſter*. *Leland's Itin.* T. iv. p. 169.

[2] *H. Hunt.* l. ii. [3] *M. Weſtm.* [4] *W. Malmeſb.* l. i.

eſs,

weſs, and to be puffed up with any little ſucceſs they chanced to have, they eaſily flattered themſelves with the hopes of expelling the *Saxons* by their own force, till theſe laſt were, by ſome favourable events, enabled to fix their ſettlements. Their progreſs however doth not ſeem to be rapid; for what contributed moſt to the forming of thoſe kingdoms was the ſucceſs and victories of the *Weſt-Saxon* princes. *Cerdic*, dying *A. D.* 534 [1], was ſucceeded by his ſon *Kenric*, a prince of an enterprizing genius, and neither in wiſdom, bravery, activity, nor in any other reſpect, inferior to his father. He ſeems however to have reſted quiet and contented with the dominions he inherited till ſometime after the death of *Arthur*; ſince he did not reduce *Wiltſhire*, which its high ſituation and woods rendered difficult of acceſs, till *A. D.* 552 [2], when having given a great defeat to the *Britains*, he ſoon after took the ſtrong fortreſs of *Old Sarum*, and made himſelf maſter of that county. The conqueſt of it ſeems to be completed about *A. D.* 556, which *Huntingdon* ſays was the fifth year of the war; when there was another bloody battle, in which the hiſtorian remarks, that the *Britains* drew up their army, after the *Roman* manner, in three *corps*, conſiſting each of three lines, it being moſt convenient for the uſe of their arrows and javelins; and that the *Saxons*, forming all one ſtrong column, attacked them with great bravery, and cloſed with the enemy; but notwithſtanding the advantage which they had by their weapons in that manner of fight, it did not terminate till night parted the combatants. It was fought near *Beran-birig* or *Barbury caſtle*: which is ſeated on an high hill near *Marlborough*, on the edge of *Berkſhire*; towards which county *Kenric* directed his advances. Whether he reduced any part of it, or made any further progreſs on the ſide of *Somerſet*, to which his way was now open, before he died, in *A. D.* 560 [3], doth not appear: but his ſon *Ceaulin* had undoubtedly ſubdued all to the *Thames*, before he paſſed this river, and invaded the provinces which made afterwards part of the *Mercian* kingdom. His forces were, in *A. D.* 571, advanced under the command of his brother *Cuthulf* as far as *Bedford*; where a battle was fought that decided the fate of *Mercia*. For the *Britains* of thoſe parts being defeated, and finding themſelves attacked on all ſides by enemies far ſuperior to them in force, had no party left to take, but either to ſubmit or quit their country. It was in conſequence thereof, that the three kingdoms above-mentioned were formed: and *Cuthulf* having immediately after his victory taken *Leigh-ton* [4], *Aileſbury*, *Benſington*, and *Eigneſham*, deemed royal cities, *Ceaulin* thereby ſaw himſelf maſter of the vale of *Bucks*, and of all *Oxfordſhire*.

A. D. 460.

A. D. 552.

A. D. 560.

CEAULIN, leaving the *Eaſt-Angles*, *Eaſt-Saxon*, and *Mercian* princes to finiſh the conqueſt of the countries in which they eſtabliſhed their ſeveral dominions, turned his arms upon *Glouceſterſhire*, which took him up ſome years in reducing: nor had he made any conſiderable progreſs in that work till *A. D.* 577 [5], when, having routed the *Britains* and killed three of their kings in the battle of *Derham* near *Marſhfield*, the cities of *Bath*, *Cirenceſter*, and *Gloceſter*, were forced to ſubmit to the conqueror. Some parts of the county held out ſeven years longer, till the battle of *Fethanleagh* [6], or (as *M. Weſtminſter* call it) *Frithenly*, which ſome take to be *Fretherne*, on the eaſt bank of the *Severne*; after which he took ſeveral other towns, and reduced all the country as far as that river. In this battle, which was fought with great obſtinacy, his ſon *Cuthwine* was killed, and the *Britains* had at firſt the advantage: but *Ceaulin* rallying his men, renewed the fight with greater

A. D. 584.

[1] *Ib. H. Hunt. Ethelward.* [2] *Ib. Chron. Sax. Flor. Wig. H. Hunt. A. D.* 551. [3] *Ib.*

[4] This place is, in the *Saxon Chronicle*, and by other writers, called *Lygan-birig*, which in *Engliſh* is *Ley-ton*, probably from its ſtanding on a river of the name of *Lygean* in *Saxon*, or *Ley* in *Engliſh*. See *Camden* in *Eſſex* ſpeaking of the river *Lygean* or *Ley*, which parts *Eſſex* from *Middleſex*.

[5] *Ib.* and *Ethelwerd.* [6] *Chron. Sax. H. Hunt. Flor. Wig.*

fury

A. D. 584. fury than ever; and gained a compleat victory. He bought it dear, by the loſs of a ſon, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in many actions, and was both beloved and eſteemed; whereas *Ceaulin's* reſtleſs humour and fury for war, which he carried on all his reign without any intermiſſion, rendered him infinitely odious, as well as dreaded, and created him a multitude of enemies that conſpired his ruin. It came from a quarter whence perhaps he leaſt expected it; from his own nephew *Ceola* or *Ceolric*, ſon of the brave *Cuthulf:* who rebelling againſt him, and ſetting up for the crown (as *Florence* of *Worceſter* ſays) in *A. D.* 591, [1] was ſupported in his pretenſion by the united forces of the *Saxons* and *Britains*. The diſpute was decided the year following by a battle fought at *Wodneſbury* or *Wanborough* in *Wilts*, on the edge of *Berkſhire*; in which *Ceaulin* being routed, was forced to quit his dominions, and died ſoon after in exile. His death ſecured a quiet poſſeſſion of the crown to *Ceola*; who enjoyed it but five years: and dying in *A. D.* 598, was ſucceeded by his brother *Ceolulf*, a prince full as unquiet in his nature, and warlike in his inclinations, as *Ceaulin*.

Of the *Northumbrians.*

X. It may be obſerved, with regard to all the kingdoms of the *heptarchy* abovementioned, that none of the *Saxon* princes aſſumed the title of King till they thought themſelves fully ſecured in the poſſeſſion of the provinces, which by that ſtep they erected into a kingdom. The *Saxons* ſettled in the north of *England* ſeem to have thought their poſſeſſion more precarious, and for a much longer time than any of the others; ſince none of their chieftains pretended to royalty till near an hundred years after their arrival in *Northumberland*. *Malmeſbury*, and our other hiſtorians [2] think, that they abſtained from it out of deference to *Hengiſt* and his line; who being deſcended of *Weldeg*, the eldeſt ſon of *Woden*, ſeemed entitled to the rights and prerogatives of primogeniture; and that they lived all that time, like private perſons, under the government of the kings of *Kent*, and in a conſtant obedience to their authority. The firſt leaders indeed of the colony ſettled in thoſe parts were younger branches of *Hengiſt's* family, and came over at his inſtance, in conſequence of a league he had made with the *Picts:* but whatever regard they paid to that prince during his life, there is not the leaſt trace of their receiving any orders from his ſucceſſors, or of their owing them any ſubjection. There are ſome princes whom *Bede* dignifies with the ſtyle of monarchs, as if they ruled over all the branches of the heptarchy: but that title carried with it no real authority, nor did it imply any vaſſalage to be due from other princes; being deſigned only to ſhew the great influence which they had in the other kingdoms, by their ſuperior talents, wiſdom, power, and reputation. This might be ſhewn by conſidering the ſeveral kings to whom it is given; particularly *Ethelbert* of *Kent*, *Redwald* of the *Eaſt-Angles*, and *Ceaulin* of the *Weſt-Saxons*, who, though all living at the ſame time, are yet equally ranked among thoſe monarchs; a title which, being given them perhaps in their life time by way of compliment on ſome occaſions, ſeems to have had in after ages a different ſenſe put upon it, inconſiſtent with the independency which every particular king enjoyed in his own realm, and every chieftain in his territories, before a kingdom was erected. Such an independency the *Northumbrian* chieftains enjoyed for about ſixty years after the death of *Hengiſt:* and though it was not ſo well adapted to make conqueſts, as royalty was, yet they took poſſeſſion of ſome parts of *Yorkſhire*, and made incurſions into *Lancaſhire*, till they were repreſſed by *Arthur*. They were perhaps forced in his time, as may reaſonably be in-

[1] *W. Malmeſb. H. Hunt.* [2] *Nennius*, c. 63. ſays, that after *Hengiſt's* death *Oeta* quitted the north to reign in *Kent*; but this ſeems a miſtake ariſing from his confounding *Oeta* with *Æſca*, the ſon, or *Oeta* the grandſon of *Hengiſt*, who ſucceeded one another in that kingdom, according to the *Saxon Chronology*.

KINGS of KENT.

A. D. 455. Hengist[a]. *ob.* 488.

488. Æsca[b].

Octa[b].

Ermenric[b].

560[a]. Ethelbert[b]. *ob.* 616.

616[a]. Eadbald. *ob.* 640.

[a]Ermenred. | 640[a]. Erconbert.

[a]Ethelbert. *ob. s. p.* | [d]Ethelred. *ob. s. p.* | [a]664. Egbert. | [a d]673. Lotherius. *ob.* 685.

[c]685. Eadric. *ob.* 686. | [c]686. Withred. *ob.* 725.

[a]725. Eadbert. *ob.* 748. *s. p.* | [a]748. Ethelbert. *ob.* 760. *s. p.* | [d]760. Alric. *ob.* 794. *s. p.*

A. D. 794. [a d]Eadbert *Pren. Usurps*, deposed, *A. D.* 796.
796. Cuthred *brother to* Kenulf *king of* Mercia. [a d]*ob* 805.
805. Baldred *put in by* Mercians.
driven out by Egbert. [c d] *A. D.* 823.

KINGS of SOUTH-SAXONS.

A. D. 490[g]. Ælla. *ob.* 514.

514. Cissa[g]. *ob.* 590[g].

Edilwald *the last of their race, ob.*[h] *A. D.* 685.
and Suſſex *ſubdued by* Weſt-Saxons.

KINGS of EAST-SAXONS.

527. Erkenwin[j]. *ob.* 587.

587. Sleda[i]. *ob.* 594.

[m]Sigebald | [i k]Sebert. *ob.* 616.

[m n]653. Sigebert. *bonus ob.* 660. | 660. Swithelm[m n]. *ob.* 665. *s. p.*

[m o]709. Selred. *ob.* 746.

616. Seward. *ob.* 617[k l]. | Sexred[k l]. *ob.* 617. *s. p.*

617 [m n]Sigebert. *parvus ob.* 653.

665. [m n]Sigheri. *ob.* 683.

700. Offa[m].
709. *goes to* Rome.

665. [m n]Sebbi. *resig.* 694.

694. [m n]Suefred | 694. [m n]Sigehard.

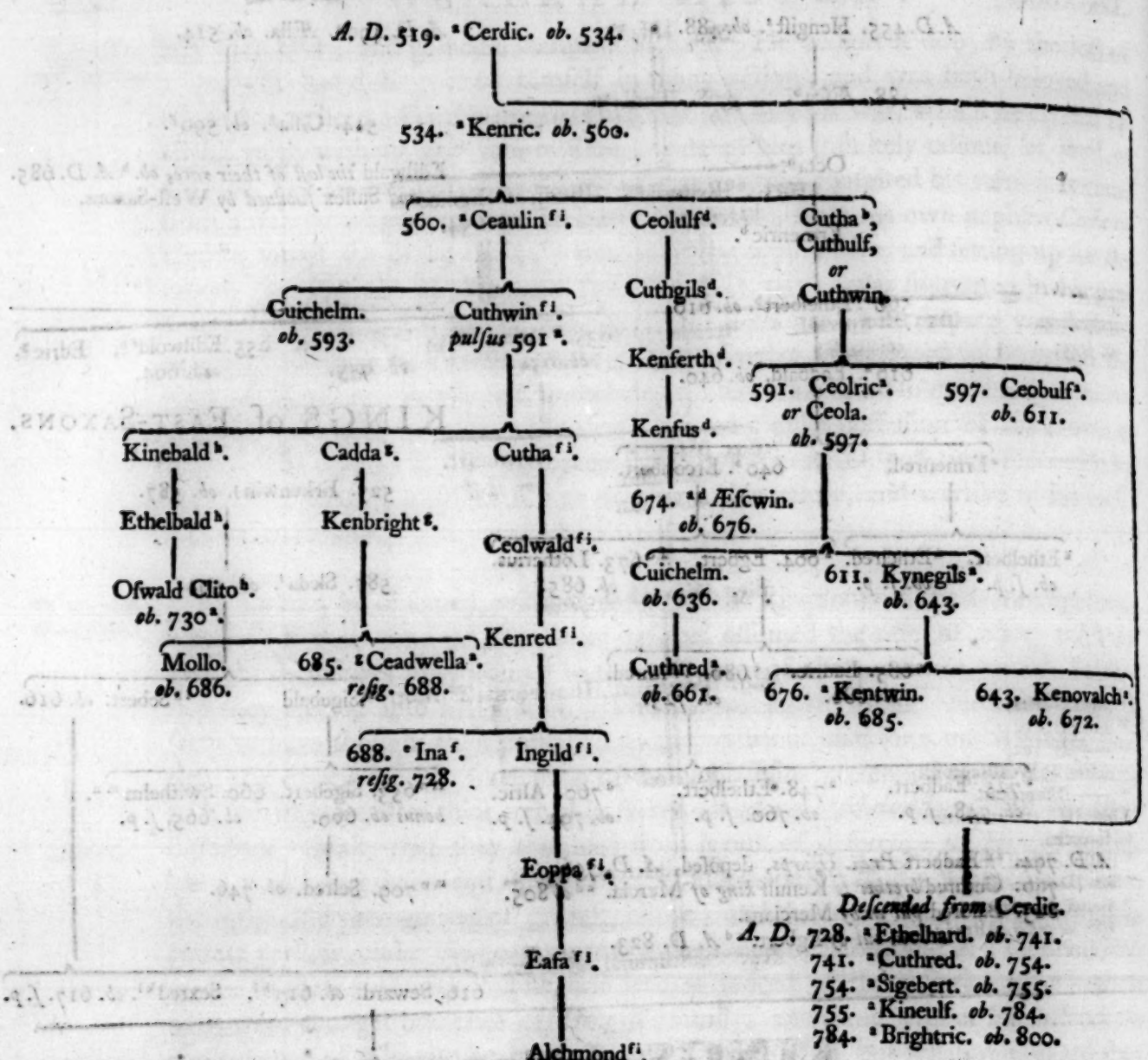
746. [p]Suithred[q].
[p]Sigeric *al.* Siric *went to* Rome, *A. D.* 799[q].
799. [p]Sigered *submitted to* Egbert, *A. D.* 823.

Chron. Sax. *at the year mentioned.*
[b] Bede II. 3. 5.
[d] Malmſ. l. i. c. 1. Brompton.
[e] Bede IV. 26.
[f] Evident. Eccliæ. Cant. inter Decem Scriptores, p. 2213.

[g] Mat. Weſtminſter.
[h] Brompton. p. 798. Bede IV. 16, 17.

[j] Matt. Weſtminſter.
[i] Hen. Huntingdon & Malmeſ.
[k] Bede II. 3. 5.
[l] Hunt. & Malmeſ. Brompton.
[m] Malmeſ. Alured, Beverlac.
[n] Bede III. 22. 30. IV. 11. V. 19.
[o] Chron. Saxon.
[p] Alured Beverlac.
[q] Flor. Wig.
[r] MS. Bibl. Cotton. Julius. c. 11. 3.

KINGS of WEST-SAXONS.



[a] Chron. Saxon. *at the year marked.*
[b] *Ib. A. D.* 568. 584.
[c] *Ib. A. D.* 611.
[d] *Ib. A. D.* 674.
[e] *Ib. A. D.* 688.
[f] *Ib. A. D.* 854. *& Sim. Dunelm.*
[g] *Ib. A. D.* 685.
[h] *Ib. A. D.* 728.
[i] *Aſſerius de geſtis* Ælfredi.

KINGS of EAST-ANGLES.

575. Uffa[a b].

578. Tytila[a b].

593. [a b]Redwald[c]. *ob.* 617.

Enni, *al.* Egnice[f g]. *ob.* 654.

Sigebert[a b e f]. = *refig.* 634. *ob.* 635.

617. Eorpwald. *ob.* 628.

Reinher[c]. *ob.* 616.

635. [f]Anna. *ob.* 654.

654. [f h]Ædilhere. *ob.* 655.

655. Edilwold[f h]. *ob.* 664.

Edric[h].

664. Aldulfus[h]. Adelulfus. *al.* Ulfus.

Jurwinus[h]. *ob. ſ. p.*

683. Alfwold. *ob.* 749[i].

749. Beorna, *al.* Hun-beorna & Albert[k].

Adelred[k l].

Ethelbert. *ob.* 793[k l].

855. [i]S. Edmund. *ob.* 870.

a Matt. Weſtm.
b Bede II. 15.
c —— II. 12.
d Chron. J. Wallingford.
e —— Brompton.
f Bede III. 18. 22. 24.
g Hoveden.
h Hiſtor. Elienſ. in Angl. Sacra, i. 595.
i Sim. Dunelm. *de geſtis Regum.*
k Alured. Beverlac.
l *Aſſer. de geſtis* Alfredi.

KINGS of MERCIA

A. D. 582. [a]Crida. *ob.* 593[b].

588. [c]Wibba. *ob.* 594[c]. —*conſanguineus*— Ceorl. 594[c]. *ob. ſeu ceſſit.* 604[c].

604. [c]Penda. *ob.* 655[b].

Alweon. *al.* Alwi.

Eoppa[a b].

[c]Marcellin [e f]Merewold.

655. Peada[b]. *ob.* 656.

658. Wolfhere[b]. *ob.* 675.

675. Ethelred[b]. *reſig.* 704.

Oſmod[a b].

Eanulf[a b].

704. [b]Kenred. *reſig.* 709.

709. [b]Ceolred. *ob.* 716.

Thingfert[a b].

821. [b]Bernulf. *ob.* 823.
823. Ludecan[b]. *ob.* 825.
825. Witlaf[b]. *exp.* 826. *reſtor.* 827. *ob.* 838.
838. [b]Bertulf *brother of* Witlaf. *ob.* 852[b].
852. [b]Burrhed. *exp. by* Danes. 868[b].

716. [b]Ethelbald. *ob.* 755. *ſ. p.*

755. Offa[a b].

794. Egferth[a b]. *ob.* 794.

794. [b]Kenulf, *trinepos* Wibbæ, *ob.* 819.

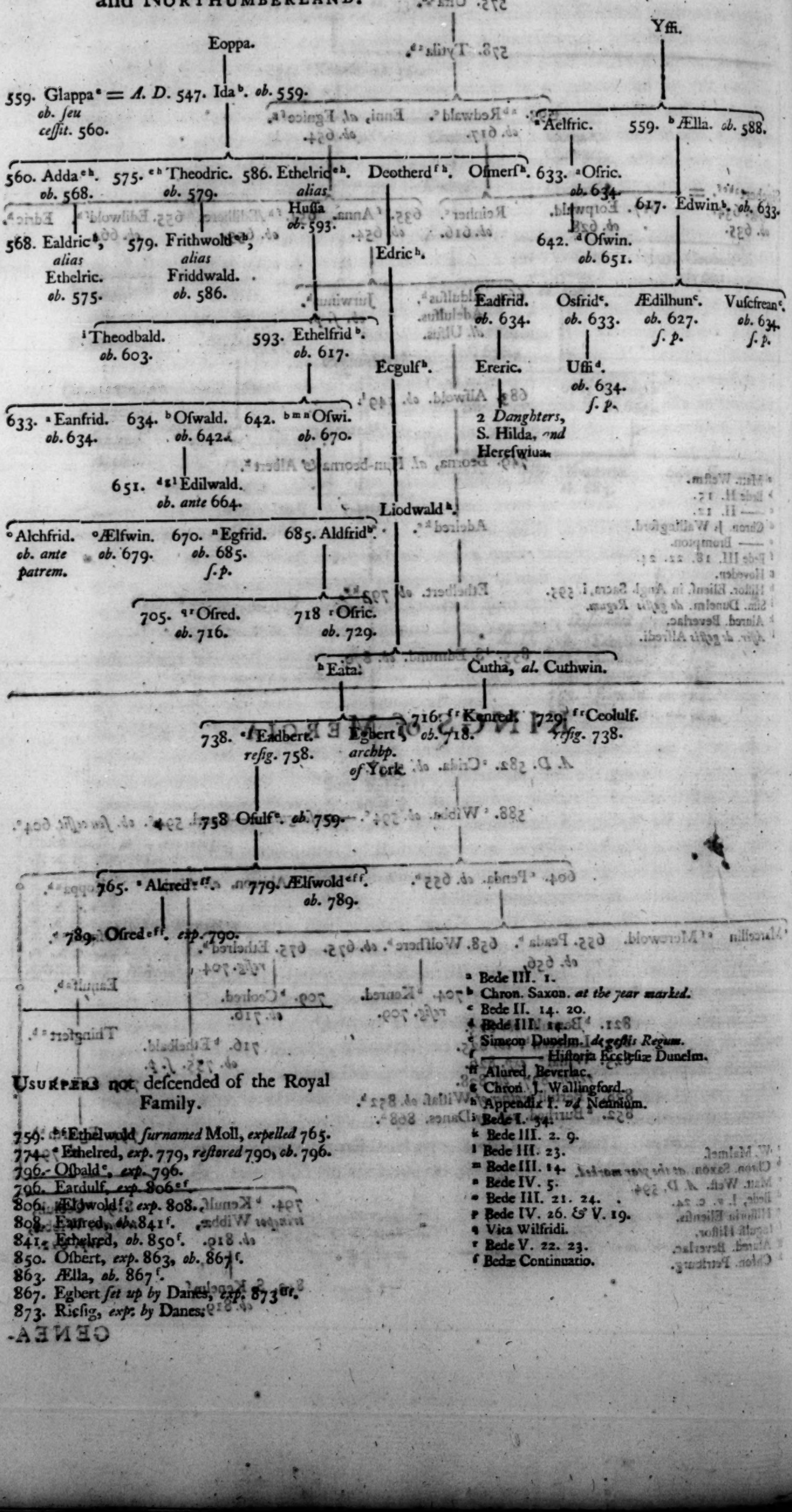
819. [b]Ceolulf, *trinepos* Wibbæ, *exp.* 822.

819. S. Kenelm[f]. *ob.* 819.

a W. Malmeſ.
b Chron. Saxon. *at the year marked.*
c Matt. Weſt. *A. D.* 594.
d Bede, l. v. c. 24.
e Hiſtoria Elienſis.
f Ingulfi Hiſtor.
g Alured. Beverlac.
h Chron. Petriburg.

GENEA-

GENEALOGY of the KINGS of BERNICIA and KINGS of DEIRA, and NORTHUMBERLAND.



USURPERS not descended of the Royal Family.

759. [e] Ethelwold *surnamed* Moll, *expelled* 765.
774. [e] Ethelred, *exp.* 779, *restored* 790, *ob.* 796.
796. Osbald[e], *exp.* 796.
796. Eardulf, *exp.* 806[ef].
806. Elfwold[f], *exp.* 808.
808. Eanred, *ob.* 841[f].
841. Ethelred, *ob.* 850[f].
850. Osbert, *exp.* 863, *ob.* 867[f].
863. Ælla, *ob.* 867[f].
867. Egbert *set up by* Danes, *exp.* 873[ef].
873. Ricsig, *exp. by* Danes.

[a] Bede III. 1.
[b] Chron. Saxon. *at the year marked.*
[c] Bede II. 14. 20.
[d] Bede III. 14.
[e] Simeon Dunelm. *de gestis Regum.*
[f] ——— Historia Ecclesiæ Dunelm.
[g] Alured, Beverlac.
[h] Chron. J. Wallingford.
[i] Appendix I. *ad* Nennium.
[k] Bede I. 34.
[l] Bede III. 2. 9.
[m] Bede III. 23.
[n] Bede III. 14.
[o] Bede IV. 5.
[p] Bede III. 21. 24.
[q] Bede IV. 26. & V. 19.
[r] Vita Wilfridi.
[s] Bede V. 22. 23.
[t] Bedæ Continuatio.

ferred from their defeat at the battle of *Bincester*, to retreat to their first settlements in *Bernicia* (which comprehended *Northumberland* and all the eastern parts of *Scotland*, as far north as the *Frith* of *Forth*) for except the third, fourth, and fifth, all the rest of his battles with them were fought in some part or other of that country. But after the death of that heroic prince, and the terrible slaughter made of the bravest and most experienced warriors among the *Cumbrian Britains* in the fatal battle of *Camlan*, the *Northumbrian Saxons* found themselves in a condition to enlarge their territories, and had reason to think their possessions well secured. *Gwalchmai* had succeeded his brother *Modred* in his dominions; which lying beyond the wall of *Severus* to the north of it, ran from the skirts of *Northumberland* and the head of the river *Tippall* to the borders of what is now called the county of *Galloway*; but was soon driven out of them by the enemy, and obliged to retire to *Ros* in *Pembrokeshire* [1], where, as some say, he arrived grievously wounded in a battle which he lost against the *Saxons*, though he had made them pay dear for their victory. It is not unlikely but the *Northumbrians* improved the juncture, by reducing the territories of some other *British* toparchs in those quarters; the *Britains* of the north, in the weak and distracted condition they were in after *Modred's* insurrection, not being able to oppose their progress. *Ida*, descended of the third son of *Woden*, a nobleman of the first quality [2], as just, humane, polite, and generous in all his actions, as he was brave, active, vigorous, and invincible in war, seems to have been the chief General of the *Saxons* in the expeditions which produced those conquests. The *Saxons* would hardly have been in a condition to make them, were it not for the great body of forces which he brought from *Germany*, in a fleet of sixty ships, to *Flamborough* in *Yorkshire* [3], where he landed *A. D.* 547: and marching northward, subdued the country of *Northumberland*, which had been the scene of so many battles in *Arthur's* time. It was this acquisition, and the lustre of his success, joined to the affection and esteem that his virtues gained him from all the world, which enabled him in that year [4] to assume the title of King, and to found the kingdom of *Bernicia*. He made his ordinary residence in *Northumberland*; where he built and fortified the castle of *Bamburgh* [5], and is reckoned the first king of the northern *Saxons*; no other of their princes, during his life, presuming to take that title: but he seems to have been possessed only of *Bernicia*, which, after a reign of twelve years spent in continual action, he left to his descendents. He was slain in battle by *Owen*, son of *Urian Rheged*, as *Talieffin* says in an elegy which he composed upon the death of this gallant *Britain*; to whose bravery, vigilance, and conduct his country had been chiefly indebted for its defence and security.

A. D. 584.

During *Ida's* life, some of those *Saxon* princes had reduced the *North* and *East-Ridings* of *Yorkshire* as far as the *Humber*: and upon his death, the most considerable of them, *Ælla*, the son of *Iffi*, descended, as well as *Ida*, from *Woden*, but by a different line [6], assumed the title of king of *Deira*; under which name was afterwards comprehended the rest of that province, as well as *Lancashire*, when they came, in the next century, to be subdued by his successors. *Ælla's* reign seems to have been generally peaceable, being distinguished by no remarkable action: but he dying in *A. D.* 588 [7], and leaving a son only three years old, named *Edwin*, his dominions fell into the hands of a more active prince, who had married his daughter *Acca*. This was *Ethelfrid*, who had already ruled *Bernicia* two years, in the name of his father *Ethelric* (one of the sons of *Ida*) who, though he en-

A. D. 560.

[1] *Malmesb.* l. iii.
[2] *Malmesb.* l. i. c. 3.
[3] *Chron. John Walingford.*
[4] So the *Saxon Chronicle* and all our historians affirm, except *M. Westminster*, who places this event *A. D.* 548.
[5] *H. Hunt. M. Westm.*
[6] *Ib. W. Malmesb. Sax. Chron.*
[7] *Chron. Sax.*

A. D. 560. joyed the title of king, was utterly incapable of government, being worn out with age and infirmities: and now uniting *Deira* to *Bernicia*, formed the kingdom of *Northumberland*. He is repreſented by *Bede* [1] as the prince who did the *Britains* greater miſchief, and took from them more provinces, than any other of the *Engliſh* kings and chieftains. It is probable that he carried his conqueſts as far as the *Trent*; the place of the battle, in which he loſt his life, affording reaſon to think that the counties of *Nottingham* and *Derby* were part of his dominions; though perhaps the only ones which had not belonged to his predeceſſor. For his *Cheſhire* expedition ſeems to be little more than an incurſion; that county making no part of the *Northumbrian* kingdom: the *Weſt-Riding* of *Yorkſhire* was not reduced till *A. D.* 620, when *Edwin* conquered the the territory of *Elmet* [2] lying about *Leeds*, and drove out *Ceretic*, the lord of that country; nor was *Lancaſhire* [3] ſubdued till about fifty years after, by *Egfrid* the ſon of *Oſwi*.

Diviſions among the *Britains* after *Arthur's* death.

XI. Nothing contributed more to theſe conqueſts of the *Saxons*, than the diviſions that reigned among the *Britains*. There were an infinite number of little princes or lords of territories within the kingdom of *Cumbria*; all of them indeed ſubject to one monarch, whoſe uſual reſidence was at *Al-cluyd* or *Dunbritton*: but being deſcended of *Coil* before-mentioned, or otherwiſe branched out from the royal family, and enjoying large appanages according to the cuſtom of *Gavelkind*, their ſpirits were too great to be eaſily governed and kept in order. They could bring, each of them, two or three thouſand men into the field; having their particular clans ever ready to obey their orders, to defend their perſons, and to fight their quarrels; in the performance of which duties to their *chief* the main of their religion ſeemed to conſiſt. They had taken different ſides in *Modred's* affair; and though nothing is ſaid of their diſſenſions before the battle of *Camlan*, yet their animoſities ran very high afterwards: and it appears from the ancient *Britiſh* writers, that they were much more ready to draw their ſwords upon one another, than employ them againſt the common enemy. They broke out into wars among themſelves, and into rebellions againſt their king, upon the moſt trifling and ridiculous occaſions; for nothing can be more ſo than a lark's neſt, and a couple of dogs, which yet was the cauſe of the battle [4] of *Arderyth*, fought *A. D.* 577, by *Aeddon ap Gafran*, ſtyled *Vraydog*, i. e. the *treacherous*, and *Gwendoleu*, ſon of *Keidiaw ap Arthwr*, a deſcendent of *Coil*, againſt *Rydderch ap Tydwal*, ſurnamed *Hael*, i. e. the *liberal*, king of *Cumbria*; in which the latter gained the victory, and *Gwendoleu* was ſlain with abundance of his followers; among which were four brothers of *Merlinus Caledonius*. *Aeddon*, who was welſh-uncle to *Rydderch*, made his eſcape to the *Iſle of Man*, and his ſon *Gafran* took refuge in *Ireland*; from whence they never returned; their lands, ſome of which lay in the foreſt of *Kelydon*, being forfeited for their diſloyalty. It may ſhew ſomething of the humour and principles of thoſe people to obſerve, that though *Rydderch* is extolled, by the ancient author of the *Triades*, for his magnificence and generoſity, and appears from *Merlin*, *Talieſſin*, the *old laws of the Britains*, and the *Lives of St. Kentigern* and *St. Aſaph*, to have been a very religious and deſerving prince: yet the attachment which the clans of *Gwendoleu* and *Gafran* ſhewed to their chiefs in this rebellion, the one in holding out and fighting daily for ſix weeks after their lord's death in order to revenge it; the other in following theirs to *Ireland*, and living with him there in exile, gained them the honour of paſſing in common repute, and being celebrated in the *Triades*, for *two* of the *three royal clans of Britain*; as if fidelity to their immediate chieftains was the onely loyalty they underſtood.

[1] *H. Eccl.* l. i. c. ult. [2] *Append.* 1. *ad Nennium.* [3] See *Camden* in *Lancaſhire.* [4] Mr. *Vaughan's Diſſert. on the Britiſh Chronicle.*

The feuds and quarrels between particular chieftains and their clans were not the only grievance under which the *Cumbrian* and *Strath-cluyd Britains* laboured: the crown, which was the principal means of their union, and whoſe power was neceſſary to keep the others in order, and to prevent the violences and extremities to which the parties at variance might in their fury proceed, if unreſtrained by a lawful ſuperior, was itſelf in a very precarious ſituation. The large territories given, according to the *Britiſh* cuſtom, to the younger princes of the royal blood, and the great number of vaſſals thereby attached to their perſons, and engaged to follow them in their enterprizes, put it in the power of two or three of theſe, united together, to ſurprize, depoſe, expel, or ſet up what monarch they pleaſed, whenever they found an opportunity favourable to their purpoſes. *Rydderch Hael*[1], mentioned in the *Dialogue* of *Merlin Caledonius* with his ſiſter *Gwendydd* (in which the ſucceſſion of the kings of *Cumbria* is regularly deduced) as predeceſſor to *Morcant Mawr*, ſon of *Saturnine*, was in his younger years driven out of the realm by the latter; one of whoſe accomplices (as the author of the *Life of St. Aſaph* calls the other rebels) was *Aeddon the treacherous* above-mentioned, who is particularly ſpoken of in the *Triades*, as the perſon that took *Caer-Alcluyd*, and deſtroyed all that he found in *Rydderch's* palace, and the country adjoining. *Rydderch* being forced to fly for refuge to *Ireland*, the impious *Morcant* (as he is called in the fragment of St. *Aſaph's* life extant in *Coch-Aſaph)* mounted the throne: and as St. *Kyndeyrn*, commonly called *Kentigern*, biſhop of *Glaſgow*, continued in all appearance loyal to his rightful, though exiled prince; and reproved the uſurper for his crimes, he perſecuted that holy man in a cruel manner, and forced him to retire into *Wales* for ſafety. This uſurpation weakened exceedingly the power of the northern *Britains*, at a time when they ſtood in need of all their united forces to ſtop the progreſs of the *Saxons*; it inflamed the former differences between the leſſer toparchs of the country; it created new factions, and expoſed the people to all the enormous evils of a diſputed title to the crown. A rent was made in the kingdom itſelf; for *Morcant* only got poſſeſſion of that part of it which lay in the weſt of *Scotland*, and was inhabited by the *Strath-Cluyd Britains*; whilſt the *Cumbrians*, who dwelt from the *Wall* ſouthward as far as the *Ribble* in *Lancaſhire*, had recourſe to *Urien*, lord of *Rheged*, for protection. This prince had been bred in *Arthur's* court, and was one of his knights: he had great experience in war, and great power in the country by the largeneſs of his territory, and the number of his vaſſals; he was ſtill greater by his reputation: and being equally wiſe and valiant, defended them as well from the attempts of *Morcant*, as from the invaſions of the *Saxons*. His noble qualities are celebrated by the pens of *Lhowarch-Hên* (who was his couſin-german) *Talieſſin*, and the author of the *Triades:* and the ſame writers do not fail to ſet forth the valour and conduct of his many ſons, who bravely ſeconded their father's efforts, ſerving under him in all he wars he had with *Ida* and other *Saxon* princes. *A. D.* 560.

It may be of ſome uſe, to ſettle the time of this revolution in the government of the northern *Britains:* which I take to have happened either a little before, or preſently after the death of the great *Arthur*. *Kentigern*, ſon of *Owen ap Urien*, a *Strath-Cluyd* nobleman, by *Thameta*, daughter of *Lotho* the *popular*, king of the *Picts*, was biſhop of *Glaſgow* in the reign of *Gurthmyll Wledig*, king of the north *Britains*, *Rydderch's* predeceſſor, and cotemporary with *Arthur*. This we learn from the *Triades:* and it appears from *his life*, that he retired into *Wales* during the lives of St. *David*, with whom he made ſome ſtay at *Menevia*, and of *Cathwallain*, uncle to *Maelgun Gwynedh*; who having his appanage in *Denbighſhire*,

[1] *Ibid.*

gave

A. D. 560. gave him *Elgwy*, now called *St. Aſaph*, for his reſidence, where he founded a great ſeminary; which, as his ſcholars lived under certain rules preſcribed by him, was, in the language of thoſe days, termed a monaſtery. *Kentigern* was there ſettled with his diſciples, when St. *David* died, and conſequently before *A. D.* 546; which is generally aſſigned for this laſt ſaint's death; though it ſhould be rather put in *A. D.* 544[1], when the firſt of *March* fell on a *Tueſday*. As *Morcant's* perſecution of *Kentigern* followed the expulſion of *Rydderch*, this event could not happen later than *A. D.* 543[2], though it might earlier; ſince it was in the younger years of *Maelgun*, that he killed *Cathwallain*, ſeized his territories, and took up his reſidence at *Diganwy*. *Morcant* enjoyed the crown till his death, when *Kydderch* was reſtored, and recalled St. *Kentigern*; who, leaving his ſeminary to the care of St. *Aſaph*, returned to his ſee, taking with him ſome hundreds of his ſcholars. The death of *Daniel* biſhop of *Bangor* (where he had founded a ſchool for the inſtruction of youth)[3] which happened between *A. D.* 542 and *A. D.* 545, was probably the occaſion of their being ſo very numerous. The time of his return to *Glaſgow*, one of the good conſequences of *Rydderch's* reſtoration, is generally agreed to be about *A. D.* 560: nor can it well be placed later, ſince he had ſent ſeveral of his diſciples to preach the goſpel in the *Orcades*, in *Norway* and *Iceland*, before St. *Columba* came over to *Scotland* in *A. D.* 565, in order to convert the northern *Picts*; on which occaſion he had a conference with *Kentigern*[4].

THE views of uſurpers being generally confined to their own ends, without any concern for the good of their people, it doth not appear that *Morcant Mawr ap Saturnine* took any meaſures to oppoſe the *Saxons*: but *Rydderch* being reſtored is mentioned with honour by the ancient author in *Nennius*, as fighting againſt them with great valour, as well as his ſucceſſors, *Guallauc* and *Morcant Mwynfawr*; the firſt probably his ſon, the latter certainly his brother, and ſpoken of with great regard in the *Triades*. But none of theſe princes diſtinguiſhed themſelves ſo much in defence of their country as *Urien* beforementioned; the ſame author ſaying, that, after ſeveral engagements with various ſucceſs, he at laſt prevailed ſo far againſt *Theodric* a ſon of *Ida*, who came to the crown of *Northumberland* about *A. D.* 571 (or perhaps in *A. D.* 567, for there is an error in the received order of ſucceſſion of the *Northumbrian* princes) as to force him to fly into *Holy iſland* for ſafety. It is very plain, that the *Britains* were the invaders on this occaſion, or had gained great advantages over their enemies, ſince they had pierced into the heart of their dominions; had driven them to the very ocean; and inveſted their prince in his ſtrongeſt fortreſs. What might have been the conſequences of this ſiege, if it had not been interrupted by an unexpected blow, which came not from a *Saxon* but a *Britiſh* hand, is uncertain: for *Urien*, the glory of his country, who had braved death ſo often in the field, and ſought it in vain among the thickeſt of his enemies, fell at laſt, in the midſt of his own men, by treachery[5]. Whether *Rydderch* imagined, that he was any obſtruction to the *Cumbrians* returning to their former allegiance, as the *Strath-cluyd Britains* had done (for it doth not appear that he recovered the ſovereignty of *Cumberland*, till after the death of *Urien*, none of whoſe ſons ſucceeded to their father's power or credit) or whether *Morcant's* furious animoſity againſt him did not ariſe from any political motive, but, as the author above quoted ſays, from meer envy, on account of his ſuperior merit, glory, and military ſkill, wherein he excelled all the princes of

[1] *Uſher's Ant. Brit.* c. 14. [2] *Wharton De A. D.* 560. [3] *Ib.* p. 274. [4] *Vit. S. Kentigern. Uſher's Ant. Brit.* c. 15. p. 358. [5] See *Vaughan's Diſſ. on Britiſh Chronol.*

the age, *Urien* had not beleaguered the place above three days, before he was basely assassinated, at the instigation of *Morcant* brother to *Rydderch*. The names [1] of the two assassins suborned to commit this execrable deed, who were both *Britains*, and served in his troops, are preserved in the *Triades*; where this is reckoned to be one of the three villainous murders committed in *Britain*, and which contributed most to its ruin. It was not many years afterwards, *viz.* *A. D.* 584, that *Gurgi* and *Predur*, nephews to *Urien* by his sister *Eurddal*, and sons of *Elifer*, or *Oliver*, distinguished by the greatness of his clan, and the number of his followers, having appointed a day of battle with *Eata*, a *Saxon* prince, at *Caergreu* in the north, marched to the place with a great army of their friends, relations, vassals and dependants: but the night before the battle, the greatest part of their men stole away privately and forsook their lords; who, too brave to fly, notwithstanding the inequality of the party, were there slain by their enemies. This desertion is, by the author of the *Triades*, imputed not to the fears, but to the infidelity of their forces; on which account that army, composed of their followers, was branded with an undelible mark of reproach, and conveyed down to posterity under the infamous character of being one of the three treacherous or disloyal clans of the isle of *Britain*. Such was the fate of that noble race of warriors, such the unhappy consequences of the feuds and animosities that reigned among the northern *Britains*. *A. D.* 560.

THE *Britains* of *Wales* were as much divided, as those of the *North*: and, being well enough secured by the *Severne* against the attempts of the *Saxons*, were more at leisure to pursue their private quarrels. Their country was distributed into a great number of little principalities, or territories belonging to several chieftains; who had each his particular clan of kinsmen and followers entirely devoted to his service; but all of them holding their lands under the prince of *North-Wales*, who was ever considered as their direct superior; to whom they owed the subjection and duties of vassals, as the learned Mr. *Vaughan* has clearly proved in his *British Antiquities revived* [2]. The prince reigning in the times we speak of was *Maelgun* [3] *Gwynedh*, the lineal heir and eldest descendent of *Cunedha-Wledig*; who had, at [4] the end of the fourth or in the beginning of the fifth century [5], driven the *Irish Scots* with great slaughter out of all the settlements they had made in *North-Wales*; and from one or other of whose eight sons all the lords of that country, as well as the princes of *Cardigan*, *Demetia*, *Glamorgan* and other toparchs in *South-Wales*, derived their descent. He is accordingly mentioned in the *Triades* [5] as being the sovereign at the same time, that St. *David* was primate, of *Venedotia*, during the reign of *Arthur*; *Gurthmyll* being then likewise king, and *Kentigern* bishop of the *Cumbrian Britains*. He had received a very good education (as *Gildas* says) under the *elegant instructor of almost all* Britain, a character which seems to point out *Iltutus*; but being naturally very wicked in his inclinations, he fell into all the vices and iniquities imputed to him by that author. There was a season when his crimes, which were very enormous gave him some remorse; and fancying he repented of them, he resolved to renounce the world, and retire into a monastery, to pass the rest of his days in a

[1] *Viz. Dyvnwall* the son of *Meneddwg* and *Llovan Llowdino*.

[2] Printed at *Oxford*, quarto, *A. D.* 1662.

[3] *Cunedha* was his *atavus*, or great grandfather's grandfather. *Nennii Append.* i.

[4] The ancient author published at the end of *Nennius*, says it was an hundred and forty six years before *Maelgun* began his reign, without distinguishing whether he means this prince's reign over *Venedotia*, or his being acknowledged chief king of the *Britains* in general. This last event happening *A. D.* 564, the victories of *Cunedha* should, according to this computation, be placed in *A. D.* 414. but if the time is computed from his ruling over *Venedotia*, they ought to be placed at least twenty five years earlier.

[5] See Mr. *Vaughan's Diss. on the British Chronol.*

A. D. 560. courſe of devotion and religious exerciſes: but being ſoon tired of a monaſtick life, he re-aſſumed his crown, and abandoned himſelf to all his former impieties. This his renunciation of the world, is placed by the *Britiſh* chronology in *A. D.* 552, and it is generally agreed that he died either *A. D.* 565, or *A. D.* 567, but rather in the former of thoſe years; an opinion, which is ſtrongly confirmed by a paſſage in the *Cottonian* manuſcript of *Gildas*, added by the author in the time that intervened between *A. D.* 564[1], when he firſt publiſhed his epiſtle *de excidio Britanniæ*, and the year of his death, which happened *A. D.* 570, according to the *Ulſter Annals*, or on *A. D.* 565, in the monaſtery of *Buis* near *Vannes*, according to others[2]. The paſſage, referring to the time that *Mael-gun* enjoyed the dignity of monarch of *Britain*, after he had been recognized as ſuch in a general council of all the ſtates and princes of *Wales*, ſays *that he continued in theſe ſins five years*, and dying without *legitimate iſſue*, left his crown to another[3]. It is no wonder that *Gildas*, writing in the reign of ſo diſſolute a prince, whoſe example, encouraging nothing but exceſs, adultery, inceſt, rapine, violence, and corruption, muſt have an unhappy influence over all orders of men, ſubject to his government, ſhould find reaſon to reprove the vices and irregularities of moſt of the clergy preferred by that tyrant[4]: for he had doubtleſs his eye on ſuch of them as lived in *Maelgun's* particular territories; the ſees of *South-Wales* being at that time filled with excellent prelates, whoſe lives *Gildas* himſelf deſired to copy, and who were too careful of their paſtoral charge to allow the leaſt diſorders in their dioceſes.

Maelgun, wicked and brutal as he was, did not want either parts, or courage, or military ſkill; though he imployed them ill, not to oppoſe the com-

[1] *Ib. Uſher's Ant. Brit.*

[2] *Fleury's Hiſt. Eccl.* l. xxxiv. p. 559.

[3] It may be proper to take notice of ſome chronological marks for the better clearing of what is further to be ſaid of *Maelgun*, and of the *Welſh* affairs. It is univerſally agreed, that the ſynod of *Brevi*, was held *A. D.* 519; in which *Dubricius* reſigned his ſee, on account of his great age, and retired to lead a monaſtick life in the iſle of *Bardſey*; where he died three years after. He was ſucceeded in his archiepiſcopal dignity by St. *David*; who chooſing, according to the taſte of that age, a wild ſolitary place, out of the world, as it were, for his abode, the primacy of *Wales*, was on that occaſion removed from *Caerleon*, to *Menevia*; ſees, uſually taking their denomination from the place of the biſhop's reſidence. St. *Teliau* ſucceeded *Dubricius* in the church of *Landaff*, and *Paternus* was appointed biſhop of *Cardiganſhire*; in which county he reſided at a town called from him *Lhan-Patern-Vawr* for twenty one[a] years: and then being preſſed to return to his native country *Armorica*, was there made biſhop of *Guenet*, or *Vannes*; where he lived to a great age, and ſubſcribed with St. *Sampſon* (as *Uſher* thinks) to the third council of *Paris*, held *A. D.* 557. This learned chronologiſt does not fix the time of the *yellow ſickneſs*; a peſtilential diſtemper, which is mentioned by abundance of ancient writers, as laying *Wales* almoſt deſolate, more particularly than by ſaying, it happened[b] either in the time of St. *David*, or in that of his ſucceſſor, who was *Ceneu* or *Kinoc*, tranſlated to *Menevia* from *Lhan-Patern*, where he had ſucceeded *Paternus*. But it was plainly in the time of the latter, ſince *Maelgun* died of it; as we are aſſured by the ancient[c] regiſter of *Landaff*; and it raged with ſuch violence, that *Teliau* with great numbers of his flock, thought it neceſſary for the ſafety of their lives to fly to *Armorica*; where they were well received and entertained at *Dol* by *Sampſon*. In their paſſage thither, they were kindly treated by *Geremius* or *Gereint*, prince of *Cornwall*; and touching in their return at his town of *Dingerein*, they found him on his death-bed at the point of extremity. *Teliau* ſtayed in *Armorica* ſeven years and as many months; and at his departure thence (which ſeems to be not long before St. *Samſon's* death, which happened on[d] *July* 28, *A. D.* 565) was much importuned by king *Budic* to ſucceed *Samſon* in the ſee of *Dol*. *Samſon* finding himſelf on the brink of the grave, made the ſame requeſt, but in vain: and *Dol*, upon *Teliau's* refuſal, was after his departure, on the death of *Samſon*, given to St. *Magloire*; who appears from the *Gallia Chriſtiana* to have been in poſſeſſion of it in *A. D.* 568. *Teudrick* (whom we ſhall have occaſion ſoon to mention) was king of *Glamorgan* at the time of *Teliau's* return to *Landaff*; where in a little time after, he conſecrated his nephew *Hiſmael* (ſon of *Budic*) biſhop of St. *David's*, then vacant by the death of *Kenauc*, who had probably been carried off by the peſtilence; and was ſucceeded himſelf by *Oudoceus*, another of his nephews; in whoſe time *Mouric* to whom his father *Teudrick* had reſigned the crown, made the grant of *Merther-Tewdric* or *Matherne* to the church of *Landaff*; which is mentioned by *Godwin*[e], and inſerted in the ancient regiſter of that church.

[4] *Tyrannico ritu.*

[a] *Vita S. Paterni. Uſher's Brit. Ant.* c. 14. p. 275. [b] *Ib.* c. 5. [c] *In Vita St. Teliani*, c. 5.
[d] *Fleury's Hiſt. Eccl. Ed. Paris*, l. xxxiv. p. 557. [e] *De Præſulibus Angliæ in Epiſc. Landav.*

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mon enemy, but to oppreſs his vaſſals and ruine his neighbours. He was perpetually waſting and over-running their territories; depriving many chieftains of their lands, and others of their lives; pillaging *Man*, and all the iſles that lay off the weſtern coaſt of *Britain*; and doing infinite miſchiefs to his countrymen. He had begun theſe practiſes whilſt *Arthur* lived; for it was before *A. D.* 540, that he interrupted [1] *Paternus* in his pious work of building churches in *Cardiganſhire*, and invaded it with an army in order to ſubdue the country. Upon *Arthur's* death, he pretended to take that ſupereminent authority over all the ſtates of *Britain*, which the other's perſonal merit and great qualities had procured him: but found no diſpoſition in any of the princes, to put themſelves under the command of a tyrant. Force was the onely expedient that could extort from them a compliance: and he haraſſed them with civil wars, till at laſt, under pretence of recovering the countries which had been taken by the *Saxons*, who were now advanced near the borders of *Wales*, he prevailed with the *Welſh* [2] princes to meet in a general aſſembly, and chooſe him monarch, general, or governor of all *Britain*. It doth not appear that any of the *Britains*, either of the north or of the weſt of *England*, were concerned in this election, or preſent at the aſſembly; which Mr. *Humphrey Lloyd*, upon the credit of a moſt ancient book of *Britiſh* laws, places in *A. D.* 560. It appears from the ſame authority, and the occaſion of the aſſembly, that *London* was then fallen into the hands of the *Eaſt-Saxons*; which agrees very well with what *Gildas* [4] hints of *Verolam's* being ſo too at the time of writing his Epiſtle. It is very probable that *Rydderch*, king of the *Strath-Cluyd Britains*, did not agree or ſubmit to this election; it not being eaſy to aſſign any other cauſe for a quarrel between him and *Maelgun*, or his baſtard ſon [5] *Run*, who commanded the *Welſh* forces, as the *Britiſh Antiquities* ſay, in the war againſt *Rydderch*; and died three years after his father. *A. D.* 560.

This is that *Maelgun*, of whom *Gildas* ſpeaks, as advanced higher than all the princes or generals of *Britain*, and as having attained at laſt the royal ſovereignty, to which he ſo ardently aſpired; though his dignity did not exempt him from the laſh of the author's pen, any more than ſome leſſer toparchs; as *Aurelius Conan*, *Vortipor*, *Cuneglaſs*, or (as Sir *J. Pryſe*, taking him to be of the *Cunethian* race, calls him) *Cunedag*, and *Conſtantine*. Theſe were all chieftains, *Vortipor* in *Pembrokeſhire*, the reſt in ſome quarter or other of *Britain*, and all living at the ſame time when *Gildas* wrote: yet the fabulous author of the *Britiſh Hiſtory* hath advanced three of them to the rank of monarchs, and made them ſucceed one another, in order to fill up the chaſm that would elſe have been left in the ſucceſſion of his imaginary monarchy between *Arthur* and *Maelgun*. There is nothing worthy of notice ſaid of any of theſe, but *Conſtantine*; whom *Gildas* repreſents as a native of *Cornwall*, not as prince of the country; though he might have ſome territory in it, as the younger branches of the royal family always had among the *Britains* [6]. The chief crime imputed to him, is the murder of two royal youths in a church, in their mother's preſence, cloſe by the officiating prieſt, whoſe veſtments were ſtained with their blood, and of two noblemen, who had the charge of their education, and had diſtinguiſhed themſelves above other warriors by their bravery; being invincible in the field, though they now fell baſely by the hands of aſſaſſins, as they were offering up their devotions at the altar. The place where this horrid murder was committed, makes *Gildas* charge it with ſacrilege; and its being committed by a near relation, is the reaſon why he treats it as a *parricide*; the ſame

[1] *Vita Patern.* and *Uſher's Ant. Brit.* c. 14.
[2] Mr. *Vaughan's Diſſert. on Brit. Chronol.*
[3] Sir *J. Pryſe's Defenſ. Hiſt. Brit.*
[4] N. 8. [5] *Vaughan. ib.*
[6] The author of his life, in *Bollandus*, ſays, he was the ſon of *Paternus*, a *Corniſh* chieftain or king, as ſuch chieftains were generally ſtyled in the territories of their appanage.

A. D. 560. term, which he uſeth afterwards with regard to *Maelgun's* murder of his nephew, whoſe wife he had debauched. *Conſtantine* perhaps ſtood in the ſame relation to the young princes; and might be, during their minority, according to the cuſtom of the *Britains*, their tutor, in the ſenſe of the word, as ſtill uſed in the *Highlands* of *Scotland*; where the next kinſman, or heir of the chief, hath in ſuch caſe the adminiſtration or leading of the clan, till he comes to age to head it himſelf. His view, in all appearance, was, to ſeize the inheritance of the young princes: but he ſeems to have been diſappointed either by the reſentment and oppoſition of the nobility, or by his own repentance; which *Gildas* mentions, and which, as others ſay, made him retire firſt to the monaſtery of St. *David's*, and afterwards to *Ireland*; from whence in the year after *Gildas* wrote his Epiſtle (in which, he ſays, he knew him to be ſtill living) he went with St. *Columba* to *Scotland*, to aſſiſt him in the converſion of the *northern Picts*; a work in which he is ſaid to have been very ſerviceable, and to have ſuffered martyrdom in *A. D.* 576 [1]. The young princes killed, were the ſons not of *Modred*, who had no poſſeſſions in the weſt of *England*, but probably of *Caradoc Ureich-uras*, who was king or chief prince of the *Corniſh Britains* in the latter end of king *Arthur's* reign, as is very well atteſted by the ancient author of the *Triades*. What renders this the more probable, is, that *Caradoc* was not ſucceeded by any of his children, and his crown deſcended to a collateral branch of the royal family; to *Gerentius* or *Gereint*, who was the ſon of *Erbin*, and king of *Cornwall* in the time of *Talieſſin*. There is, in the works of that chief of the ancient *Britiſh* poets, an elegy upon the death of this *Gereint* [2]; whom he extols for his valour, and who being one of *Arthur's* knights, had ſerved with great reputation under him, and was alſo related to that famous monarch. This relation could be only by the female ſide; becauſe, as *Talieſſin* ſays *Gereint* was the ſon of *Erbin*, ſo the ancient life of St. *Keby* [3] ſhews us, that this ſaint, who was the ſon of *Solomon*, chieftain of a *Corniſh* clan, and prince of a tract of country between the rivers *Liver* and *Tamar* in *Cornwall*, and retired out of devotion to *Angleſey*, where about *A. D.* 450, he built the churches of *Lhan-kybi* or *Holy head*, and *Lhandaver-gwyr*, was alſo the father of *Erbin*, and grandfather of *Gereint*. All this agrees with what hath been obſerved out of the life of St. *Teliau*, that *Gereint* [4] was the king of *Cornwall*, when this pious biſhop went to *Armorica* on the breaking out of the yellow peſtilence in *Wales*, and died near eight years afterwards in a very advanced age, at the time of *Teliau's* return.

We may obſerve further in this paſſage of *Gildas*, an inſtance of that old cuſtom which the *Britiſh* princes had of committing their ſeveral children to different perſons among the nobility and gentry of their country to be educated. *Giraldus Cambrenſis* [5] complains of it, as very pernicious in its conſequences; the foſter-fathers being ſo many partiſans retained on the ſide of their pupils; each labouring with all his might and intereſt to advance his own, in prejudice of the others, upon the death of the father. Hence aroſe thoſe quarrels and jealouſies between brothers, which coſt them ſo often their lives or eye-ſight; hence there appeared much greater affection, and friendſhips were generally found more ſincere and laſting between foſter-brothers, than between natural ones; theſe laſt rarely giving any teſtimony of theirs during their joint lives; though ready enough to revenge one another's death, if killed by others. A great deal of this ſentiment, with regard to foſter-brothers, ſtill ſubſiſts among the *Iriſh* and the *Highlanders* of *Scotland*; and it is a clear proof how much faſhion, intereſt, and a popular notion, ſo generally encouraged as to become a principle, can get the better of nature, and her ſtrongeſt

[1] *Vita S. Conſtantini in Bolland. Act. Sanctor. Mart.* xi.
[2] Sir *J. Pryſe's Def. Hiſt. Brit.* p. 122.
[3] *Cotton. Bibl. Veſpaſian.* A. xiv. 3.
[4] *Vita S. Theliavi in Regiſt. Landav.*
[5] *De Illaudabil. Walliæ*, c. 4.

obligations.

obligations. This was the ſource likewiſe of an infinite number of confederacies among the nobility and gentry; which produced terrible diſturbances in the country, and proved occaſions of thoſe civil wars that infeſted *Wales* in all ages of its ancient government, and prevented a brave people from employing their ſwords to ſtop the progreſs of a common enemy. *A. D.* 560.

XII. The *Britains* of thoſe parts were ſo entirely taken up with their inteſtine broils, that there is no account of any engagement of theirs with the *Saxons*, till their country came to be invaded. The firſt attempt of that kind ſeems to be made by the *Weſt-Saxons*, ſoon after the battle of *Derham*[1], in which three kings, who ſeem by their names, of *Conmail*, *Condiden*, and *Farinmail* to have been *Welſh*, were ſlain: and *Ceaulin* being, by the ſurrender of *Bath*, *Cirenceſter*, and *Glouceſter*, maſter of all the country about thoſe cities, and along the *Severne*, might eaſily ſend forces over this river to plunder *Monmouthſhire*. The laſt of theſe *Britiſh* kings, was probably *Fernvail*, king of that county, ſtyled King of *Guent*[2], in his grant of *Trylec* to the church of *Landaff*, in the time of *Oudoceus* ſucceſſor to *Teilau*. The time of his donation agrees with that of the battle; the ſituation of his country renders it likely, that he ſhould aſſiſt his next neighbours; and his death might naturally tempt *Ceaulin* to revenge that aſſiſtance, by ſending a party to plunder his territories, ſtruck perhaps with terror on that occaſion, and deſtitute of a proper head to oppoſe an invaſion. When the *Saxons* landed in *Monmouthſhire*, we hear of no king of *Gwent* taking the field againſt them: but *Mouric*, king of *Glamorgan*, levying an army, ſent to his father *Tewdric*, who had lately reſigned the crown to him, and who had ever been victorious in war, to take upon him the command; which he did with great reluctance. The old prince, quitting his monaſtery, put himſelf at the head of the *Britiſh* forces; routed the *Saxons* at *Tynterne* on the *Wye*; and cut moſt of their army in pieces: but receiving a mortal wound in the action, died at a place five miles off, ſeated near the confluence of that river with the *Severne*, and called *Merthir-Tewdric*, now *Matherne*, which his ſon thereupon gave to the church of *Landaff*. His corpſe freſh, unconſumed, the gaſh in his head as plain as if lately made, was there found about a hundred and forty years ago by biſhop *Godwin*[3], as he was getting the tomb repaired. Battles of *Tynterne* and *Cheſter*.

The next attempt made upon the *Britains* of *Wales*, was by *Ethelfrid*, king of *Northumberland*; who over-running the borders as far as *Cheſter*, was there oppoſed by *Brochmael Yſcythrog*, king of *Powis*, with a body of men haſtily got together; not having time to call in the aſſiſtance of *Cadvan*, grandſon of *Beli ap Rhun*, king of *Guyneth*; whoſe ordinary reſidence being at *Caernarvon* lay too remote from *Shrewſbury*, the chief ſeat at that time of the princes of *Powis*. The good old religious prince, truſting more to the prayers of the clergy, than to the force of his tumultuary army; and perhaps expecting ſome ſuch deliverance as had been formerly obtained in that country by St. *Germain's Allelujah* victory, was in his march from thence joined by a body of ſtudents, bred up in the famous ſeminary of *Bangor* in *Flintſhire*; where they were fitted for the ſervice of the church by a regular courſe of devotion, and ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures. Theſe were unarmed; their buſineſs being only to pray for the ſucceſs of the *Britains* during the action: and were poſted at a diſtance from the other forces, in a place which was deemed to be very ſecure: but *Ethelfrid*, obſerving this corps, and learning their defenceleſs condition, fell upon them firſt, and putting (as *Bede*[4] ſays) one thouſand two hundred of them to the ſword, found little reſiſtance from the reſt of the *Britiſh* army. Such was

[1] *Chron. Saxon*, *A. D.* 577.
[2] *Regiſt. Landav.*
[3] *De Præſul. Angl. in Epiſ. Landav.*
[4] *H. E.* l. ii. c. 2. The *Britiſh* writers ſay two hundred, and that they were ſent in proceſſion on an embaſſy to ſue for peace.

A. D. 546. the iſſue of the battle of *Cheſter*, which happened in *A. D.* 593, according to the old *Britiſh Chronology*. Some writers indeed place it in *A. D.* 603, not conſidering that this was the year in which *Bede* expreſsly [1] ſays, that *Ethelfrid* was employed in a very different part of his dominions to oppoſe an invaſion of the *Dalreudian Scots*, the firſt that they made into *England*, and the laſt that they ever attempted, being diſcouraged by their ill ſucceſs; their king *Ædan* being routed, and his whole army, in a manner, cut in pieces; though they had the better of the wing commanded by *Theodbald*, *Ethelfrid's* brother, who was killed in the action. This battle was fought at *Daegſtan*, probably *Dawſton*, near *Jedburgh* in *Northumberland*: and ſeems to have been later in time than that of *Cheſter*; becauſe *Bede* obſerves, that it was *Ethelfrid's* ſucceſſes againſt the *Britains*, which moved *Ædan* to that expedition. The ſame author however in another place, without mentioning any particular year, ſays [2] it happened a *good while after the death of Auguſtine*; a prediction of whoſe he fancies it ſerved to fulfil: and this, as that firſt converter of the *Kentiſh Saxons* died [3] *May* 26, *A. D.* 605, hath induced the generality of writers to aſſign *A. D.* 607, for the battle of *Cheſter*, though two years is rather too ſhort a ſpace of time to be reconciled with *Bede's* expreſſion, and the *Ulſter Annals* place it in *A. D.* 613 [4]. But [5] I look upon theſe different dates to be inconſiſtent with the relation of the battle; in the ſubſtance of which all the world agrees;

[1] *Ib.* l. i. c. 34. *Chron. Sax.*
[2] *H. E.* l. ii. c. 2. *multo tempore.*
[3] *Ib.* l. ii. c. 3. *& not.* [4] *Uſher's Antiq. Brit.* 536.
[5] There is a great deference certainly due to *Bede*, when he writes of his own knowledge, and treats of the *Northumbrian* affairs; about which he had abundant opportunities of being well informed: but there is no reaſon to extend this to other relations inſerted in his hiſtory, which he took by report from others, and in his preface expreſsly diſavows engaging his own credit for the truth of the facts. All that he ſays in their behalf, is, that he inſerts them exactly as they were related to him: and among others, from whom he derived accounts of affairs, he mentions *Albinus*, abbot of *Canterbury*. How this author could inform *Bede*, that *Hadrian* went with *Theodore* in his firſt viſitation, I cannot eaſily imagine: yet *Bede* relates it, though he knew *Hadrian* was detained by *Ebroin* in *France*, till two years after; during which time *Biſcop* governed the monaſtery of St. *Auguſtine's* [a]. From this hand doubtleſs came the relation of the battle of *Cheſter*, and all the paſſages relating to *Auguſtine*; which *Bede*, I am perſuaded, inſerted in his book, not only without any alteration, but even without examination. He would elſe have ſeen the miſtake of putting Pope *Gregory's* letter in *H. E.* l. i. c. 30. after that in c. 29, and ſaying it was wrote ſubſequent to the departure of the meſſengers from *Rome*, and ſent after them, when it appears evidently from the date of both, to have been written not only before the departure of the meſſengers, but alſo five days before the other letter; it being dated xv *Kal. Jul.* and the other x *Kal. Jul.* *Bede* was too good a chronologer to be guilty himſelf of ſuch a blunder, or to have overlooked it in another, or ſuffered it to paſs, if he had not put an implicite faith in his informers, or made it a point of religion not to deviate from their accounts, even when they appeared inconſiſtent. Thus it is ſaid in one line, that *Ethelfrid* got the victory, but not without a great loſs of his troops; and yet in the next, the *Britains* are ſaid to have turned their backs at the firſt advance or onſet of the enemy: it is ſaid alſo in one line, that *Ethelfrid* fell upon the *Monks* firſt, and put them to the ſword, before he attacked the *Britiſh* army, yet it is ſaid two lines after, that the *Britains* fled and left the unarmed *Monks*, whom they ſhould have defended, expoſed to the ſwords of the enemy. This relation of the battle of *Cheſter* appears clearly to me to have been vamped up by the *Monks* of *Canterbury*, exaſperated at the *Britains* refuſing to ſubmit to the primacy, which their church enjoyed over a great part of *England*. *Gregory* had, in his anſwer to *Auguſtine's* [b] ſeventh query, pretended to give him an authority over all the *Britiſh* biſhops: and *Auguſtine*, in a conference with them, had inſiſted on their owning and ſubmitting to him as their archbiſhop [c]. The *Britains* non-compliance in a point, wherein the dignity of the ſee of *Canterbury*, and the intereſt of all that had a ſhare in its juriſdiction, were ſo much concerned, exaſperated the *Monks* of that church againſt them: and hence thoſe unbecoming expreſſions: *perfidi—perfida gens—nefanda militia—oblata ſibi perpetuæ ſalutis conſilia ſpernentes*—applied to the *Britains*, without any appearance of reaſon for ſuch reflections. Hence the ſtory of a miracle pretended to be wrought, not upon a *Britain*, or a perſon known to thoſe who were to be converted, not to convince any body of the truth of the ſubſtance of religion, in which caſe God Almighty hath vouchſafed to interpoſe miraculouſly, but only to remove a few differences in mere ceremonies, modes, and circumſtances of worſhip, things indifferent in their nature, and in which all churches have innocently varied. Hence alſo the time of the battle of *Cheſter* was ſo adjuſted as to get a pretence, as well for entitling *Auguſtine* to the gift of propheſy, as for expoſing the *Britains* to other *Chriſtians* in an odious light; as having drawn upon themſelves the divine judgments, by refuſing to ſubmit to a primacy, which would have deſtroyed the conſtitution of their church, and the order eſtabliſhed in it from the time of their embracing the *Chriſtian* religion.

[a] *Hiſt. Eccl.* l. iv. c. 2. *Vita* abb. *Wyrimuth.*
[b] L. i. c. 27. [c] L. ii. c. 2.

I both

both *Saxon* and *Britiſh* writers with one conſent maintaining, that a great number of clergy and religious were maſſacred by *Ethelfrid*, and that *Brochmael* was General of the *Britains*. This prince was the grandſon of *Cadel* (ſurnamed *Deyrnlug*, i. e. *King of the river*, his territories lying about the river *Severne*) who was king [1] of *Powis* in the time of St. *Germain*, and had nine ſons born before *A. D.* 450. *Kynden*, one of thoſe ſons, married *Tydvael*, daughter of *Brachan* [2], king of *Brecknock*, and by her had *Brochmael*, who, as there paſſed at leaſt a a hundred and forty-three years between the time of his father's birth, and *A. D.* 193, could not well (as he was the eldeſt ſon of his father) be leſs than ninety [3] years old, at the time of the battle of *Cheſter*, if affixed to that year: and to extend his life fourteen years longer, in order to put him at the head of an army in *A. D.* 607, is contrary to all reaſon and probability. *A. D.* 560.

THIS battle, fatal as it proved to numbers of the religious, was, in another reſpect, very ſerviceable to religion in its conſequences. The clergy of *Wales* had hitherto lived retired from the world, and in a conventual manner, either in monaſteries, or in the ſeminaries which biſhops kept at their ſees, or that were founded in other places for inſtructing youth, and preparing perſons for holy orders. From theſe ſeminaries clergymen were ſent from time to time to preach the Goſpel in ſuch churches, as had been built by the piety of the lords of manors and territories for their own and tenants conveniency in aſſiſting at divine worſhip as opportunities offered: and all the inſtruction, which the people in the country had, was from ſuch occaſional and itinerant preachers. Princes indeed and chieftains of clans had always ſome eccleſiaſtics about them: but the people derived little inſtruction or benefit from thoſe chaplains; whoſe living in the houſes of the great lords, far from being of any advantage to their character, was the principal cauſe of that corruption of their manners, which is ſo vehemently inveighed againſt by *Gildas*. Of all the ſeminaries throughout *Wales*, ſeveral of which there were in each dioceſe, there was none ſupplied ſuch numbers of clergy for the purpoſes of religion, as that of *Bangor Iſcoed*, in which, according to *Bede's* account, there were two thouſand one hundred religious diſtributed into ſeven claſſes, as if they were nurſeries for ſo many dioceſes. That place was now become an inſecure abode for them, ſince the enemy was advanced to the *Dee* on which it was ſeated: and this conſideration, added to the general horror which the late maſſacre had occaſioned, put them upon providing better for their ſafety, and ſettling further up within the country. Thus pariſhes came to be ſettled in *Wales*, long before there was any ſuch inſtitution in *England:* and a ſurprizing number of churches [4] were built in all the counties of *North-Wales* preſently after the diſaſter here mentioned, in leſs time than can eaſily be imagined, and even before the year ſix hundred. Among theſe churches, that of *Lhan-dyſſillio*, and ſome others in *Montgomeryſhire*, were built by *Tyſſillio*, prince of *Powis*, and ſon of *Brochmael*, who died ſoon after the battle of *Cheſter:* and being founded by him before the later years fixed for this battle, afford another proof, that it ought not to be put later than *A. D.* 593; the time fixed for it by the *Britiſh Chronology*.

[1] *Nennius*, c. 33, 34. *Gir. Camb. Itin. Wall.* l. i. c. 2.

[2] This may be gathered likewiſe from the age of his mother, and her relations: ſhe was one of the twenty-four daughters of *Brachan*, the two eldeſt of which were mothers, the one of St. *Cadoc*, who founded the famous ſeminary of *Lancarvan*, the other of St. *David*, who died in *A. D.* 544, being eighty-two years old, and would have been a hundred and thirty-one, had he lived till this battle of *Cheſter*; and allowing *Brochmael's* mother to be twenty years younger than either of thoſe ſiſters, and to be twenty years later in life before ſhe was delived of *Brochmael*, he could not, allowing this forty years difference between his age, and that of his couſin-germans, be leſs than ninety in *A. D.* 593. See the lives of St. *Canoc*, St. *Dubanus*, and St. *Cadoc* in *Colgan*, and of St. *Gundleus*, St. *Kenauc in Bibl. Cotton. Veſpaſian.* A. xiv. 3.

[3] *Mona Antiq.* p. 152.

ETHEL-

A.D. 560.

Ethelfrid, by his victory, became maſter of all *Cheſhire*; ſo that, except part of the *Weſt-Riding* of *Yorſhire*, which was reduced by his ſucceſſor *Edwin*, part of *Cumberland* about *Carliſle* and *Lancaſhire*, the conqueſt of which was completed by his grandſon *Egfrid*, and the parts beyond *Severne* and *Somerſet*, which held out near an hundred years longer, the *Saxons* were at this time in poſſeſſion of all the provinces of *England*, that ever belonged to them, whilſt the heptarchy ſubſiſted. In what manner they treated the *Britains*, that ſubmitted to their dominion, is not particularly mentioned by any of our old hiſtorians: but it may be preſumed to have been gentle enough; ſince there is not the leaſt hint given of any numbers of them taking refuge in *Wales* or of any inſurrection being ever attempted by them after they were ſubdued.

It was an uſual policy among the *German*[1] and northern nations, that overrun the *Roman* Empire, and ſettled in *Gaule* and *Italy*, to keep two thirds of the lands to themſelves, and to aſſign the other third to the natives of the country where they ſettled. Whether they reſtored a third of their other plunder, in its nature tranſitory and periſhing, to the right owners, doth not appear; ſo that the practice of St. *Guthlac*[2], an *Engliſhman*, who uſed to do ſo, whilſt he followed the profeſſion of arms, might perhaps be owing to his particular ſcrupulouſneſs and tenderneſs of nature; as imagining there was the ſame equity and humanity in giving back a third of the perſonal, as there was for a third of the real, eſtate. It is reaſonable to think, that the *Saxons* took the ſame method in *England*, with regard to the chiefs of clans, or nobles, and the younger branches of their families, who ſeem to have been the only proprietors of lands among the *Britains*. The condition of the common people was much the ſame under both; for excepting that they were not called out to war, nor capable of civil employments, their manner of life was, in other reſpects, full as eligible under the ſervitude of the *Saxons*, as under the vaſſalage of their own chieftains. *Tacitus*, in his diſcourſe about the manners of the[3] *Germans*, compares their conduct with that of the *Romans* towards their ſlaves; who were treated by the latter, as brutes, with all kinds of indignities, tortures, and inhumanities, that are inſupportable by human nature; but found an uſage from the former, fit for men to receive, and ſuch as might be expected from a good father of a family to his houſhold. The *Romans*, republicans as they were, and fond as they pretended to be of liberty, were the proudeſt and moſt tyrannical maſters upon earth: and the cruelties, which upon the moſt trifling occaſions they exerciſed upon their ſlaves, were ſo ſhocking even to their Emperors, that they made ſeveral laws to reſtrain thoſe abuſes of their power, though they were not thoroughly removed, till the time of *Conſtantine*; who, among his other laws full of humanity,[4] provided by a reſcript, that the putting of ſlaves to death ſhould be puniſhed as murder. The *Germans* had reaſon to be provoked at this treatment of their countrymen who had been taken in war; yet when they defeated *Varus*, they took no revenge upon the *Roman* priſoners; employing them only in guarding their houſes, tilling their lands, and managing their rural affairs. They ſhewed no pride; they exerciſed no cruelty, no acts of puniſhment or torture upon their ſlaves[5]: they lived among the ſame cattle, lay upon the ſame ground with them; and the children of thoſe ſlaves were nurſed up in the ſame manner with their own, all that was expected from them, being only ſuch proportions of *work*, *corn*, *cattle*, and other produce of their farms, as are now done by hired ſervants, or paid by cuſtomary tenants. In a word, ſervitude was ſo very eaſy among them, that abundance of their own nation voluntarily entered into it, only to be eaſed of the

[1] *Leg. Burgund.* Tit. liv. *Leg. Viſigoth.* l. x. Tit. viii. *Caſſiod.* Ep. 2. l. xvi.

[2] *M. Weſtm. A. D.* 714.

[3] *Ib.* c. 20, 25, &c.

[4] *L. un C. de emend. ſerv.*

[5] See *Pignorius & Potgieſer de ſtatu ſervorum apud Germanos.*

cares

cares of life, and to be ſure of having a proviſion for themſelves and families, in caſe of being diſabled by age, ſickneſs, or other accidents, to get a livelihood. *A. D.* 560.

XIII. THE *Saxons* were as yet *Pagans*, but there is no reaſon to think, that they put any hardſhip upon the *Britains* who lived under them, in point of religion. Whether theſe laſt made any attempts to convert them, is a fact not to be cleared at this diſtance of time: but it is very certain, that, except in the province of *Kent*, which had been quitted by the *Britiſh* clergy and people upon *Hengiſt's* victory at *Creyford*, the *Saxons* had, in all their other kingdoms, been ſo continually engaged in all the hurry and tumults of war, from the time of their arrival in *Britain*, that they had not found a moment's leiſure to hear and examine the truths of *Chriſtianity*. They were leſs diſpoſed to receive them from the *Britains*, who were either their ſlaves or enemies, than from any other quarter: nor could theſe probably attempt to convert them for want of ſpeaking their language; which the *Britiſh* clergy were not likely to learn in an age, when retirement from the world was conceived to be an exemplary part of their duty, and a neceſſary point of religion. Theſe difficulties, inſuperable to the *Britains*, were at laſt happily removed by the means of a *French* alliance; by the prudence, piety, merit, and influence of a princeſs of that nation, and by the aſſiſtance of preachers, brought from among a people of the ſame common origin with the *Saxons*; who had for above three hundred years been their next neighbours, and lived all that time in the ſtricteſt friendſhip and confederacy with them; and who, beſides a perfect agreement with them in temper, cuſtoms, and manners, ſpake likewiſe the ſame language. Converſion of *England*.

ETHELBERT, a wiſe and good prince, had, in *A. D.* 560, ſuccceded his father *Ermenric* in the kingdom of *Kent*, which had now enjoyed a continued peace of an hundred years: and being concerned in none of their quarrels, had at leaſt a very great influence, if not a ſuperior, authority over all the other princes of the *Saxon* heptarchy. He had[1], in his father's life-time, married *Bertha*, the only daughter of *Caribert*, king of *Paris*, and couſin-german as well to *Clotaire*, king of *Soiſſons*, as to *Childebert*, the late king of *Auſtraſia*, whoſe two ſons, *Theodebert* and *Thierri*, reigned at this time, the one in that kingdom, the other in *Burgundy*. She was a *Chriſtian*, well inſtructed and zealous in her religion, which, by the articles of her marriage, ſhe had free liberty to exerciſe[2]: and for that purpoſe was attended by a venerable biſhop named *Liudhard*; who officiated conſtantly in a church dedicated to St. *Martin*, built in the time of the *Britains*, and lying a little way out of the walls of *Canterbury*. The exemplary life of this prelate, and the diſcourſes he had with the principal perſons about *Ethelbert's* court, diſpoſed many of them to embrace *Chriſtianity*: but the chief merit in getting it received was undoubtedly due to the queen, who, on that account, is[3] compared to the famous St. *Helena*, mother of *Conſtantine*. This princeſs had an excellent underſtanding, improved with an uncommon ſhare of knowledge and learning; the fame of which and of her good deeds had ſpread over the *Weſt*, and reached the ſeat of the eaſtern Empire. Nor is it any wonder, that a perſon of her good ſenſe and accompliſhments ſhould have ſuch an influence on an huſband, whoſe eſteem and confidence ſhe had gained by the wiſdom and regularity of her conduct in the courſe of thirty years, which they had lived together, as to perſuade him to have a good opinion of that religion, which ſhe profeſſed and recommended continually by her life and converſation. Nothing was wanting to produce a general converſion of the nation, but a ſufficient number of divines to preach the goſpel: the queen and *Liudhard* had, in all probability, uſed their endeavours, though ineffectually, to procure them

[1] *Greg. Turon.* l. ix. c. 26. [2] *Bede's H. E.* l. i. c. 25, 26. [3] *Greg. M.* l. ix. ep. 60.

A. D. 596. from *France*; becauſe the complaints [1], made on account of the great neglect of ſending preachers from the neighbourhood to *Kent*, are plainly levelled at the *French* biſhops.

To remove this defect, *Gregory the great*, then biſhop of *Rome*, hearing of this general diſpoſition of the *Engliſh* to receive the *Chriſtian* religion, ſent *Auguſtine* with a number of devout *monks* from his monaſtery at *Rome*, to preach the goſpel in *England:* but they had got no farther than *Provence*; when, terrified with the dangers and difficulties of the enterprize, they ſent their ſuperior back to report their fears, and to deſire leave to return. *Gregory*, perſiſting in his deſign, ſent them orders to proceed on their miſſion: and for their encouragement, wrote to the three courts of *France*, to take them under their protection, and to furniſh them with proper helps to promote the ſucceſs of their undertaking. He ſent letters to ſeveral *French* prelates to the like effect, as alſo to *Brunehaut*, regent of *Auſtraſia* and *Burgundy*, during the minority of her grand-children; who diſtinguiſhed herſelf ſo remarkably by her zeal on this occaſion, that *Gregory* [2] ſays, *Next to God, England was indebted to her for its converſion.* This princeſs ſupplied *Auguſtine* with a number of *French* clergymen who ſpake the *Engliſh* tongue; ſo that about forty miſſionaries in all landed in the *Iſle of Thanet*. Thither *Ethelbert* came to hear them preach in the open air, not caring to enter an houſe; perhaps to pleaſe his heathen prieſts, and ſhew them that his converſion was not to be aſcribed to the power of any ſpell, as they might be willing to ſuggeſt: and inviting them to *Canterbury*, provided there for their habitation and maintenance. They paſſed their time in continual prayers, ſinging of hymns, faſtings, and other acts of devotion and auſterity: they preached conſtantly in the church of *St. Martin*; the people were edified with their manner of life, and ſo affected with their doctrines, that ſeveral were converted and baptized. The king, in a little time, declared himſelf a convert: and the whole nation followed his example. *Auguſtine*, having received epiſcopal ordination from the primate of *Arles* in *France*, made *Chriſt-Church*, which had been built by the *Britains*, his cathedral; the churches, which though not demoliſhed by the *Saxons*, had fallen to decay, were repaired: the heathen temples, being hallowed, ſerved for places of divine worſhip; and feaſts of dedication were inſtituted to preſerve the memory of their conſecration. A ſeminary for learning was erected, and the abbey of *St. Auguſtine* founded; the king beginning there the ſtructure of a magnificent church, which ſerved afterwards for the ſepulture of his own ſucceſſors, and thoſe of *Auguſtine*; who, now poſſeſſed of the ſee of *Canterbury*, wanted to procure a number of ſuffragans to ſubmit to him as their metropolitan.

Whether he imagined, that his being the converter of a nation gave him any right to the authority, as well as character of an apoſtle, he had conſulted his patron *Gregory*, biſhop of *Rome* [3], about the meaſure of authority he ſhould aſſume over the biſhops of *France* and *Britain*. With regard to the power which *Gregory* pretended to exerciſe on this occaſion, it is not improper previouſly to obſerve, that *Valentinian* III. had, by an imperial edict [4], given to the biſhop of *Rome* an authority over all biſhops in his dominions; which, at the time of this *novel*, conſiſted of *Italy*, *Gaule*, *Spaine*, and part of *Illyricum*, but did not extend to *Britain*; which had been before caſt off by the Emperor *Honorius*, and left to
A. D. 598. ſhift for itſelf. The *Pope* in his anſwer allowed him no manner of juriſdiction over the *French* biſhops; the archbiſhop of *Arles* having received the *pall* from his predeceſſors; ſo that he could not act in the way of authority, but only of perſuaſion, with that prelate; whoſe primacy was an ancient inſtitution of the

[1] *Ib.* ep. 58, 59. [2] *Ib.* ep. 56. [3] *Bede*, l. i. c. 27. [4] *Concil.* tom. iii. fol. 1501. *El.*

fathers

fathers of the church, and not to be invaded in any reſpect: but gave him authority over all the *Britiſh* biſhops. Three years after, *Auguſtine* [1] received from the ſame hand a *pall* to be uſed only for divine ſervice, and a grant of juriſdiction for his life over all the *Saxon* biſhops, that ſhould be ordained in proceſs of time, as *Chriſtianity* gained ground in *England*. The *pall*, as the learned *M. de Marca* [2] obſerves, was a rich robe of ſtate, very magnificent, and hanging down to the ground: it was part of the imperial habit, and allowed to the biſhops of *Rome* by the favour of ſome Emperor, perhaps of *Conſtantine*, to whom it is aſcribed in the pretended *donation* of that Emperor inſerted in *Gratian's Decretum*; which though the grant be ſpurious, was yet extant in the time of *Charlemague*. It was indulged by the Emperors to [3] other *patriarchs*, when upon the alteration made in the civil polity of the Empire, by throwing ſeveral provinces into what was termed a dioceſe, and conſtituting a governor over the whole, with authority to receive appeals from each, the patriarchal dignity was erected with a like power in eccleſiaſtical matters; conformable to the model of the civil government, to which the church always had a particular regard. This patriarchal power and right of receiving appeals was veſted in the biſhop of the place, which was the ſeat of the ſupreme civil juriſdiction, and where the præfect of the dioceſe kept his ordinary reſidence. Thus *Anthimus* patriarch of *Conſtantinople* [4], being expelled from his ſee, returned his *pall* to the Emperor *Juſtinian*, to the fountain from whence it was derived; and when patriarchs took upon them to allow the archbiſhops in their partriarchate to wear it, they did not preſume to do ſo, without leave at firſt from the Emperors; and afterwards from the princes, in whoſe dominions the archiepiſcopal ſee was ſeated. So the Popes *Vigilius* and *Gregory* I. acted in the caſes of *Auxanius* and *Aurelian* of *Arles*: and when their ſucceſſors introduced the practice of granting the uſe of the *pall* without leave, they altered its ancient form to the modern, that it might no longer be deemed a part of the imperial habit, which it was treaſonable to wear without licence. It is now only a white piece of woolen cloth, about the breadth of a border, made round, marked with red croſſes, and thrown over the ſhoulders; two others, of the ſame matter and form, with each a red croſs on them, falling down from it, the one on the breaſt, the other on the back. This modern form was in uſe before *Alcuin's* [5] time, when *Boniface* archbiſhop of *Mentz*, having in *A. D.* 742. got a ſynodical decree to oblige metropolitans to apply to *Rome* for their *pall*, and pay a canonical obedience to the papal injunctions, this ornament, which was only deſigned at firſt for a diſtinction of habit, between archbiſhops and their ſuffragans, came to be made uſe of as a pretence to ſap the foundation of the archiepiſcopal authority, and to be urged as a mark to ſhew, it was derived only from the Pope's delegation. *Hincmar*, archbiſhop of *Rheims*, abſolutely diſavowed, even to Pope *Nicholas* I. himſelf, that he derived any enlargement of juriſdiction, or any new privilege from it, but other prelates, leſs firm, or leſs powerful, were forced to ſubmit to the impoſitions laid upon them, till they came at laſt by the *Decretals* to be inhibited from exerciſing any part of their ordinary authority, and even ſome eſſential branches of their epiſcopal power, till they had received their *pall* from *Rome*. The deſign of this was, to make them ſwear fidelity to the Pope; that promiſe of canonical obedience to him, which they had made ſince *A. D.* 742, having been changed by *Gregory* VII. into an oath of *allegiance*, ſuch as vaſſals by the feudal law were obliged to take to their princes.

A. D. 598.

[1] *Ib.* c. 29. [2] *De concord. ſacerd. & imp.* l. vi. c. 6. § 6, 7. [3] See the eighth General council at *Conſtantinople*, *A. D.* 872. [4] *Liberat diacon. breviar.* c. 21. [5] *De divin. offic. Boniface*, ep. 105. *ad Cuthbert.*

Augustine, honoured with the *pall*, and countenanced by a papal grant of authority over the *Britiſh* biſhops, reſolved to try how far they would ſubmit to it: and by the credit of king *Ethelbert* got a meeting with ſome of them, probably near *Auſt* or *Auſt-clive*[1], the uſual paſſage for ferrying over the *Severne* into *Wales*, and where *Edward the elder* had afterwards an interview with *Leoline* prince of that country; it lying on the extremity of *Glouceſterſhire*, inhabited by *A. D.* 603. the *Huiccii*, and on the borders of what was in *Bede's* time the kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons*. The *Britains* kept *Eaſter* on a different day, and diſagreed in ſome other ceremonies from the *Romans*; whoſe practice *Auguſtine* preſſed them to adopt, in order, after a conformity was once eſtabliſhed, to preach the goſpel jointly to the *Saxons:* but they being neither convinced by his arguments, nor impowered to give up the ancient cuſtoms of their church, propoſed a ſecond meeting, when more of their body might be preſent. There came accordingly ſeven *Britiſh* biſhops, and a great many learned men from the famous monaſtery of *Bangor*, over which *Dinoth* at that time preſided; but this conference proved as fruitleſs as the former. *Auguſtine* inſiſted on their obeying him in three things, *viz.* in keeping *Eaſter* on the ſame day, in adminiſtering baptiſm with the ſame rites that were uſed in the *Roman* church, and in joining with him to preach the word of God to the *Engliſh*; and in that caſe he would bear with the diſagreement of their cuſtoms in other reſpects. He was ſitting, and had not moved from his ſeat, when they came to the place of conference: the *Britiſh* biſhops thence concluded, he was an haughty man; and that, if he treated them with ſo much contempt and rudeneſs, before they had received him for their ſuperior, he would treat them much worſe afterwards. The churches of *Wales* had never been ſubject to any, but the archbiſhops of *Caerleon* and their ſucceſſors, who had of late removed their place of abode to St. *David's*. They were in the caſe of the *Cypriot* churches, whoſe independency was on a ſolemn hearing confirmed by the General council of *Epheſus*; the *Britiſh* biſhops accordingly reſolved to maintain their original rites without acting in ſubordination to *Auguſtine* in any point; and declared they would neither give up their ancient uſages, nor receive him for their archbiſhop. Thus ended this conference, which *Bede* placeth after the battle of *Dægſtan*.

A. D. 604. Augustine was yet without a ſuffragan; but in the year following he conſecrated *Juſtus* biſhop of *Rocheſter*; aſſigning him part of *Kent* for his dioceſe, and *Mellitus* to be biſhop of *London*, upon the converſion of the *Eaſt-Saxons*. *Sebert*, king of this people, was nephew to *Ethelbert* by his ſiſter *Ricula*[2]: and being himſelf baptized, many of his ſubjects embraced *Chriſtianity*. But theſe two princes dying about the ſame time, *A. D.* 616, their ſons relapſed into *idolatry*; and though *Sebert's* were all three cut off in a ſhort time, and their forces routed in a battle with the *Weſt-Saxons*, the *Londoners* were ſo attached to their pagan cuſtoms, that the *Chriſtian* religion never flouriſhed among them till *A. D.* 653, when *Sigebert*[3] *the good* was converted by the means of *Oſwi* king of the *Northumbrians*. *Eadbald* ſon of *Ethelbert* ſoon recovered from his apoſtaſy; and was inſtrumental in the converſion of the[4] *Engliſh* nation inhabiting north of *Humber*, by marrying his ſiſter *Ethelburga* to *Edwin* king of that nation, upon his ſolemn promiſe, that he would not only allow her and all her retinue the free exerciſe of their religion, but would alſo examine into it himſelf, and embrace it, if he found it more holy than his own, and more worthy of the divine nature. *Paulinus*, a wiſe and learned biſhop, extremely well qualified for his province, with ſeveral other clergymen, attended the princeſs to her

[1] See *Camden*, Gloucester. [2] *Bede*, l. ii. c. 5. [3] *Ib.* l. iii. c. 22. [4] *Ib.* l. ii. c. 9.

husband in *A. D.* 625: but it was not till two years after, [1] that *Edwin* was converted. *A. D.* 604. In this great point of changing his religion, he proceeded with all the care, calmness, and deliberation that the importance of the affair deserved. Not satisfied with his own reflections, which he often retired for hours together to make without interruption, and with reasoning in private with his ministers on the subject, he convened all his nobility, counsellors, and friends, to examine the grounds of both religions, in a solemn assembly, where *Paulinus* was heard in behalf of the *Christian*, as the chief pontiff was in defence of the *Pagan*; and in the conclusion, an unanimous resolution was taken in favour of the *Christian* religion. The pontiff himself, being convinced, was more forward than any other in destroying the altars and temples of the idols he had worshipped. *Edwin* was baptized with all the noblemen of his country, and a vast number of the common people; and such a zeal appeared in all parts for embracing *Christianity*, that for six years together, which *Paulinus* staid afterwards in the country, whether he was in *Bernicia*, *Deira* or *Lincolnshire*, he and his clergy were continually employed in instructing and baptizing the infinite multitudes of people, that flocked to him from all the towns and villages. *Edwin's* conversion drew with it that of *Eorpwald* [2] king of the *East-Angles*; whose father *Redwald* had been baptized in *Kent*, probably upon *Ethelbert's* remonstrances: but after his return home, he had by his wife's persuasion, continued still to practise idolatry; having, in the same temple, one altar dedicated to the worship of *Christ*, and another to his false divinities. The province in general received the faith at the same time with *Eorpwald:* but he being soon after murdered by a relation of his named *Richert*, the whole kingdom of the *East-Angles* was for three years in great confusion. *A. D.* 627. But in *A. D.* 631, *Sigebert*, half brother to *Eorpwald*, having been bred a *Christian* in *France*, and made a great progress in learning as well as piety, mounted the throne; and by the help of St. *Furseus* and *Felix* (which last he made bishop of *Dunwich)* founding a seminary for the instruction of youth, brought over all his realm in a short time to embrace the *Christian* religion.

The *Mercians* were, in a manner, surrounded by these different kingdoms of the *Saxons*; and yet were slower in receiving the faith, than even the *West-Saxons*; who lay at a distance from them all, and could have no communication with any, but through countries which continued as yet pagan. This seems owing to their princes being taken up with warlike expeditions, not so much for making further conquests upon the *Britains*, as against one another: for, not agreeing about dividing the spoil, and the possession of the countries which they had reduced, they broke out into the like civil wars, as they had seen fatal to their enemies. *Ethelbert*, the king of *Kent* before mentioned, was the first that began them; having, in the heat of his youth, marched, *A. D.* 568, with a numerous army to invade the territories of the *West-Saxons:* but the event discouraged him from any further attempts; being routed by *Ceaulin* at *Wibbandune*, now *Wimbledon* in *Surrey*, with the loss of some of his principal nobility. *Ceaulin*, content with forcing his enemy to an inglorious retreat into his own country, turned his arms against the *Britains*, whose territories between the *Thames* and the *Severne* he subdued: but his nephew *Ceolulf*, coming to the crown in *A. D.* 597 [3], made war all his time equally against the *Saxons*, and their common enemy. The *Saxon Chronicle* placeth his attack of the *South-Saxons* in *A. D.* 607: but he was probably contending all his reign with the *Mercians*, for the possession of those countries, which, lying between the *Thames* and the borders of their territories, were, for many years, the subject of dispute

[1] *Ib.* l. ii. c. 12, 13, 16. [2] *Ib.* c. 15. [3] *Chron. Sax. Hunt. Malms. &c.*

A. D. 627. between them and the *Weſt-Saxons*. *Cynegils*, ſucceeding *Ceolulf* *A. D.* 611, aſſumed his ſon *Cwichelme* into a ſhare of the government about three years after, when they routed the *Britains* at *Beandune* [1], killing about two thouſand of their number. They had much more powerful enemies in *Edwin*, king of the *Northumbrians*, and *Penda*, king of *Mercia:* and could not boaſt of the ſame ſucceſs.

Edwin was the ſon of *Ælla*, the firſt king of *Deira*, and but three years old, when, upon his father's death, that kingdom was ſeized by his brother-in-law *Ethelfrid:* and thoſe who had the care of the child's education, apprehending his life to be in danger, fled with him into *North-Wales*. There, all the *Britiſh* writers agree, he was brought up in the court of prince *Cadvan*, in the ſame manner as his ſon *Cadwallon* [2], who was of the ſame age with *Edwin*; a fact which there is no room to queſtion, ſince it appears from the *Triades*, that *Edwin* was accounted one of the three plagues that fell upon the *Iſle of Angleſey*, being nurſed and educated in the ſame iſland where the *Britiſh* princes generally kept their court. Whether any rivalſhip in their exerciſes, or any other occaſion of quarrel, created an animoſity between theſe two princes in their youth; or whether *Edwin* had reaſon to ſuſpect the *Britiſh* court of a like deſign of betraying him, as he found afterwards in ſome others, it is very certain, that when he grew up, they appeared to be mortal enemies. *Cadwallon* however ſeems to have been the aggreſſor, and to have engaged the *Cumbrian Britains* in his quarrel; it not being otherwiſe eaſy to conceive how he could pierce into the heart of *Northumberland*, as far as *Din-wydr*, now *Widdrington*, lying on the ſea coaſt about eight miles north of *Morpeth*. There his army was routed in a bloody battle, with ſuch loſs, that *Edwin*, purſuing his blow, entered *Cadwallon's* territories, drove him thence, and kept him out of his kingdom for ſeven years: during which time (as that ancient author avers) he bore a very heavy hand over the *Iſle of Angleſey* [3]; which had been his nurſe; as well as over that of *Man*, and the maritime provinces of the *Britains*; which all the *Saxons* writers agree in aſſerting.

These all repreſent the firſt thirty years of *Edwin's* life, as paſſed in continual danger and anxiety, in the condition of an exile; ſkulking in various places, and wandering from one kingdom to another; perſecuted every where by *Ethelfrid*; who had uſurped his crown, and looked upon the poſſeſſion thereof to be very precarious, as long as the right heir was living. Among other countries, where he had ſought for ſafety, he had taken refuge in *Mercia*; and been ſo well received at *Ceorl's* court, that he had married his daughter *Quoenburga* [5], and had by her two ſons, *Oſfrid* and *Eadfrid*, who were born during his exile. This alliance ſeemed to afford him ſome reaſonable grounds of ſecurity: but *Ceorl* was himſelf an uſurper, and conſequently faithleſs. He had got poſſeſſion of the crown of *Mercia* upon the death of *Wibba*, whoſe ſon *Penda* was thereby excluded; and though *Ethelfrid* had ſeized ſome of the *Mercian* territories, and *Edwin* was of uſe to *Ceorl* to prevent any further encroachments; yet having likewiſe a competitor, whoſe death would be full as convenient to him, as *Edwin's* was to *Ethelfrid*, they found, in this reſemblance of their caſes, ſome method to adjuſt their intereſts.

[1] *Ibid.* So the place is called by *Huntingdon* and *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and ſo *Camden* reading it, placeth it at *Byndon* in *Dorſetſhire*, with more probability than it can be placed any where elſe; it lying but a few miles within the territories of the *Saxons* on their weſtern borders, where they were not fond of attacking the *Britains*, who ſeem to be the aggreſſors on this occaſion. The *Saxon Chronicle* indeed calls the place *Beamdune*, which the editor of that *Chronicle* takes to be *Bampton* in *Devon*, on the edge of *Somerſet*, but I do not think the *Saxons* were advanced at this time ſo far north that way; and as for *Bampton* in *Oxfordſhire*, on the edge of *Berks*, where *Ralph Higden* and Dr. *Kennet* after him place it, I ſee not the leaſt reaſon to imagine it poſſible for the *Britains* to advance ſo far into the *Weſt-Saxon* dominions.

[2] See Mr. *Vaughan's Diſſert. on the Britiſh Chronol.* [3] *Bede*, l. ii. c. 9. [4] *Ib.* c. 12. [5] *Ib.* c. 14.

Edwin was on the point of being either murdered or delivered up to *Ethelfrid*; when, diſcovering the deſign, he fled to *Redwald*, king of the *Eaſt-Angles*, who aſſured him of his protection. *Ethelfrid's* malice purſued him thither, as ſoon as he knew the place of his retreat: he offered large ſums of money to get *Edwin* in his power; and when his offers were rejected, he renewed his application with greater, and at laſt went ſo far as to threaten an immediate war in caſe of a refuſal. *Redwald* had hitherto ſtood firm to his word: but matters being come to this extremity, he appeared very irreſolute, though rather inclined to take the more diſhonourable, which ſeemed to be the ſafer, party. *Edwin* was, by a particular friend, advertiſed of the danger he was in, and offered a means of eſcape: but either weary of a wandering, anxious, uncomfortable way of life, or thinking it unfit to ſhew any diſtruſt of a prince, who had not yet failed in the leaſt part of his promiſe, he reſolved to wait the event. *Redwald* took a party agreeable to his wiſhes; being either prompted by the greatneſs of his own mind, or moved by the perſuaſions of his queen: who adviſing him better in the point of his honour [1], than ſhe had done in the caſe of his religion, repreſented to him the meanneſs of the motives, for which he was to betray his friend, and ſacrifice his faith for ever, in ſo pathetical a manner, that he reſolved not only to keep his word with the exiled prince, but to aſſiſt him in the recovery of his dominions. He knew very well the dangers he ran by a refuſal; and that *Ethelfrid*, in the fury of his reſentment at it, would ſoon be with all his forces in the kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles*, if not prevented by an invaſion of his own territories. It is there that uſurpers are always weakeſt; and there that *Redwald* reſolved to attack his adverſary, before he had time to get all his forces together. With this view, and in hopes of ſome defection in favour of *Edwin*, he diſmiſſed *Ethelfrid's* embaſſadors, and followed them immediately with a great army: which, marching with all poſſible expedition, advanced into the northern parts of *Notinghamſhire* without oppoſition. But there, a little to the eaſt of the river *Idle*, near *Retford*, *Ethelfrid* met him with a choice body of troops, though much inferior in number: and made ſo furious an attack on the corps commanded by *Reyner*, *Redwald's* ſon, that he broke it, and ſlew the young prince; whoſe fall only ſerving to irritate the father, was ſoon revenged by the death of *Ethelfrid*, and the defeat of his forces. This battle was fought *A. D.* 616, according to *Florence* of *Worceſter*, or the year following, according to the *Saxon Chronicle*. *A. D.* 627.

Edwin, by this victory, became maſter of all *Bernicia*, as well as *Deira*; *Ethelfrid's* ſeven ſons flying for ſafety into *Scotland*; where they had an opportunity of being inſtructed in the *Chriſtian* religion. *Redwald* dying ſoon after, was ſucceeded by his ſon *Eorpwald:* but all the power of the ſtate remained in *Edwin* [2], who was infinitely eſteemed by the nobility and people of the *Eaſt-Angles*; ſo that, if he had pleaſed, they would have put themſelves under his government. *Edwin* was as well known among the *Mercians:* and it was probably to aſſiſt them, that he became engaged in a war againſt the *Weſt-Saxons*; from whom he took ſome of their laſt conqueſts over the *Britains*, which afterwards made part of the *Mercian* kingdom, which at this time paid him tribute. *Lincolnſhire*, and all north of *Trent*, had been before ſeized by *Ethelfrid*, and being now under *Edwin's* immediate dominion, he became, by theſe acquiſitions and others on the ſide of *Wales*, the moſt powerful monarch that had ever been in *Britain*. He had great talents: and, being trained up in adverſity, made an excellent governor, fit to reform, as well as govern, a nation; ſo that no diſorder was committed within his territories; juſtice, peace, and tranquillity flouriſhed, and his ſub-

[1] *W. Malmeſb.* l. i. c. 3. [2] *Ibid.*

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A. D. 627. jects diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the practice of all kinds of virtue, to a degree as hath ſcarce been equalled in any country. What raiſed the glory of *Edwin*, provoked the envy of others: and *Cwichelme*, prince of the *Weſt-Saxons*, deſpairing to recover, in his life-time, the country lately loſt, ſent, in *A. D.* 626, one *Eumer* to aſſaſſinate him with a dagger poiſoned, to make the ſlighteſt wound prove mortal. The rare fidelity of *Lilla*[1], the king's favourite miniſter, ſaved him from death, by interpoſing his body, in defect of any thing elſe, to parry the blow, and by receiving the dagger in his own bowels. This execrable attempt *Edwin* revenged by invading the *Weſt-Saxon* territories; deſtroying thoſe who had been the promoters of it, and forcing the reſt to a ſubmiſſion. Every thing had hitherto ſucceeded to his wiſhes: but this very year, in which his power ſeemed to be at the height, by the ſuperiority he had gained over the *Weſt-Saxons*, produced an event which proved fatal to his crown and family.

Penda, the ſon of *Wibba*[2], was reſtleſs, ſavage, bold, and enterprizing; without any principle in nature to reſtrain him in the uſe of any means that would effect his purpoſes: he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf, by a brutal courage, in an infinite number of incurſions he had made into the bordering countries; and was the man of his time, who beſt underſtood the art of making war in parties, by ſtealth and ſurprize. He was become maſter of the *Mercian kingdom* (of which his grandfather *Crida* had been the firſt founder) whether by the death of *Ceorl* or otherwiſe, is uncertain, but he did not care to enjoy it in the condition of a tributary to *Edwin*. It was dangerous to attempt throwing off a burden, which he thought diſhonourable, till he was better eſtabliſhed on his throne, and had come to ſome terms with the neighbours whom he had provoked by his ravages. Such were the *Weſt-Saxons*, into whoſe country he advanced as far *Cirenceſter*; where a battle was fought which laſted till night put an end to the combat: and both parties had ſuch experience of each other's ſtrength and valour, that, inſtead of renewing it the next day, they came to a pacification. *Penda*, ſafe on that ſide from any diſturbance, ſtill wanted an ally to render him a match for *Edwin*: but *Cadwallon*, having by his aſſiſtance at laſt recovered his dominions, readily entered into his meaſures; and joined him with an army of bold *Britains*, in hopes of having his revenge on an old enemy. *Edwin* ſeems to have been ſuprized by this invaſion; the allies having entered *Yorkſhire*, before he met them with his army; which was defeated in *Hatfield* foreſt, and himſelf ſlain[3], on *October* 12, *A. D.* 633, in the forty-eighth year of his age, and the ſeventeenth of his reign. Of his children by his firſt wife, *Oſfrid* the eldeſt was ſlain with him; *Eadfrid* the other was put to death by *Penda*: thoſe which he had by his ſecond wife fled with her and *Paulinus*, biſhop of *York*, into *Kent*; from whence *Vuſcrean* his ſon, and *Yffi*, the ſon of *Oſfrid*, were ſent to king *Dagobert*, to be brought up in *France*; and dying in their infancy, the male line of *Edwin* became utterly extinct. The allies, after their victory, ravaged the country in a terrible manner: *Penda* being a pagan, and *Cadwallon* cruel in his nature, but more ſo by his politics; which put him upon exterminating the *Engliſh* nation out of *Britain*. Whether the former perceived this deſign, or had a mind to ſecure the more ſouthern provinces, which had by the two laſt *Northumbrian* princes been taken from the *Mercians*, he ſeems to have left *Cadwallon* to finiſh the ruin of the north by his own forces. In this juncture, *Oſric*, ſon of *Ælfric Ælla's* brother, and couſin-german to *Edwin*, aſſumed the crown of *Deira*[4]: and *Eanfrid*, eldeſt ſon to *Ethelfrid*, returning from *Scotland*, ſeized the kingdom of *Bernicia*; both glorying that they had got poſſeſſion of what belonged to them by hereditary right. But ſhort was the enjoyment of their

[1] *Bede*, l. ii. c. 9. [2] *W. Malmeſb.* l. i. c. 4. [3] *Bede*, l. ii. c. 20. [4] *Malmeſb. ib.*

inheritance: *Oſric* [1] being, the next ſummer, cut in pieces with his army near *York* by *Cadwallon*: and *Eanfrid*, coming unadviſedly to treat with him about terms of peace, being ſoon after put to death by the ſame tyrant; whoſe treachery and cruelty did not long proſper. For *Oſwald*, the ſecond ſon of *Ethelfrid* by *Acca*, *Edwin's* ſiſter, a pious and virtuous prince, venturing with a ſmall body of reſolute forces to attack that immenſe number of troops, which the *Britiſh* prince imagined to be invincible, *Cadwallon* was ſlain, and his army routed at a place a little north of the wall of *Severus* [2], called *Hefenfield*, now *Binfield*, near the brook of *Erringburn*, and the famous croſs of St. *Oſwald*, erected by him, as he was coming to this battle. This glorious victory ſoon enabled *Oſwald* to recover all the countries that had belonged to *Edwin*, and to equal him in power and glory, as well as in piety and virtue. His firſt act of government was to provide for religion; ſending to *Scotland* for a biſhop to ſupply the place of *Paulinus*, who had ſettled in the ſee of *Rocheſter*: nor did his friends there, to whom he owed his own converſion, deceive his expectation in ſending him *Aidan*, a prelate of great piety, temper, moderation, prudence, and auſterity of life; every way qualified for the great work of inſpiring a rough warlike people with religious ſentiments, and inſtructing them in the doctrines of *Chriſtianity*; in which he ſucceeded ſo well, as to be reputed the converter of *Bernicia*. *A. D.* 627.

Oswald was himſelf ſerviceable the year following in the converſion of the *Weſt-Saxons*, being god-father to king *Cynegils* [3], whoſe daughter he was going to marry, and joining with him in the grant of *Dorcheſter* to *Birinus*: who had firſt preached the goſpel in that country, and now fixed his epiſcopal ſee in that town of *Oxfordſhire*. *Cwichelme* was not converted till the next year: and died ſoon after his baptiſm. *Oſwald* lived ſeven years after his marriage, and was ſlain [4] *Auguſt* 5, *A. D.* 642, by *Penda*, king of the *Mercians*, in a battle fought at *Maſerfelt*, now *Oſwaldſtre* in *Shropſhire*, leaving a ſon named *Edilwald*: who being an infant, *Oſwi*, brother of the late king, took upon him the government of *Bernicia*, and *Oſwin* (ſon of *Oſcric* before-mentioned) returning home from a ten years exile among the *Weſt-Saxons*, got poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Deira*. This he claimed as the next heir male of the royal family: [5] and this right being univerſally acknowledged by the nobility, [6] he governed for nine years with ſo much wiſdom and goodneſs, that he was univerſally beloved by his ſubjects, who flouriſhed under him in the greateſt affluence: but being at the end of that term invaded by *Oſwi*, who had married *Eanfleda*, the daughter of *Edwin*, and finding his army too weak to venture a battle, he, to prevent effuſion of blood, retired to the houſe of count *Hunwald*. This nobleman betraying him to the enemy, he was murdered by *Oſwi's* orders on *Auguſt* 30, *A. D.* 651 [7], at *Gilling*, near *Richmond*: and ſucceeded by *Edilwald*; who enjoying part of *Deira* for a few years, died without iſſue. *A. D.* 635.

It was, in all probability, immediately after the defeat of *Oſwald*, that *Penda* over-ran his territories, and advanced as far as *Bamburg* [8] in *Northumberland*: which *Bede* relates, without mentioning the year of the expedition. This warlike prince, who raiſed the *Mercian* kingdom, before inconſiderable, to the height of its grandeur, was the death of ſome, and the terror of all the neighbouring princes; haraſſing their territories with continual invaſions, one after another. He was ſcarce rid of the *Northumbrian* war, when a point of honour engaged him in another with the *Weſt-Saxons* [9], who had always repulſed him during the reign of *Kinegils*; but this king dying *A. D.* 643, had been ſucceeded by his ſon *Kenwalch*; a pagan, that ſtood in need of a better religion to correct his morals. This prince, *A. D.* 642.

[1] L. iii. c. 1. [2] *Ib.* c. 2. and *App.* 9.
[3] *Bede*, l. iii. c. 7. *Chron. Saxon.*
[4] *Bede*, l. iii. c. 9. [5] *Ib.* l. iii. c. 1, 14.
[6] *MS. Bibl. Cotton. Julius* A. x. *in vita S. Oſwini,—hereditarii juris ſucceſſione.*
[7] *Flor. Wig.* [8] L. iii. c. 16. [9] *Hunt.*

A. D. 642. upon his acceſſion to the crown, had married a new wife, and turned off his former: who could not but be extremely irritated at an affront, which *Engliſh* ladies [1] uſed to reſent in an extraordinary manner. The divorced princeſs was ſiſter to *Penda*, and eaſily engaged him to revenge her quarrel; a war enſued, in which, after ſeveral battles fought, *Kenwalch* was at laſt [2] driven out of his kingdom, and forced to fly to *Anna*, king of the *Eaſt-Angles*, for protection. Adverſity brought him to himſelf: he was converted during his exile; and proved afterwards an excellent governor. Recovering his kingdom three years after he had loſt it, [3] he gave all his territories, lying north of the *Thames*, to *Cuthred*, his brother *Cwichelm's* ſon, who was now of age, to hold as a principality under him: and to have a ſee in thoſe, which were in his own immediate ſubjection, he founded a church at *Wincheſter*; which became ſoon after the ſeat of one the *Weſt-Saxon* biſhopricks.

A. D. 645.

The main body of the *Mercians* had not as yet received the *Chriſtian* faith: but in *A. D.* 653, a conſiderable ſtep was made towards it by the converſion of the *Middle-Angles*; who inhabited *Leiceſterſhire*, and the parts adjoining ſouth of the *Trent*. This province being the frontier of his kingdom towards the *Northumbrians*, *Penda* had given the government of it to *Peada* [4], his eldeſt ſon; a prince of very good diſpoſitions, and every way worthy of the royal dignity. *Peada* was very deſirous to marry *Alchfleda* daughter to *Oſwi*, king of *Bernicia*; who abſolutely refuſing his conſent to the match, unleſs he were a *Chriſtian*, this put him upon examining into the grounds of that religion. He was much aſſiſted in that point by his friend *Alchfrid*, *Oſwi's* eldeſt ſon, who had married his ſiſter *Cyniburga*: and being ſoon convinced, deſired to be baptized, even though he ſhould

[1] *Procopius De bello Gothico*, l. iv. c. 20. relates the following hiſtory. *Hermegiſclus*, king of the *Varni* (a people inhabiting between the mouth of the *Rhine* and the *ocean* on the north of that river) had married for his ſecond wife a daughter of *Thierri*, king of *Auſtraſia*, and ſiſter of *Theodebert*. His firſt wife had left him a ſon named *Radiger*: and he had treated for a marriage between this ſon and an *Engliſh* princeſs, ſiſter to a king of the *Eaſt-Angles*. The affair was concluded; but before the princeſs croſſed the ſea, *Hermegiſclus* fell ill of the diſtemper whereof he died. When he ſaw death inevitable, he ſent for his principal nobility, and told them that he had "always endeavoured to keep his people in peace, and for that "reaſon had married his ſecond wife out of a "*French* family; but as he had no children by her, "it would be worth their while to conſider, whether it would not be good policy, to keep her "among them, by marrying her to *Radiger*; that "he had indeed promiſed this ſon to an *Engliſh* "king for his ſiſter, but that alliance did not ſeem "ſo advantageous as the *French*, there being only "the *Rhine* to part them from the *French*, whereas the *Engliſh* were at a diſtance beyond the ſea; "that the *French* were powerful, able to ruine or "protect them; and it behoved them of all things "to ſecure the friendſhip of that people by all "means poſſible, particularly by the ties of marriage. For theſe reaſons he thought it proper for "them to put off the *Engliſh* king with ſome excuſe, and to marry *Radiger* to his mother-in-law "as ſoon as poſſible." They were accordingly married. The *Engliſh* princeſs, enraged at this affront, ſent to know *Radiger's* motives, for treating her with ſuch an indignity. Excuſes were ſent, but gave no ſatisfaction: ſhe prevailed with the king her brother, to ſend a fleet with a body of forces, under the command of another brother, to attack the king of the *Varni*; and would needs go herſelf on the expedition. The troops landed without oppoſition in the country of the *Varni*, who expected no enemy: ſhe ſtaid with a part of them encamped at the mouth of the *Rhine*, whilſt her brother marched up into the country with the reſt, and defeated the *Varni* in battle; a great number of them being ſlain in the field, and *Radiger*, with the reſt, flying to their woods and moraſſes for ſhelter. As the *Engliſh* had no cavalry, they did not advance further into the country: but after a ſhort purſuit, returned to their camp, loaden with booty. The princeſs, on her brother's arrival, aſked him where *Radiger* was, or at leaſt where was his head: and being told he had eſcaped, ſhe replied: "that they were not come to plunder, but to revenge her on the perſon of the faithleſs mortal, "who had offered her ſuch an outrage; and begged of the ſoldiers to go on and purſue their "victory." They did ſo, and with ſuch diligence, that they found *Radiger* in his place of retreat, and preſented him in chains before the princeſs: who reproached him for his perfidy, and aſked him, what could induce him to treat her in that manner? he replied, it was his father's orders, and the inſtances of the nobility, which had made him do it againſt his will: and he readily ſubmitted to what puniſhment ſhe would inflict for his crime. *I order you then*, ſays ſhe, *to ſend away my rival immediately, and to reſtore me that place in your heart and throne, which is my due.* The prince, to ſave his life, agreed to the propoſal, and ſent back his *French* wife to *Theodebert*.

[2] *Chron. Sax.* [3] *Ib. Hunt.*

[4] *Malmeſbury* and *Higden* call him *Weda*: the form of the *Saxon W* being ſo like a *P*, as to be eaſily miſtaken, I am apt to think the like miſtake has happened in *Penda*, and other names of perſons beginning with *P*.

not have the princeſs. All the nobility and gentry that attended him were baptized at the ſame time: and returning home with ſome clergymen to preach the goſpel, abundance of the *Middle-Angles* were converted. Nor did *Penda* hinder any among the *Mercians* from embracing the *Chriſtian* religion, provided they lived anſwerable to their profeſſion; ſo that in the two laſt years of his life, a conſiderable progreſs was made in their converſion: and ſoon after his death, *Oſwi* having taken poſſeſſion of his kingdom, *Diuma*, a *Scot*, was ordained biſhop of both thoſe people, by *Finan*, who had ſucceeded *Aidan* in the ſee of *Lindiſfarn*. *A. D.* 645.

Age had not impaired *Penda's* inclination, or rather fury, for war and conqueſts: he was not leſs than fifty, when in *A. D.* 626, he became maſter of all *Mercia*; and he had poſſeſſed it twenty eight years, when he invaded the territories of *Anna* ſon of *Enni*[1]; who had ſucceeded to the crown of the *Eaſt-Angles*, in *A. D.* 635, upon the death of *Sigebert* and *Ecgrice*, both ſlain by *Penda*. *Anna* underwent the ſame fate, being ſlain in battle; and his brother *Ethalhere* ſeems to have made his peace with *Penda*, by putting him upon a war with *Oſwi*, and aſſiſting him with his forces in that enterprize. Whatever was the occaſion of the *Mercian* prince's enmity to the *Northumbrians*, it ſeems to have animated him conſtantly: and from the time of *Oſwald's* death[2] he was continually making ravages in the others dominions, without any regard to treaties ſubſiſting between them; for there was actually one at this time; *Egfrid*, the ſecond ſon of *Oſwi*, being an hoſtage given for the performance of it, and now kept in the cuſtody of *Cynwiſe* queen of *Mercia*. *Oſwi* had done all he could to put a ſtop to thoſe ravages; and to ward off the blow, with which he was menaced, he had offered all the royal ornaments, and incredible ſums of money: but *Penda* would hearken to no offers; being obſtinately reſolved to ruine all his territories, and extirpate the whole nation. His army appeared more than ſufficient to execute his cruel reſolution; having with him thirty noble chieftains or princes, with as many brigades: whereas *Oſwi* had only one to oppoſe them, not more than the thirtieth part of the number of the enemy. *Edilwald* had given *Penda* paſſage through *Deira*, and joined him with his forces; though whether out of fear, or any other motive, is uncertain: but being aſhamed of fighting againſt his country and his uncle, he retired in the midſt of the action with his troops to a place of ſafety, where he might at a diſtance wait the event. It proved truly glorious to *Oſwi* and his ſon *Alchfrid*, who charged like men in deſpair: the *Mercian* army was cut in pieces; *Penda* himſelf, *Ethelhere*, and almoſt every one of the thirty chieftains were ſlain in the battle, which was fought on *November* 15, *A. D.* 655, near the river *Winuaed*, now *Broad-are*, running by *Leeds* in *Yorkſhire*. This great victory was immediately followed by the ſubmiſſion of all *Mercia*; where *Oſwi* ſettled religion to his mind, and gave *Peada* that part of it which lay ſouth of *Trente*: but this prince being killed, by treachery, the year following, *Oſwi* kept his ſovereignty but two years longer; when three of the principal noblemen of the country ſet up young *Wulfere*, the ſecond ſon of *Penda*, for their king, and drove out the *Northumbrian* governors. *A. D.* 654.

XIV. The *Chriſtian* religion was now eſtabliſhed in all the kingdoms of the heptarchy, except that of the *South-Saxons*: but there was ſome diverſity in their practice, not with regard to any duty thereof, or any ſubſtantial part of divine ſervice, but in reſpect of certain modes of dreſs, rites, and circumſtances of worſhip. The moſt conſiderable of theſe related to the time of keeping *Eaſter*, Diſputes about *Eaſter* and the tonſure.

[1] *Bede*, l. iii. c. 18. [2] *Ib.* c. 24.

and

A.D. 654. and the faſhion of the eccleſiaſtical tonſure: and the diverſity aroſe from their being converted by different perſons, who introduced the cuſtoms, obſerved in the different countries from whence they came, into the practice of the ſeveral nations which they reſpectively converted. Hence the *Kentiſh*, *Weſt*, and *Eaſt-Saxons* and *Angles* followed the *Roman* or *Gallican* uſages in thoſe reſpects; whilſt the *Northumbrians* and *Mercians* adhered to the *Britiſh* and *Scottiſh*, as they were then diſtinguiſhed; though derived from the ſame original, and only more ancient than the other. It is very plain from the writings of the fathers of the [1] four firſt centuries, that the clergy at that time wore their hair, though in a modeſt manner; not being nice in ordering it, nor ſuffering it to grow too long: but this was common to them with the laity. In the fifth age they began, for diſtinction, to clip or ſhave their heads all over, when admitted either to the eccleſiaſtical or monachal profeſſion. Thus, *Conſtantius* ſays, St. *Germain* of *Auxerre* was ſerved, when forced into holy orders; and thus were the monks, in the convents of the *Eaſt*, diſtinguiſhed, till after this time, as appears by what *Bede* [2] obſerves about *Theodore* of *Tarſus*, appointed in *A. D.* 668, to the ſee of *Canterbury*. It was at the latter end of the fifth, or in the beginning of the ſixth century, that the monks thought fit, in the faſhion of their tonſure, to imitate the crown of thorns, of which they would have it thought to be an emblem; and were followed therein by the ſecular clergy. But this was long after St. *Germain* had come to *Britain*, and St. *Patrick* to *Ireland*; who yet brought with them the cuſtoms of the *Gallican* and *Roman* churches in their days; cuſtoms which the *Britiſh* and *Scottiſh* churches having received with reverence, and communicated to the northern *Engliſh*, who had been converted by their endeavours, they ſtill adhered to with more firmneſs than the ſubject deſerved; notwithſtanding all the *Chriſtian* world beſides had left them off, and adopted others in their practice. This was the caſe of the eccleſiaſtical tonſure; a thing perfectly indifferent in its nature: and, were it not for the daily experience we have of the force of cuſtom in common life, it would not be eaſy to conceive, how well-meaning and pious men ſhould fall into heats, ſcarce compatible with *Chriſtian* charity, in diſputing whether the hair of eccleſiaſtics ſhould be clipped on the top of the crown in the form of a circle, or only in the forepart of the head from ear to ear, ſomething like a ſemicircle; which laſt is thought to be the *Britiſh* faſhion.

The time of keeping *Eaſter* may poſſibly be thought more material; yet time is but a mere circumſtance of worſhip; and all *Chriſtian* churches had in that point frequently and innocently varied in all former ages. *Eaſter-day* was kept on the fourteenth of the moon, on whatever day of the week it fell, by the *Aſiatic* churches; but at *Rome* it was kept on the *Sunday* following. This variation occaſioned, in the ſecond century, a diſpute between St. *Polycarp* and *Anicetus*, and in the third, another between Pope *Victor* and *Polycrates* of *Epheſus*; both ſides pleading apoſtolical tradition for their warrant. In the former caſe, neither of the parties could perſuade the other, yet both communicated together: in the latter, *Victor* indeed did not proceed with the ſame temper as his predeceſſor; but hearkening at laſt to the remonſtrances of St. *Irenæus* and others, was reſtrained from falling into a breach of communion. This diverſity, though with ſome alteration in various churches, continued till the General council of *Nice*; which, without condemning either cuſtom, conſidered only what was moſt convenient and agreed leaſt with the *Jews*; in order to make the obſervance of that great feſtival more uniform. It was there decreed, that *Eaſter-day* ſhould be kept on the *Sunday* after the fourteenth moon of the firſt paſchal month; and all that did not comply with

[1] *Lactant. de opific. Dei.* c. 7. *Ambroſe de Noe & arca*, c. 7. & *Hexaem.* l. vi. c. 9. *S. Hieron.* tom. iii. p. 1029. *ed. Bened.* [2] *H. E.* l. iv. c. 1.

this rule, were termed *quarto-decimani*. By another regulation then made, the primate of *Alexandria* (in which place aſtronomy was beſt underſtood) was annually to notify the day to the biſhop of *Rome*; who was to communicate that notice to other churches: and the equinox being fixed to the twenty-firſt of *March*, it was likewiſe provided, that *Eaſter* ſhould not be kept before; yet this did not hinder ſome from obſerving it after, and others on the very *day* of the *equinox*. The *Latins* obſerved theſe rules in ſome things, [1] but did not ſtick to the *Alexandrian* computations, nor keep the ſame *embolimæan* years; ſo that in one of theſe years of the *Alexandrians*, they were ſometimes twenty-eight days earlier than theſe laſt in their keeping *Eaſter*; and even in common years, there was a week's difference. Their paſchal terms and canons were alſo different; the *Latins* began the paſchal moon from *March* 5, incluſive, and extended it for twenty-nine days to *April* 3, excluſive: whereas the *Alexandrians*, followed therein by the eaſtern churches, began it on *March* 8, and ended it on *April* 5; there being a difference of three days, both in the beginning and ending. Hence the fourteenths of the moon began with the former on *March* 18, and ended on *April* 15, but with the latter they reached from *March* 21, to *April* 18. The *Latins* kept *Eaſter-day* from the ſixteenth, to the twenty-ſecond of the moon [2]; ſtill taking care not to keep *Good-Friday* before the fourteenth, that a *Saturday* might intervene between the feaſts of the paſſion and the reſurrection: whereas the *Alexandrians* were a day earlier, keeping it from the fifteenth, to the twenty-firſt of the moon. The *Latins* at firſt fixed the earlieſt paſchal *Sunday* to *March* 21, though afterwards (admitting the twenty-firſt to be the equinox) they changed it for the twenty-ſecond, and the lateſt to *April* 21: but the *Alexandrians* extended them from *March* 22, to *April* 25, four days beyond the *Latins*. Their cycles too were as different as their canons; the *Alexandrians* uſing one of nineteen years, whereas the *Latins* made uſe of a cycle of eighty-four years, till the time of *Leo the great*; when, in *A. D.* 457, *Victorius Aquitanus* formed a new one of five hundred and thirty-two years, in which, to compromiſe as it were the matter between them, he placed the earlieſt paſchal new moon on *March* 7, two days after the *Latins*, and one ſooner than the *Alexandrians*; which ſerved indeed to ſettle the paſchal month, but the diſpute as to the day, ſtill remained. The canon of *Victorius* was not received in the eaſt; and though it prevailed generally in the weſt, yet it was not followed by all churches: and as it excluded the fifteenth of the moon from being a paſchal *Sunday*, the *Alexandrians*, whenever that fifteenth fell on a *Sunday*, kept their *Eaſter* a week ſooner than the *Latins*. At laſt, in *A. D.* 525 [3], *Dionyſius Exiguus*, to remove the differences which ſtill ſubſiſted between them, as well in reſpect of the *embolimæan* years, as of the paſchal terms, invented his cycle of nineteen years; in which he tried to adjuſt them; and transferred the method of keeping *Eaſter* from the *Alexandrian Faſti* into the *Roman calendar*. This cycle being better in many reſpects than the others, though it did not pleaſe at firſt, yet got ground by degrees: and being adopted by the biſhop of *Rome*, was received by moſt of the *Latin* churches under his partriarchate. *A. D.* 654.

It was this cycle, which *Auguſtine* brought into *England*, and would have put upon the *Britiſh* biſhops: who rejected it, as not having heard of it before, and as being impoſed by a pretended authority, to which they were equally ſtrangers. Neither this, nor the cycle of *Victorius* had ever been known or received in *Britain*; where they had always made uſe of the cycle of eighty four years; the ſame which the *Scots* and *Iriſh* had uſed from the time of their con-

[1] *Petav. De doctrina temporum*, part 1. l. ii. c. 63, 64. [2] See *Bede*, *edit.* 1722. *App.* 9.
[3] *Petav. ib.* l. vi. c. 5.

A. D 654. verſion; it having been brought them by St. *Patrick*; the very ſame which the church of *Rome* herſelf had followed till the time of *Leo*, though ſhe had thought fit to change it ſince for another. This difference in the cycles produced that variation in the time of keeping *Eaſter*, obſerved in the practiſe of the *Saxons*, according as they derived their converſion from *Scotch* biſhops, or from *Roman* and *French* miſſionaries; which proved very inconvenient in many inſtances; particularly, in *Oſwi's* court, where two *Eaſters* were often kept in the ſame year. His queen *Elfleda*, had been bred in *Kent*, uſed to the *Roman* cuſtom, as the king was to the *Scotch*; ſo that when his *Lent* was over, and he was celebrating the feſtival of *Eaſter* on the fourteenth of the moon, when it fell on a *Sunday*, the queen and her retinue were in the height of their faſting and mortification; being advanced no farther that *Palm Sunday*. This diverſity of cuſtom had been born during the times of *Aidan* and *Finan*; but when *Colman* ſucceeded the latter, the diſpute was revived; *Oſwi* being of the *Scotch* perſuaſion, and his ſon *Alchfrid*[1], who governed *Bernicia* under him, eſpouſing the contrary opinion: which had either been inſtilled into him, or he had been confirmed in it, by *Wilfrid*; who had been lately ordained prieſt by *Agilbert* biſhop of the *Weſt-Saxons*. *Wilfrid* was a man of very good parts and learning; had travelled into *France* and *Italy*, which had gained him the reputation, that recommended him to *Alchfrid*[2]: and having taken a liking to the cuſtoms he had obſerved there, became a ſtrenuous advocate for eſtabliſhing the ſame all over *England*. Uniformity was a thing deſireable: and both parties being willing to have an end put to the controverſy, a conference was opened at *Streneſhal* or *Whitby*; a monaſtery of which the famous *Hilda* was abbeſs. Both the kings were preſent; *Agilbert* with his *Engliſh* clergy appeared on one ſide; *Colman* with his *Scotch* on the other: and with theſe ſided *Cedd* biſhop of the *Eaſt-Saxons*; who had been ordained by the *Scots* and ſerved for a faithful interpreter to both parties.

A. D. 664.

We ſee on this occaſion, how apt people are to aſcribe any religious practice, which hath prevailed for a time immemorial, to an apoſtolical inſtitution; even when it may be proved in the cleareſt manner to have been of a much later original. Both parties in this caſe undertook to juſtify their diſagreeing practice by apoſtolical [3] tradition; the one from St. *John*, the other from St. *Peter*: but with how little reaſon, hath been already repreſented. There was more weight in what *Wilfrid* (who, as *Agilbert* could not expreſs himſelf readily in *Engliſh*, was the diſputant on their ſide of the queſtion) urged with regard to the general practice of the *Chriſtian* churches; which he had been himſelf a witneſs of in *France* and *Italy*, and which, he was certainly informed, was the ſame in *Aſia*, *Africa*, *Greece*, and all over the world, agreeing every where in the ſame circumſtance of time, except among the *Scots* and *Britains*. In matters of an indifferent nature, it is fitting that the leſs number, ſhould conform to the greater: ſo did biſhop *Cedd*, and *Tuda* a *Scotch* biſhop ordained in the ſouth of *Ireland*; who upon *Colman's* retiring with his other clergy to *Scotland*, was made biſhop of *Landisfarn*. *Oſwi* and the whole audience being convinced in this conference; the *Engliſh* in general complied immediately with the general practice: as the *Picts* did *A. D.* 699, the *Scots* in *A. D.* 716[4], and the *Britains* about *A. D.* 800.

According to *Bede's* account of this conference, *Oſwi's* fancy was much ſtruck with a flouriſh thrown out by [5] *Wilfrid* at the concluſion of one of his harangues about the prerogative of St. *Peter*, as ſuperior to any other ſaint's au-

[1] *Stubbs Acta Pontific. Ebor. inter decem Scriptores*, p. 690. [2] *Bede*, l. v. c. 19. *Vita Wilfridi.*
[3] *Bede*, l. iii. c. 25. [4] *Bede*, l. v. c. 22. [5] *Ib.* l. iii. c. 25.

thority, and founded upon a text [1] of ſcripture; which however it may ſerve to make a figure in a pompous declamation, doth not really convey any peculiar privilege or authority. The king ſeems to have taken the words *Petrus* and *Petra* to have been the ſame, though full as different as thoſe of *confeſſor* and *confeſſion*, and to have imagined that the bare promiſe of the power of the keys (which was not actually given till afterwards, and then to all the apoſtles equally, and at the ſame time) had conveyed ſome advantage or other to that apoſtle, whom he underſtood to be literally the porter of heaven. *Oſwi*'s mind being once poſſeſſed with this notion, *Wilfrid* knew very well how to improve it for carrying the points he had in view, and for introducing into the practice of the *Engliſh* church, thoſe rites and cuſtoms, to which he had been habituated in his foreign education and travels. [2] He was a man of quality, graceful in his perſon, polite in his manners, abſtemious in his diet, conſtant in his devotions, and regular in his life: he was a great maſter of his temper, and very firm in his reſolutions; affable, inſinuating, artful, and agreeable in his converſation, engaging in his addreſs, eaſy, natural, clear, flowing and eloquent in his diſcourſe; and as he knew the world perfectly well, he knew how to ſeize the favourable moments for exerting his talents of perſuaſion. Thus is it that *Eddius* paints his character: but it appears plainly from his whole conduct, that he was very fond of himſelf; had a great opinion of his own parts and merits; and was too much elated with the ſucceſs of his labours on ſeveral occaſions, and the popularity he had thence acquired. He loved wealth, power, ſtate, pomp, and ſplendor; perhaps the effect of his natural diſpoſition, and of a certain haughtineſs of mind; but certainly much confirmed by his foreign education; to which, and to the maxims he had imbibed at *Rome*, all the troubles of his life were owing. He had ſtudied at *Lion* and *Rome*; places abounding with books and profeſſors in all ſciences; and had made himſelf maſter of the *Roman* law, civil and eccleſiaſtical, a kind of learning unknown in *Britain*; where, for want of other books, they could ſcarce ſtudy any thing but the holy ſcriptures. A. D. 664.

With theſe accompliſhments and advantages he ſoon gained a great reputation in the world, and a mighty aſcendant over *Alchfrid*; into whom he infuſed all his notions: and by his recommendation, coming in a ſhort time, to have the like credit with *Oſwi*, he found means to introduce, not only the *Roman tonſure* among the clergy, but the antiphonies [3] and alternate way of ſinging in choirs, which he had ſeen abroad, into the conſtant ſervice of the *Engliſh* churches. The end propoſed in making former uſages give way to theſe was ſpecious enough; being for the promoting of a greater conformity between *Chriſtian* churches: but the principle upon which this was done, (at leaſt in the caſe of *Eaſter* day) as if ſuch a conformity was abſolutely neceſſary, and a deviation from it ſchiſmatical, was very dangerous to religion, and deſtructive of the rights and liberties of national churches; which have in all ages exerciſed a power of ordering their diſcipline, as beſt ſuited their own particular circumſtances, and of appointing ſuch rituals, ceremonies, and forms of divine worſhip, as they judged moſt decent and edifying in their reſpective countries. The agreement of the *Eaſtern* and *Greek* churches with the *Weſtern* in the keeping of *Eaſter*, was urged indeed in the conference: but after *Oſwi* was ſtruck with the fancy of St. *Peter's* power, nothing ſeems to be preſſed but an entire conformity to *Rome*, and no doctrine ſo much inculcated, as the ſuper-eminent power of retaining and remitting ſins, to which the biſhops of that ſee make pretenſions. It was this made ſo many *Engliſh* princes reſign their crowns, to end their days at *Rome*; and it was this enabled *Wilfrid* to give,

[1] *Matth.* xvi. 18, 19. [2] *Vita Wilfridi*, c. 3. 9. 11. [3] *Ib.* c. 43.

at

A. D. 664. at the first establishment of the *English* churches, a fatal blow to the liberties which they ought to have enjoyed, and which the *British* churches in the same country had always preserved inviolate. It may be proper to take notice of the first steps contrived to introduce a subjection to *Rome*; which, whatever were the views of *Wilfrid* therein, hath, in the course of ages since passed, proved the source of infinite calamities to this nation.

Account of *Wilfrid's* consecration.

XV. Tuda, who had succeeded *Colman*, being carried off soon by the plague which then raged in the north; [1] *Wilfrid* was by his friend *Alchfrid* deemed the propereſt person to introduce [2] the *Roman* discipline, for which he had appeared so zealous: but care was still to be taken, that he should not be ordained by any prelates, either not received in the *Roman* communion, or else consecrated by *British* or *Scotish* bishops; who were now to be represented in an odious light to the people, and avoided, as if they had been schismatical. *Wilfrid* was accordingly sent to the *French* court at *Compiegne*, and there ordained in the thirtieth year of his age, by twelve bishops, among whom was *Agilbert*; who upon [3] *Kenwalch's* dividing his country into two dioceses, and erecting the see of *Winchester* for *Wini*, had quitted *Dorchester* in discontent; and retiring into *France* had been made bishop of *Paris*. This slight of the *Scotish* bishops, who for the simplicity and austerity of their lives, the perfect disinterestedness which appeared in all their conduct, and the exemplary discharge of their pastoral functions, were highly esteemed, was not universally liked. [4] There was still a strong party among the *Northumbrians* that were displeased at *Wilfrid's* success, who persuaded *Oswi* to have another bishop consecrated in his stead. *Chad*, abbot of *Læstingham*, a modest, pious, good man, was accordingly sent to *Canterbury*, to be ordained bishop of *York*; but finding at his arrival *Deusdedit* [5] the late archbishop expired on *July* 14, he went to *Winchester*: and was there consecrated by *Wini*, assisted by two *British* bishops, who adhered to the custom of their own churches in keeping *Easter Sunday*. *Wilfrid* returning home after a stay of above two years in foreign parts, found *Chad* in possession of his see, and retired to the monastery of *Rippon* which had been given him by *Alchfrid*. There he continued (as *Eddius* says) unless called off by *Egbert* and *Wulfere*, kings of *Kent* and *Mercia*, to do some episcopal act in their countries; labouring in a private way to introduce the *Roman* usages for about three years; when he was put in possession of the see of *York*, on the following occasion.

To carry on the scheme laid for introducing a conformity to *Rome*, and widening the difference with the *British* and *Scotish* churches, it had been resolved by *Egbert* and *Oswi* upon the vacancy of the see of *Caterbury*, to send *Wighard*, a *Kentish* clergyman, to *Rome*, to be there consecrated archbishop, in order to fill all the sees in *England* with prelates of the *Roman* communion. [6] *Wighard* dying of the pestilence at *Rome*, before he was consecrated, the two kings wrote to pope *Vitalian*, desiring him to find some other person properly qualified for such a charge; and to send him over duly consecrated, with full instructions for eradicating all the *British* leaven out of *England*: They seem to have insisted upon his being well versed in profane as well as sacred learning, on his understanding ecclesiastical discipline, and being a perfect master of the *Greek* as well as *Latin* language. Such a person was at that time extremely wanted among the *English*; who having none of their country capable of instructing youth in those studies,

[1] *Vit. Wilfrid*, c. 11. *Bede*, l. iii. c. 28. *Vit. Abb. Wyrimouth.* [2] *Vit. Wilfrid*, c. 12.
[3] *Bede*, l. iii. c. 7. [4] *Vit. Wilfr.* c. 14. *Ric. Hagulstad. de epis. Hag.* c. 6.
[5] *Bede*, l. iii. c. 28. [6] *Ib.* c. 29.

were [1] forced to go to *Ireland* for their education; nor was it eaſy at *Rome*, to find any body that came up to the deſcription. The Pope thought *Hadrian*, a *Neapolitan* abbot, who ſeemed qualified in point of learning, though not of age, for the dignity of a *Metropolitan:* it was on this laſt account, that he excuſed himſelf from accepting it, and recommended another, univerſally allowed to be fit for it in all reſpects, but diſabled by ill health and a ſickly conſtitution. The removing of this difficulty took up near four years; when *Theodore*, a *Greek* monk, and a native of *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, ſixty ſix years of age, was recommended by *Hadrian:* but not accepted by *Vitalian*, till *Hadrian* had engaged to go with him into *England* and watch over his conduct, to prevent his introducing any *Greek* uſages into the church of *Canterbury*. *Theodore* [2] arrived at his ſee on *Sunday, May* 27. *A. D.* 669. and *Hadrian* [3], who was ſtopped by the jealouſy of *Ebroin maire of the palace* in *France*, coming over two years after, he put him in poſſeſſion of St. *Auguſtine*'s monaſtery, where he lodged a great number of *Greek* and *Latin* books, which he had brought over with him, ſome whereof are ſtill in being; and founded that famous ſchool or ſeminary, which afterwards produced ſuch numbers of learned men, eminent for their knowledge in all other ſciences as well as divinity. His next care was to make a general viſitation all over *England*; in which he was every where well received, and ordained biſhops where they were wanting: This was the firſt time, that the archiepiſcopal authority was acknowledged in all the churches of *England*. In the courſe of this viſitation, coming into the kingdom of the *Northumbrians* [4], he there found *Chadd* poſſeſſed of the ſee of *York*; which he, and the biſhops, that were with him, judging to belong to another, paſſed ſentence of deprivation againſt him for intruſion into a full ſee, and gave the poſſeſſion thereof to *Wilfrid* [5]. To make *Chadd* *A. D.* 664.

[1] *Ib.* c. 29. [2] *Ib.* l. iv. c. 2.
[3] *Vit. Abb. Wintoni.* [4] *Vit. Wilfrid.* c. 15.
[5] I take this to have been a meer pretence, ſuggeſted firſt at the court of *Rome*, in order to have ſome colour for a ſentence in favour of *Wilfrid*; and that *Eddius* cooked up his life accordingly to countenance that pretence. For as the ſees of *Mercia*, *Dunwich*, *London*, and *Rocheſter*, were all vacant, when *Theodore* arrived in *England*, he could have no biſhops with him in his viſitation, except he had ordained them in his way to *York*; and it will appear preſently, that he had not time for ſuch a ſeries of tranſactions, before *Chadd* was actually in poſſeſſion of *Lichfield*. Nor, if we allow *Eddius*'s ſtate of the caſe, could *Chadd* be deemed an intruder, unleſs a royal nomination alone makes a full ſee; for he being alſo named to the ſee of *York* juſt before the death of *Deuſdedit*, did not hear of that event till he came to *Kent:* and going from thence to *Wincheſter*, was ordained by *Wini*, without any delay. Whereas *Wilfrid* ſeems to have ſtayed two years abroad, and, as *Richard* of *Hexam*, c. 6. ſays, returned in the ſecond year of his conſecration, he probably waited ſome time for it, either on account of his not being thirty years old complete, or to have it performed in a pompous manner, not only by a canonical, but a ſynodical number of biſhops. So long a ſtay, which might well enough be interpreted a dereliction of his ſee, appears otherwiſe unaccountable: and it is certain that he muſt wait for his conſecration, till after *Agilbert*, who had been that very year 664, at the conference of *Whitby*, had quarrelled with *Kenwalch*; quitted his ſee of *Dorcheſter*, returned to *France*, and paſſed through all the forms of being made biſhop of *Paris*, ſince he was the principal conſecrator of *Wilfrid*. *Bede* alſo ſays expreſsly, l. iv. c. 2. that *Wilfrid* went over to be ordained in *France*, at the ſame time that *Wighard* was ſent to *Rome* to be ordained archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, which was certainly ſome time after the death of *Deuſdedit*, and was likewiſe after *Chadd*'s ordination: So that *Chadd* having a prior conſecration, and a like royal nomination as the other, could not with any juſtice be deemed an intruder, nor is he once mentioned as ſuch, in all the proceedings at *Rome* in this affair.

Modern hiſtorians indeed have generally repreſented him in that light, purely upon the authority of *Eddius*; from whom later writers have copied implicitly, without ever comparing him with *Bede*, or conſidering the juſt exceptions that may be made to his teſtimony. He was *Wilfrid*'s chaplain, and his buſineſs was not ſo much to write his patron's life, as to make an *apology* for his conduct; which was certainly condemned by St. *Cuthbert*, St. *John de Beverly*, *Hilda* and all the *Engliſh* ſaints that lived at that time, and even by the modeſt *Bede*; who ſays ſo little of a man, that made the greateſt figure of any of that age, and furniſhed the moſt matter for an eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, that his very ſilence may paſs for a ſevere cenſure. *Eddius* had plainly two views in writing; to exalt the glory of his patron, and to magnify the court of *Rome:* every page in his book is calculated to ſhew what power, influence, and credit *Wilfrid* had with all the princes and great men of his time: and whatever were the motives which inſpired any part of their conduct, he ſtill

A. D. 664. *Chadd* however ſome amends, *Wilfrid* quitted to him the grant that *Wulfhere* had made him of *Lichfield*; which by that prelate's reſiding there, became the ſee of the *Mercians*.

This is the account given by *Eddius:* but it is certainly a miſrepreſentation of the affair, and very different from the relation given of it by *Stubbs*[1], *Richard*[2], prior of *Hexam*, and [3] *Gervaſe* of *Canterbury*; who all agree, that in the times of *Aidan*, who firſt converted *Bernicia*, *Finan*, *Colman*, and *Tuda*, all the *Northumbrian* dominions were ſubject to one biſhop, and formed but one dioceſe; and that after the death of *Tuda*, the country was divided into the two dioceſes of *Hexam* for *Bernicia*, and of *York*, for *Deira*. They ſay, that *Wilfrid*[4] was made only

books in an inſinuation, as if they acted in obedience, to what he calls the apoſtolical ſee and apoſtolical decrees. If *Theodore* goes to *York* in the courſe of his metropolitical viſitation, he carries [a] *the ordinances of the apoſtolic ſee along with him*; if he is willing to pardon *Wilfrid's* faults [b], it is out of deference to the apoſtolic ſee, or dread of its cenſures; and if he writes to *Aldfrid* to reſtore him, it is ſtill on account of the authority of the ſame apoſtolic ſee, though in his letter to king *Ethelred*, who had not been ſo immediately affronted as *Aldfrid*, and therefore there was no occaſion in it to mention *Wilfrid's* faults (for which reaſon probably it is recited at length as the moſt favourable to his character) he puts it chiefly upon the good, that prelate had done during his exile in converting the Pagans; and yet notwithſtanding this letter, *Eddius* repreſents this *Ethelred* as receiving him well, purely on account of the Papal authority, which comes in like a *parentheſis* on every occaſion. To ſet forth what a great man *Wilfrid* was, he ſays, that when he pleaded the cauſe of the *Roman Eaſter* at the conference of *Whitby*, when he was thirty years of age, he did it by the [c] command of Pope *Agatho*, though in all appearance the Pope knew nothing of that conference till after it was over; and that *Colman* himſelf was convinced by his reaſons, only he durſt not own it for fear of his countrymen, though the contrary appears in all that humble good man's conduct. He makes all the [d] wiſe-men, the council and the people of *Deira* and *Bernicia*, concur with *Oſwi* and *Alchfrid* in the election of *Wilfrid*, though he ſoon after finds a ſtrong party, c. 14. about *Oſwi*, that got him to appoint another biſhop. The honours paid him, and ceremonies uſed at the ordination of this young man at *Compiegne*, where the *French* biſhops are ſaid to carry him about the choir in a golden chair with their own hands, not ſuffering any others to touch him, appear to me incredible. He makes *Chadd* [e] to come from *Ireland*, and to be ignorant of *Wilfrid's* appointment to *York*, whereas *Bede* poſitively ſays, l. iii. c. 21, 23. and l. iv. c. 2. that he was an *Engliſhman*, and at that very time abbot or prior of *Læſtingham*. It was in *Wilfrid's* ſtead, or on his account, that, if we believe *Eddius*, *Putta* was made biſhop of *Rocheſter:* it was to his recommendation that *Chadd* owed the ſee of *Lichfield* (for *Ethelred* it ſeems would have given it to any body that *Wilfrid* pleaſed) though *Bede*, l. iv. c. 23. aſſures us of the contrary. *York* was no metropolis at that time, yet he ſtyles *Wilfrid* [f] a metropolitan. If *Egfrid* was victorious over his enemies, it was becauſe [g] he and his queen were obedient to *Wilfrid*; for he never had any ſucceſs after he quarrelled with this prelate. Wherever *Wilfrid* goes, he is repreſented, as the chief director of princes, and as received in a moſt extraordinary manner: all *Rome* [h] ſtood amazed at ſo great a man's appearing among them; Pope *John* intereſted himſelf ſo much in his health, that he laid his commands [i] upon him to leave off his cuſtom of bathing every night in holy water. If he meets [k] *Cedwalla* in exile, he reſtores him by his wiſe advice to the throne of the *Weſt-Saxons:* and when that prince is in poſſeſſion of his dominions, he becomes his chief counſellor or miniſter of ſtate; and yet cannot prevent thoſe horrid barbarities which *Cedwalla* committed in the *Iſle of Wight* and in *Suſſex* at the very time that *Wilfrid* was in that country. If *Theodore* [l] meets him at *London*, it is not to receive his ſubmiſſion or requeſt for good offices to make his peace, but to beg his pardon, to confeſs an injury where none was done, and to preſs him to accept of the ſee of *Canterbury* after his death, which he foreſaw would infallibly happen within one year, though the archbiſhop lived at leaſt three years after *Wilfrid* was reſtored to *Hexham*, and five years after the death of *Earconwald*, biſhop of *London* (which *Godwin* and [m] *Wharton* place in *A. D.* 685.) who yet is ſaid to have been preſent at their meeting. I do not take notice of the miracles aſcribed to *Wilfrid*, not one of them wrought to aſſiſt him in the converſion of a nation; all which *Bede* (credulous as he ſeems to be in ſuch caſes, when informed of them by men of veracity) entirely neglects, except the dream which he had, when he lay for four days like a dead perſon, at *Meaux* [n]: nor do I mention errors in other points of fact which I could point out; what hath been obſerved being enough to ſhew that *Eddius* deſerves no credit, wherever the honour or reputation of his patron was concerned: His work hath more the air of a romance than an hiſtory.

[1] *Stubbs Acta Pontif. Ebor. inter Decem Scriptores*, p. 1690. [2] *Rich. de Hagulſtad ib.* c. 1. 26. [3] *Gervaſii Acta Pontif. Cantuar. ib.* p. 1638.

[4] So the ancient manuſcript *de Archiepiſ. Ebor.* quoted by *Leland Itin.* t. viii. f. 64. *Cedda, 2 Arch. Ebor. factus cum ſedes* [*ſcil. poſt Paulini caſſionem*] *vacaſſet proprio carens Epiſcopo* 30 *annis. Uſus eſt epiſcopatu* 3 *annis, et poſtea amore quietis vitæ honori ceſſit. Poſtea ab Wulphero Merc. rege factus eſt epiſcopus Lichfeldenſis. S. Wilfridus* 3 *Arch. Ebor. primo factus fuit ab* Alchfrido *Pago* Berniciorum *epiſcopus Hagulſtadenſis, poſtea ab* Oſwio *Arch.* Ebor. — *exulabat imperio Egfridi — rurſus factus epiſcopus Hagulſtad.* — Boſa 4 *epiſcopus Ebor. — rexit* 10 *annis, et defunctus — S. Joannes epiſcopus Ebor.*

[a] C. 15. [b] C. 42. [c] C. 10. [d] C. 11. [e] C. 14. [f] C. 16. [g] C. 19. [h] C. 51. [i] C. 21. [k] C. 41. [l] C. 42. [m] *De epiſc. & decanis Londin.* [n] C. 54.

biſhop

biſhop of *Hexam* by *Alchfrid*; who governed *Bernicia* under his father, and with his conſent ſent *Wilfrid* abroad to be ordained, in order to be always near his perſon and take care of *Bernicia* alone; that *Oſwi*, in emulation of his ſon's zeal, got *Chadd* to be ordained biſhop of *York*[1] (of which *Stubbs* in his hiſtory of the biſhops of that ſee, reckons him the ſecond, or next to *Paulinus*, and prior to *Wilfrid*, who adminiſtred it after him for ten years) to take care of the country under his own immediate government, *i. e.* of *Deira*; and that *Chadd*, after three years (which as he was conſecrated in the middle of the year 664, expired in *A. D.* 667) quitted this ſee out of an extreme fondneſs for a quiet monaſtic life, and retired to his monaſtery of *Læſtingham*; whence he was two years after drawn again and, prevailed with to take the vacant ſee of *Lichfield*. It appears from theſe writers, that *Wilfrid* leaving *France* about a year after his conſecration, and landing in *Kent*, ordained ſome perſons in this laſt country: and then, coming to king *Alchfrid*, was put in poſſeſſion of his ſee of *Hexam*; and it was only upon *Chadd's* retiring, that he became adminiſtrator of the dioceſe of *York*, and then exerciſed his epiſcopal office over all the *Northumbrian* kingdom; which he had done for two years[2] before *Theodore's* arrival in *England*, or elſe he could not have made in *Oſwi's* time, who dyed 15 *Feb.* *A. D.* 670. thoſe repairs in the cathedral of *York*, which are celebrated by *Eddius*. This account is agreeable to *Bede's*, who had undoubtedly very good reaſons to deviate in this point from *Eddius*; whoſe very words he yet quotes in the relation of ſome paſſages at *Rome*[3]; not having the ſame opportunities of diſcovering that writer's errors or partialities in relating what happened there, as he had in *England*. [4] *Bede* ſays, that *Alchfrid* ſent *Wilfrid* to *France*, to be conſecrated biſhop, *ſibi ſuiſque, for himſelf and the people under his government, i. e. in Bernicia*; that *Oſwi*, emulating his zeal, ſent *Chadd* to *Kent*, to be conſecrated biſhop of the church of *York*, *i. e.* of *Deira*; and without having any notion of his intruſion, or ſaying a word of his removal, obſerves that he was retired[5] and leading a quiet life in his monaſtery of *Læſtingham*, whilſt *Wilfrid* had the *adminiſtration* of the ſee of *York*, and indeed of all *Oſwi's* dominions, at the time that *Theodore* (who had ſupplied the uncanonical defect in his conſecration) upon *Wulfere's* requeſt to him, that the vacancy in the ſee of *Mercia* by the death of *Jaruman* in *A. D.* 667 might be filled, deſired *Oſwi* to engage *Chad*, to quit his retreat, and accept the ſee of *Lichfield*.

A. D. 664.

It is in this ſenſe, that *Bede's* words in the place laſt quoted are generally taken; though as the printed text runs at preſent, they are far from being clear, and (what is more) they are not grammatical. The more obvious ſenſe in my opinion is, that *Wulfere*, not *Theodore*, was againſt having a new biſhop ordained, and deſired *Oſwi* to ſend them *Chadd*; and by the change of a letter of *ordinare*, in the third line of the chapter, into *ordinari*, which would anſwer to *dari*, in the ſecond, the words would be capable of no other meaning: this too is the moſt natural ſenſe, and the moſt agreable to hiſtory. *Cedd* had been the principal perſon concerned in the converſion of the *Mercians*; and it is not unlikely but his brother *Chadd* had been one of his aſſiſtants in that work, before he made him ſuperior of his monaſtery of *Læſtingham*. It was natural for *Wulfere* and the *Mercians* to deſire to have for their biſhop, a prelate of an excellent character, whom they knew either perſonally or as the brother of their firſt converter, rather than another to whom they might be ſtrangers. *Jaruman* had been dead two years before *Theodore* came over; it was high time for the archbiſhop to provide, and for *Wulfere* to deſire, that his ſee might be filled, but it is much more

[1] *Simeon Dunelm*, c. 4. [2] *Vita Wilfridi*, c. 16. [3] *Bede's Hiſt. Eccl.* l. v. c. 19.
[4] L. iii. c. 28. [5] L. iv. c. 3.

likely

A. D. 664. likely that the latter ſhould pitch upon the perſon of *Chad* to fill it, than that the former ſhould think of a man, whoſe ordination made him liable to objection. *Theodore* would of courſe order his own dioceſe, and ſupply the vacancy in the ſee of *Rocheſter*, before he viſited the remoter dioceſes; which doubtleſs he took in the order of their ſituation: and viſiting firſt that of *London*, and probably that of the *Eaſt-Angles*, where he ordained *Biſi*, came into *Mercia*, through which he muſt neceſſarily paſs, before he could enter any part of the *Northumbrian* territories. It was therefore whilſt he was in *Mercia* at *Wulfere's* court, and before he got to *York*, that *Chad* was ſent for, and a ſcruple was raiſed about his ordination; which *Oſwi*, out of his great deſire to have it canonical, had proably made him decline receiving from his brother *Ced*, who did not die till *October* 26, after *Chad* had been ordained by *Wini*. One biſhop was ſufficient in caſes of neceſſity for the conſecration of another; and there had been ſeveral inſtances thereof in *England:* but becauſe two *Britiſh* biſhops (probably out of *Somerſet* and *Devon*) had aſſiſted *Wini*, who was the principal conſecrator, *Theodore* judged it an irregularity, fit to be removed by impoſition of hands; and this being done, *Chad* was put in poſſeſſion of the ſee of *Lichfield*, within three months after the primate's arrival in *England*. For all writers unanimouſly agree, that *Chad*, at his death on *March* 2, *A. D.* 672, had ſat in that ſee two years and an half, and conſequently was poſſeſſed of it before *September* 2, *A. D.* 669. Whoever conſiders theſe circumſtances will ſurely think the interval too ſhort for theſe tranſactions, which *Eddius* places in *Yorkſhire*, antecedent to *Chad's* ſettling at *Letchfield*, and be convinced that *Bede* was in the right, when he rejected all thoſe particulars of the others relation.

Of ſome innovations in religion.

XVI. There are no events in thoſe times, more proper to gratify the curioſity of a reader, or better deſerving the reflections of an *Engliſhman*, than what may be obſerved in the conduct of *Theodore*, and in the hiſtory of *Wilfrid's* proſecution: and though the ſubject of them may be *eccleſiaſtical*, yet as they relate to the very conſtitution of the church of *England*, and are blended with the tranſactions in civil affairs, they ought to be allowed a place in a *General*, though principally a *civil* hiſtory. By the *conſtitution* of the church, I mean her *polity* and *diſcipline*, rather than her *doctrines*; which being foreign to this work, will be only mentioned occaſionally, when, by being introduced at a particular time, or by becoming matter of diſpute in the ſtate, they adopt the nature of facts that are ſimply hiſtorical. It was about this time that attempts were made by *Wilfrid* and others to introduce the Benedictine rule, in which no regard was had to learning; this being afterwards enjoined by the capitularies of *Charle-Magne*, and to get monaſteries, properly ſo called, founded in *England:* an inſtitution very different from the ſeminaries of the *Britains*; which were properly ſchools of learning, ſerving either for the education of young noblemen, or to prepare perſons deſigned for the miniſtry of the goſpel, by a courſe of ſtudy, inſtruction, and religious exerciſes, for the better diſcharge of their paſtoral office. They had indeed ſome places of retreat, where they gave up themſelves entirely to devotion; but theſe were either in ſmall iſlands, which lying at a diſtance from the continent, barred all communication with the world, or elſe in ſome wild deſert or mountainous tract of country, where they led the life of hermits, and ſcarce ever ſaw the face of a mortal. We ſee in the *Life of St. Monacella* and others, that the women retired in this manner, as well as the men; but now nunneries were erected for receiving the *Engliſh* ladies: who, for ſome time after their converſion (when, imagining that they came into the world to live only to God and themſelves, they took a fancy to withdraw from it, to paſs the reſt of their days in a religious commuhity) had been forced

to ſeek that retreat in foreign monaſteries. It was now that thoſe uſages and notions, which are ſtyled by Roman catholicks abroad *La petite religion*, and branded by Proteſtants with the harſher term of *ſuperſtition*, began to be encouraged, and gain ground in this country. Such as the miraculous cures [1] wrought by holy water, oil, and bread; which the *Saxons*, a ſimple, credulous, illiterate people, eaſily imagined to be attended with the virtues aſcribed to them by their teachers. It was now that dreams, viſions, apparitions, created by the diſordered fancies of ſplenetic and weak perſons, emaciated by exceſſive abſtinence and auſterities, came to be made the ground of certain doctrines in religion [2], ſuch as purgatory, *&c.* which came afterwards to be much abuſed, with whatever good deſign they might be propagated at firſt; for *Bede* probably had a good one in perpetuating a number of ſuch ſtories, the truth of which he would not vouch [3], and reſts entirely on the credit of his informers. But nothing was brought into ſuch requeſt among the *Engliſh*, as what paſſed upon them for relicks of ſome ſaint or other; which introduced a ſort of devotion unknown to the *Britiſh churches*, and were thought to work greater effects in the relief of pains and cure of diſeaſes, than the moſt tender mother can fancy from an anodyne necklace, or any of the old *Brigantes* could have expected from the ſpells of their *Druids*. We ſee nothing of this among the *Northumbrians* in the time of *Aidan*, *Finan*, and *Colman*, *Scottiſh* biſhops; who yet edified all that knew them, by their unaffected piety, exemplary charity, unwearied application to the diſcharge of their paſtoral duties, and conſtant courſe of exerciſing themſelves in all the acts of worſhip, fit to be offered by man to the Deity, that is, of a ſolid and rational devotion. But after theſe excellent prelates were removed, with their own clergy and ſuch of the *Engliſh* as adhered to them, into *Scotland*, we find no point of devotion ſo much cultivated, as what related to relicks, or what the extraordinary veneration for them, and the high opinion entertained of their effects, brought likewiſe into faſhion. No [4] church could be dedicated without ſome relicks being lodged in it; no relicks would be allowed as genuine, [5] unleſs they were brought from *Rome*: and hence aroſe an extravagant paſſion for journeys thither, to viſit the venerable places, which had been hallowed by the blood of ſo many martyrs. Theſe were reputed ſo very meritorious, that kings quitted their crowns and country, to end their days in the neighbourhood of thoſe ſacred ſtations [6]. Noblemen and peaſants, the clergy and laity, men and women, all ranks and orders of perſons, vied with one another in ſhewing their devotion in this manner: and the zeal for theſe voyages to *Rome* ſeems at this time to have been as violent in *England*, as it was ſome ages afterwards, all over the Weſt, for pilgrimages and expeditions to the holy land; when theſe were in their turn preached up as meritorious or expiatory, and became a faſhionable way of commuting for ſins, and of going to heaven. A.D. 664.

AMONG other inſtitutions, which began to take place at this time, that of private or auricular *confeſſion* was one; which being once recommended, ſoon got ground, and prevailed to the excluſion of a great part of that public diſcipline which had hitherto been obſerved in all *Chriſtian* churches. *Theodore* wrote, on this occaſion, a *penitentiary*, to ſerve as a direction to confeſſors, how to conduct themſelves in hearing confeſſions and enjoining penance; the work appearing plainly to be deſigned for this purpoſe, rather than to introduce an opinion of the abſolute neceſſity of that practice, ſince he ſays expreſsly [7], that in caſe of neceſſity, confeſſion to God alone was ſufficient; and that which is previous to the prieſt's abſolution is repreſented as no further neceſſary, than in order to be informed, what ſort

[1] *Bede*, l. v. c. 29, 30, &c.
[2] *Bede*, l. v. c. 12.
[3] See preface to his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*.
[4] *Bede's Hiſt. Eccl.* l. v. p. 52. c. 5, 11.
[5] *Con. Magn. Brit.* t. i. p. 21.
[6] *Bede*, l. v. c. 7.
[7] *Dochery's Spicil.* t. ix.

A. D. 664. of penance was required for every offence, and for the ſeveral degrees and circumſtances thereof. It was one of the moſt difficult parts of the ſacerdotal office, to know how to proportion the private penance to the crime; and this *penitentiary* was generally looked upon as the beſt rule in that particular: ſo that if *Theodore* did not directly enjoin and eſtabliſh the practice, he at leaſt endeavoured to make it uſeful; and contributed by his inſtructions as well to prevent its being abuſed, as to recommend it to the general obſervance of ſcrupulous penitents.

Pariſhes inſtituted.

XVII. THERE was another inſtitution, extremely uſeful for the better inſtruction of the people, and advancement of the ends of religion, which is generally allowed to have been introduced into *England* by *Theodore*; who was undoubtedly one of the wiſeſt and greateſt prelates that ever filled the ſee of *Canterbury*. *Ethelbert* and other *Saxon* kings, as ſoon as they were converted, had founded cathedrals; and ſettled upon them large eſtates in land, ſufficient for the maintenance of the biſhops and their clergy. The revenue, ariſing as well from theſe lands, as from the tithes and voluntary oblations of the faithful in each dioceſe, was all at the biſhop's diſpoſal, and diſtributed by him into four parts; one being aſſigned for himſelf, and the other three for his clergy, the poor, and the repair of the fabric of the church, agreeable to the method [1] laid down in the apoſtolical canons. All the clergy lived in the biſhop's family; where young candidates for holy orders were likewiſe educated, and ſent thence from time to time to preach in villages, and to adminiſter baptiſm and other offices of religion in the country churches; which were built in ſome places for the convenience of divine worſhip, when theſe itinerant preachers came to perform their eccleſiaſtical functions. *Bede* [2] tells us, that when any of theſe, whoſe only buſineſs it was to travel about for that purpoſe, happened to come to a village, the people flocked about them to hear them preach, and to join in divine worſhip: but thoſe churches were not as yet erected into fixed *cures* or *titles*. This was but an occaſional and imperfect way of inſtruction: and there were abundance of towns and villages [3], eſpecially in wild and mountainous parts of the country, which though they all paid tithes, or compounded for them by pecuniary payments to the biſhop and his clergy, were not in the courſe of many years ever viſited by a biſhop, to confirm ſuch as had been baptized, or by any other divine, who could inſtruct them in the true faith, and teach them to diſtinguiſh between good and evil; ſo that the beſt and moſt zealous *Chriſtians* had rarely an opportunity of receiving the ſacraments. *Bede* complains much of this defect, under which the province of *York* greatly laboured, in his letter to archbiſhop *Egbert*; whom he preſſed earneſtly to remove it, by taking in a greater number of clergymen to his aſſiſtance, ſufficient to viſit every village in his large dioceſe.

THEODORE, when he made his firſt general viſitation of all the *Engliſh* dioceſes, in which his archiepiſcopal authority was univerſally acknowledged, had obſerved this defect: and ſet himſelf to redreſs the evil by the inſtitution of pariſhes. *Wheloc*k, in his notes upon *Bede* [4], obſerves from the *Codex Cantuarienſis*, that this prelate made a greater improvement than had ever been made before his time in the *Engliſh* churches, by putting men of quality and fortune upon building churches in cities and towns; to which he allotted certain diſtricts (generally of the ſame extent as the founder's eſtate) and diſtinguiſhed them into pariſhes; the cure whereof was to be ſerved by a fixed miniſter conſtantly reſident. For their better encouragement herein, he procured them *royal ſtipends*, that whoever were able, out

[1] *Canon. Ap.* 21. See *Bede*, l. i. c. 27. [2] L. iii. c. 26. l. iv. c. 27. *Vita Cuthberti*, c. 9, 16, 32.
[3] *Epiſt. ad Egbertum.* [4] *Not. in.* l. v. c. 8.

of

of their own fund, to build and endow ſuch churches, ſhould enjoy the patronage thereof for ever: and as the lord of the manor, in which a church was built, though he endowed the living, was not always at the expence of the fabric (this being, as we ſee by the firſt of *Egbert's* conſtitutions, ſometimes erected by the contributions of the pariſh prieſt and others) it was however in ſuch caſe provided, that he ſhould ſtill be deemed the patron. This endowment generally conſiſted in a certain quantity of glebe, and in ſlaves or *nativi* to till it; to which the biſhop added the tithes growing, and the oblations made by the inhabitants, within the precincts of the pariſh; the incumbent whereof [1] could not be either put in or removed without his conſent. Theſe lords, or great men, generally built but one church on their manors or territories; which were often of ſo large an extent, that one place of worſhip was not ſufficient for all their tenants: and this, in proceſs of time, gave occaſion in ſome pariſhes, as the diviſion of manors, and the alienation of lands did in others, to the erection of *chapels of eaſe*, or (as they were at firſt called) *oratories*. Theſe were uſed only for common prayers, or the ordinary divine ſervice; the mother church enjoying as well the ſole right of baptiſms and burials, as all the tithes and poſſeſſions with which ſhe was originally endowed, without any defalcation thereof [2] for the ſupply of ſuch *oratories*. But the ſame reaſons, which rendered the inſtitution of pariſhes neceſſary, holding in a certain degree for allowing all the offices of religion to be performed in ſuch *chapels*, and thereby making them parochial; a liberty [3] was afterwards granted to the lords of manors, to aſſign a third part of the tithes to the miniſters that officiated therein. The biſhops too, finding it proper to encourage the building and endowing of more churches, were obliged at laſt, to put theſe later churches upon an equal foot with the firſt, to aſſign them all the tithes within their precincts; and by conſecrating church-yards, and granting them the right of burials and chriſtenings, to make them diſtinct pariſhes, entirely independent on their mother churches.

A.D. 664.

The reaſon, why a licence from the crown was neceſſary to lords of manors for their endowment of churches, to which the right of patronage was incident, ſeems to be this: it was a received maxim, that the tithes, glebe, manſe, and other poſſeſſions of the church ought to be free [4] from all *ſecular ſervices*, burden, or rent whatever; whereas all *grants* of eſtates to laymen were clogged either with ſome ſervice military or ignoble, or elſe with ſome rent, or other acknowledgment of ſuperiority reſerved to the crown. The reſervation of ſuch ſervices and marks of dependence ſeemed inconſiſtent with the terms in which the grants of kings to churches were uſually expreſſed, or at leaſt very indecent to be uſed in inſtruments to which God Almighty, *who could hold of no mortal*, was made a party; they generally running in the uſual ſtyle of "granting to *God* and the church of a certain place, "the poſſeſſions mentioned therein, by way of acknowledgment of his divine "bounty, to which they owed their crowns, and all the advantages of their royal "dignity." It was not in the power of the lords and great men to endow churches with any part of their lands, or the profits thereof, exempt from thoſe ſervices by which they held their manors, and which were the very conditions of their tenure, without being enabled to do ſo by a royal licence.

There was probably a neceſſity for it on another account, it not being clear, that our kings could in thoſe days grant, at leaſt without the conſent of the ſtates of the realm, any of the crown-lands by way of inheritance to lay-ſubjects: and perſons, who have only a temporary right to their poſſeſſions, muſt be utterly incapable of granting

[1] *Egbert's Conſt.* 23, and 67. [2] *Ib. Conſt.* 24. [3] *Spelm. Concil.* vol. i. p. 360, 444, 545.
[4] *Ib. Conſt.* 25.

A. D. 664. a perpetuity to others. *Bede*, in his letter to *Egbert*, complains of an infinite number of places in the dioceſe of *York*, that paſſed in his days by the name of monaſteries, "but had nothing in them of the monaſtic way of living; all the revenues being ſpent in luxury, vanity, and intemperance; ſo that they were not uſeful either to God or man: no regular life being obſerved in them according to God, and the civil power deriving thence no benefit, ſince they were not poſſeſſed by military men to defend the country againſt barbarians." He obſerves that "kings had been ſo fooliſhly extravagant in the grant of ſuch places under the name of monaſteries, that they had not left themſelves any lands to grant to the ſons of the nobility, or of old warriors worn out in their ſervice; ſo that theſe young gentlemen, not being able to marry, either led a roving life at home, corrupting virgins, even ſuch as were conſecrated to God, or elſe quitting their country, for which they ought to fight, went abroad to ſeek their fortune." After this repreſentation, he preſſes that prelate to uſe his intereſt with the religious prince then upon the throne, to reſume thoſe exorbitant grants, in which his predeceſſors had been ſurprized, or (to uſe the law phraſe) deceived. "It had been uſual for laymen, who had no manner of inclination to a monaſtic life, to purchaſe territories of kings, for a ſum of money, under the pretence of founding monaſteries: and to get moreover [1] *a right of inheritance* therein, conveyed to themſelves by royal charters, confirmed (as if ſuch grants of privileges to them were really worthy of God) by the ſubſcriptions of the biſhops, abbots, and laynobility; that is, in the modern ſtyle, by parliament. Theſe laymen, having thus got poſſeſſion of manors and towns, lived afterwards exempt from all *divine*, as well as *human* ſervice; took into their houſes either vagabond monks, who had been expelled from real monaſteries for their diſorderly conduct, or ſome of their own vaſſals and followers, whom they made to take the tonſure, and vow obedience to them; paſſing the time one while with their wives in getting children, and at other times within the encloſure of the places which they called monaſteries; and going ſo far in ſome caſes as to get grants of the like places for their wives to erect nunneries, who acted in ſame manner. This evil had in the laſt thirty years, that had paſſed ſince the death of king *Aldfrid*, grown to ſuch a monſtrous height in the province of *York*, that there was ſcarce an officer either civil or military, that had not, in the time of his ſervice or government, got or purchaſed ſome ſuch grants of a monaſtery for himſelf and his wife, and were called abbots, as well as governors and miniſters." *Bede* mentions theſe facts as univerſally known, and I have quoted this remarkable paſſage from him to ſhew, how early diſorders and irregularities crept into monaſteries; and how groſsly the fondneſs of our *Saxon* kings for ſuch inſtitutions was abuſed by the infidelity and corruption of their miniſters; who impoſed upon them by pretences of religion, when they had nothing in view, but to glut their avarice at the expence of their maſter's honour, and by expoſing their country in a defenceleſs condition to the invaſion of barbarous nations. I am ſorry to add, that *Bede* aſcribes the ſubſcriptions of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, in confirmation of thoſe ſcandalous grants, to a corrupt motive, and repreſents it as entirely owing to their love of money. But I muſt not omit obſerving, that it ſeems plain from the whole, that our kings, in thoſe days, did not uſe to grant lands to laymen by way of inheritance or in perpetuity, except in order to dedicate them to God, and for the ſervice of religion; nor even in that caſe without the conſent of Parliament.

These things ſhew plainly the neceſſity of the royal licences, procured by *Theodore* for the endowment of parochial churches; which in conſequence thereof

[1] *Jus hæreditarium.*

were daily founded in all parts of *England* by the nobility and gentry, as well as by the biſhops themſelves in their reſpective manors. The patronage thereof was annexed to the endowment by the ſame common right, which made kings patrons of the cathedrals, ſees, and monaſteries of their own foundation; a right which all our *Saxon* princes enjoyed in theſe times, and exerciſed without diſpute. Thus the *Weſt-Saxon* kings [1] put *Birinus* and *Agilbert* into the ſee of *Dorcheſter*; *Wini* and *Leutherius* into that of *Wincheſter*: the former of which two laſt being afterwards expelled, was, by a ſimoniacal contract with king *Wulfhere*, promoted to the ſee of *London*. Thus *Sigebert*, king of the *Eaſt-Angles* [2], made *Felix* biſhop of *Dunwich*, and *Furſæus* abbot of *Cnobberſburg*; ſo the ſame *Wulfhere* made *Chadd* biſhop of *Lichfield*, and *Sexulf* [3] abbot of *Peterborough*: and [4] *Aidan*, *Finan*, *Colman*, *Wilfrid*, and *Cuthbert*, were all put into their ſees by the *Northumbrian* princes. This royal nomination was in thoſe days conceived to be ſo neceſſary, that, when any prelates were thus appointed in conquered countries, they imagined they loſt their biſhopricks, when the countries, which compoſed their dioceſes, were loſt by the prince that named them, and came to be repoſſeſſed by the rightful owners. Thus *Trumwin* quitted his ſee of *Abercorn* [5], when the part of *Scotland*, which had formed his dioceſe whilſt in the poſſeſſion of the *Northumbrians*, was recovered by the *Picts*; as [6] *Eadbed* did his of *Sidnaceſter*, when *Lindſey* was reconquered by the *Mercians*. The perſon, ſo named to fill a ſee, was indeed to be approved by the biſhops of the province; becauſe it was their buſineſs to conſecrate him: and this act was to be performed publickly in the greateſt city of the dioceſe, that the people might give their atteſtation to his life and converſation; on which account it was deemed irregular, unleſs in a caſe of neceſſity, to take one from any other dioceſe, than that which he was appointed to govern. Kings indeed were ſoon prevailed upon to allow ſome monaſteries the privilege of electing their own abbot from among themſelves; which put others upon ſolliciting the ſame favour: but ſome ages paſſed, before they granted any ſuch indulgence with regard to biſhops; of which however, *Bede*, in his letter above-mentioned, ſuggeſts an occaſion. After repreſenting the evil conſequences of the neglect of the paſtoral duties, which was unavoidable in ſo large a dioceſe as *York*, he preſſes archbiſhop *Egbert* to uſe his credit with king *Ceolulph*, to engage him to reform the eccleſiaſtical ſtate of his country, and to erect ſo many new biſhopricks, that there might be twelve in his province. But as the exorbitant grants of that prince's predeceſſors, had made it difficult to find a vacant place for a new ſee, and ſufficient endowments for new biſhops and their clergy, he propoſes that a *great council* ſhould be called, and by a reſolution or ordinance of that body, with the conſent of the king and the prelates, ſome monaſteries ſhould be pitched upon to be the ſeats of new biſhops. As the abbot and monks of ſuch a convent might probably do all in their power to oppoſe an ordinance of this nature, he thought it would not be a bad expedient for engaging them to acquieſce in it, to give them a *licence* or *privilege* (termed in later days a *conge d'elire*) for chooſing out of their own body, the perſon who was to be ordained, and who was at once to preſide over the monaſtery, and his adjacent dioceſe; or in caſe there ſhould be none among them fit for the epiſcopal office, they ſhould ſtill have the canonical examination and approbation of the perſon nominated out of ſome other part of the dioceſe. The kings of *England* did afterwards, on ſome occaſions, take this method of endowing ſees; and it is no wonder, that in ſuch caſes, they allowed the privilege propoſed to the monaſteries, whoſe abbatical *manſe*, or the revenue of the abbot was annexed to the biſhoprick.

A. D. 664.

[1] *Bede*, l. iii. c. 7. [2] *Ib.* l. ii. c. 15. l. iii. c. 19. l. iv. c. 3. [3] *Chron. Sax. A. D.* 655.
[4] *Bede*, l. iii. c. 13, 28. *Vita Cuthberti*, c. 24. [5] *Bede*, l. iv. c. 26. [6] *Ib.* c. 12.

Of the troubles raiſed by *Wilfrid.*

XVIII. When *Theodore* came into *England*, there was certainly an extreme want of a greater number of biſhops to anſwer the ends of religion, and perform the functions appropriated to their character; each dioceſe being of equal extent with a kingdom, except in *Northumberland*; which though lately divided, was adminiſtered but by one biſhop; and in *Kent*, which had always two ſees in it, though the ſmalleſt of the heptarchy. His archiepiſcal authority had been acknowledged in his firſt viſitation; and now propoſing to exert it for the ſervice of the church, he convened a ſynod of biſhops, [1] with ſome preſbyters, well verſed in the ancient canons, and eccleſiaſtical diſcipline to meet at *Herudford*; which, though generally ſuppoſed to be *Hertford*, appears to me much more probably to be *Redford* in *Nottinghamſhire*, becauſe, *Bede* obſerves, the ſynod was held in the third year of *Egfrid* [2], and in his preſence, and conſequently the place lay in the *Northumbrian* dominions. The ſee of *London* was then vacant; and of the other ſix biſhops (all that were in *England*) *Biſi* of the *Eaſt-Angles*, *Putta* of *Rocheſter*, *Leutherius* of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and *Winfrid* of the *Mercians*, were preſent, beſides the archbiſhop. *Wilfrid* of *York*, being perhaps in hopes of getting a *pall* for himſelf, or apprehenſive of what was to be moved in the ſynod, ſent his legates: but did not appear in perſon. When the council was opened, *Theodore* propoſed to the biſhops a book of canons, probably [3] the *Code of the univerſal church*; which had been approved by the General council of *Chalcedon*, and being tranſlated out of *Greek* into *Latin* by *Dionyſius Exiguus*, had been received by all the weſtern churches; to which he aſked each of them in particular for their aſſent: which they very readily gave, and promiſed to obſerve them carefully. Ten of thoſe canons, which ſeemed particularly adapted to the ſtate of the *Engliſh* churches at that time, and neceſſary to be put in immediate execution, he drew out of the book, and recommended to their more diligent care and obſervation. Theſe related to matters of order for preventing diſputes and indecencies; to an uniformity in keeping of *Eaſter*, and to a regular holding of ſynods; which was agreed to be done once year at *Cloveſhoe*, on the firſt of *Auguſt*. But the canons, by which it was provided, that as the number of *Chriſtians* was daily increaſing, new ſees ſhould be erected, was that which the archbiſhop had moſt at heart, and which was really the moſt neceſſary of any; this is ſaid not to paſs without a qualification [4], as if it was beſt to ſuſpend the execution of it for the preſent. They were all, however, after a ſolemn conſideration, agreed to, and ſubſcribed by every one preſent before a public notary: and a declaration [5] made, that whoever preſumed to violate them, ſhould be degraded of his ſacerdotal office and excommunicated.

A. D. 673.

Whether it was left to *Theodore's* diſcretion to judge of the proper times and places for putting this laſt canon in execution, it was not long before he found a favourable opportunity for that purpoſe. *Biſi*, biſhop of the *Eaſt-Angles*, being ſeized before the end of the year with a terrible illneſs, which diſabled him from taking care of his dioceſe, the archbiſhop conſecrated two biſhops to ſupply his place; each of which was aſſigned a diſtinct ſee; *Æcci* fixing his at *Dunwich*, and

[1] *Bede*, l. iv. c. 5. [2] *Ib.* l. iv. c. 5. and ep. l. v. c. 24. [3] *Johnſon's vade Mecum.*

[4] *Wharton* (*Angl. Sacr.* tit. i. p. 426.) thinks this clauſe of qualification, to be an *interpolation*, becauſe it is not in the *Saxon* verſion, and the words ſeem not to be thoſe of the ſynod, but inſerted by ſome other hand. This ſeems indeed utterly inconſiſtent with the tenor of the relation of this ſynod, as well as irreconcileable with the proceedings that followed it. *Bede* alſo (l. v. c. 24.) ſays expreſsly, that ten canons actually paſſed in this council which could not be, unleſs the additional clauſe be an *interpolation*; and I am apt to think, it was *Egfrid's* deſign in having it convened in his own dominions, to have this very canon, for augmenting the number of ſees, enacted for the benefit of his own country; and that *Wilfrid's* knowledge of that deſign kept him from being preſent at a ſynod, held in the very dioceſe of *York*.

[5] *Bede*, l. 4. c. 5.

Bedwin his at *Helmham*. The year following *Winfrid* [1], not caring to part with any of his vaſt dioceſe of the *Mercians*, was depoſed by *Theodore*: and [2] *Sexhulf*, abbot of *Peterborough*, conſecrated in his ſtead (as *Florence* of *Worceſter* ſays) in *A. D.* 675. This new prelate was not very fond of having his ſee divided, and was too great a favourite with *Wulfhere*, king of *Mercia*, whoſe conſent was neceſſary in the caſe, for the archbiſhop to proceed to the like extremity againſt him, whilſt his patron lived. To ſhew however ſome compliance with the canon, *Sexhulf* did in the next year diſmember thoſe dominions of the *Mercians*, which lay beyond the *Severne*, and aſſigned them to the new ſee of *Hereford*; which *Putta*, upon the deſtruction of the poſſeſſions of his biſhopric of *Rocheſter* by *Ethelred*, ſucceſſor of *Wulfere*, was glad to accept. *Wilfrid* ſtill remained the ſole biſhop among the *Northumbrians*, whoſe territories reached from the *Frith* of *Forth* to the *Humber*: too great in reputation and power to be attacked with any hopes of ſucceſs, at leaſt whilſt he continued in favour with *Egfrid*, whoſe queen *Etheldriad* looked upon him as an oracle, and had, with her huſband's conſent, given him large tracts of land [3] to endow his rich monaſtery of *Hexham*. His wealth was immenſe, and he employed it magnificently; he had nine abbeys of his own; and all the abbots and abbeſſes throughout the kingdom were under his direction: the principal nobility had all their ſons under his care; thinking they could not be ſo well educated under any other's inſtructions. *A. D.* 637.

In theſe circumſtances, the archbiſhop was forced to wait, till the queen [4] had quitted her huſband, to take the veil in the nunnery of *Coldingham*, where *Wilfrid* gave her the habit; a ſtep, which *Egfrid* ſuſpected, he had perſuaded her to take, and looked upon him from that time with a leſs favourable eye than formerly. He married ſoon after a new wife named [5] *Ermenburga*, to whoſe envy againſt *Wilfrid*, which he aſcribes to the ſuggeſtions of an evil ſpirit, *Eddius* is willing to impute the proſecution of that prelate. He aſſigns no cauſe for her hatred; beſides what may be gathered from her frequent remonſtrances to the king againſt the ſecular pomp and wealth of *Wilfrid*, the multitude of his convents, the magnificence of his buildings, and the infinite number, as well as ſumptuous apparel and coſtly arms of his followers; a charge which it is not improbable but ſhe might advance. This prelate lived in a very different manner from *Aidan*, and the other *Scotch* biſhops [6], whoſe parſimony and abſtinence was ſuch, that, when they quitted *Lindisfarne*, they ſcarce left any buildings there, beſides the church: they had no wealth but their cattle: if money was at any time given them by the rich, they immediately diſtributed it to the poor. They had no notion of providing ſplendid houſes for the reception of great men, or of heaping up riches for their entertainment; the only reaſon of whoſe coming in their time, was to pray and hear the word of God; the king himſelf being never attended with more than five or ſix ſervants on thoſe occaſions, and rarely ſtaying to refreſh himſelf; or if by chance he did, it was only with the ſimple diet of the monk's table. Theſe pious prelates never thought of the world: and were ſo perfectly free from avarice, that they would not receive from princes any grants of lands and manors for erecting of monaſteries; unleſs abſolutely forced to accept and employ them for that purpoſe.

Wilfrid had driven theſe good men out of the country; and their monaſteries were diſtributed to his followers, if he did not think fit to keep them to himſelf; as he did that of *Rippon*; where he entertained *Egfrid* [7] and all his nobility for ſeveral days together. He was continually getting grants of manors and whole

[1] *Ib.* c. 6. [2] *Angl. Sacr.* t. i. p. 424. [3] *Ric. Hagulſtad.* c. 5. [4] *Hiſt. Elienſ. Ang. Sacr.* t. i. p. 598. [5] *Vit. Wilfridi*, c. 24. [6] *Sim. Dunelm. Hiſt. Eccl. Dunelm.* c. 5. [7] *Vit. Wilfridi*, c. 17.

territories,

A. D. 673. territories, to found new ones; and firſt ſet the precedent of that practice of alienating the demeſnes of the crown; which, through the miſtaken piety of the *Northumbrian* kings, had, ſo early as the time of *Bede*, exhauſted their revenue to ſuch a degree, that they were not able to reward the ſervice of their miniſters, nor provide for the ſupport of the ſons of their nobility, nor even to defend their country againſt an invaſion. *Wilfrid* had been uſed to the *Roman* pomp; his buildings were palaces; his furniture vaſtly ſumptuous; his table was ſerved in gold plate; his equipage ſhone in the richeſt apparel; he had an army of attendants, well provided with horſes and warlike accoutrements; he [1] amaſſed immenſe wealth, perhaps in order to purchaſe the friendſhip of princes and biſhops by preſents, which either out of policy or vain glory, he made to both, with an unequalled bounty; and every thing about him was magnificent. The queen was a pious woman in the faſhion of that age: and the onely fact *Eddius* [2] hath to alledge againſt her, is, that when *Wilfrid* was impriſoned, ſhe took from him a bag of relics, which he had brought over to pleaſe the devout ladies, or (as *Eddius* ſays) for the conſolation of the *Engliſh* churches, and which he puts God Almighty to the expence of a miracle to recover: ſhe retired from the world, upon her huſband's death, into the nunnery of *Carliſle* [3], where ſhe received the habit from St. *Cuthbert*.

It is no wonder that a perſon of this turn of mind, and many others who had been edified by the humility and ſimplicity of the *Scotch* biſhops, ſhould take diſtaſte at the pomp and grandeur of *Wilfrid*; ſhould repreſent it as neceſſary to diminiſh his revenues, and take from him the adminiſtration of *York*, which had been too long vacant; and be able at laſt to prevail with *Egfrid* to enter into
A. D. 678. *Theodore's* meaſures, and to concur with him in executing the late canon. It was agreed as well to fill up the ſee of *York*, during the vacancy, whereof the revenues of it had been enjoyed by *Wilfrid*, as adminiſtrator, or by way of ſequeſtration; as to divide that of *Bernicia*, which had a dioceſe of a vaſt extent, and was ſufficient to ſupport more than one biſhop in ſplendour. *Boſa*, being accordingly conſecrated biſhop of *Deira* [4], was put into the ſee of *York*; *Eata* into that of *Hexham*, which contained the country between the *Tees* and the river *Alne* in *Northumberland*; and *Eadhed* into that of *Sidnaceſter*, which, ſince *Egfrid's* conqueſt of *Lindſey* about four year before, had hitherto remained under *Wilfrid's* adminiſtration. This prelate continuing obſtinate in his oppoſition to the regulation ordered by both civil and eccleſiaſtical authority, there was, three years after, a further partition made: for *Lindisfarne* [5], which being the ancient title of the ſee, had in this firſt diviſion been left to *Wilfrid*, was then ſplit into two dioceſes: *Eata* fixing in that which bore the old title; whilſt the country of the *Picts* was aſſigned to *Trumwin*; and *Tunberct* ſucceeded *Eata* at *Hexham* [6].

[1] *Wilfridi vit.* c. 20, 60. [2] *Ib.* c. 33, 38.
[3] *Vita S. Cuthberti*, c. 8. [4] *Bede*, l. v. 12. *Ric. Hagulſt.* [5] *Angl. Sacra.* t. i. p. 633, 634. *Sim. Dun.* l. i. c. 9.

[6] It was perhaps out of regard to *Wilfrid's* merit in expelling the *Scots*, and introducing the *Roman* uſages, that the archbiſhop proceeded againſt him with ſo much tenderneſs, as to leave him *Lindisfarne*, and not deprive him entirely; as it is generally thought *Winfrid* was, though I ſee reaſon to differ from that opinion. *Bede* (l. iv. c. 4.) ſays, that *Winfrid* was depoſed *A. D.* 674, and retired to his monaſtery, called *ad Baruæ*, where he ended his days, *optima converſatione, i. e.* in the devout quiet manner uſual in a conventual retreat. But he doth not ſeem very well acquainted with the fact, and his relation is at leaſt imperfect; for we are aſſured by *Eddius*, *Wilfrid's* chaplain and companion in all his voyages (*Vita Wilfridi*, c, 24, 25.) that *Winfrid*, inſtead of acquieſcing in his depoſition, went abroad at the ſame time with *Wilfrid*, and in all appearance with the ſame deſign of an appeal to *Rome*; being probably one, if not the only one of the *Coepiſcopi*, who (as *Eddius* ſays) adviſed *Wilfrid* to that appeal. It proved very unfortunate to him, for *Egfrid* (as that apologiſt ſays) ſuppoſing that *Wilfrid* would take the direct road to *Rome*, and land at *Quentavic*, now *Eſtaples*, in *Picardie*, had wrote to *Thierry*, king of the *Franks*, and his *Maire Ebroin* to ſtop his journey, and either keep him in perpetual exile, or elſe ſtrip him of all his money and

THE archbiſhop, though he ſhewed vigour enough in his adminiſtration, was yet a man of great temper and prudence, and both theſe qualities appear throughout his whole conduct in this affair; in which he ſeems to have acted with no view but for the good of the church [1], and the advancement of the *Chriſtian* religion. He had no reaſon to envy *Wilfrid* on any account: but he was obliged, by the duty of his office, to ſee the canons obeyed, and due care taken for the inſtruction of the people and the propagation of *Chriſtianity* [2]. *Wilfrid*, nettled *A. D.* 678.

baggage, putting all his companions to the ſword. *Winfrid* paſſing that way from the country of the *Mercians*, was, as he paſſed through *France*, miſtaken for *Wilfrid*, through the affinity of his name, and treated in this manner: and either diſcouraged or diſabled from purſuing his journey, ſeems (as we hear no more of him afterwards) to have returned home to his monaſtery. This is called *Baruæ*, and was ſeated in *Lindſey*, the name of that part of *Lincolnſhire*, which lies between the *Witham* and the *Humber*. In that country lay the famous abbey of *Bardney*, which being founded in *Wulfhere's* time, I am perſuaded was *Winfrid's* monaſtery, and that the true reading in *Bede* was *Barnae*, it being impoſſible, in all the ancient manuſcripts that I ever ſaw, to diſtinguiſh the little *n* from an *u*, but by the ſenſe of the word; an help which fails in the caſe of the names of places. *Bardney*, if ſpelt according to its ordinary pronunciation, might very well be wrote *Barnæ*, and I dare ſay, that no two informers of *Bede* would ever ſpell it in the ſame manner. *Bede* himſelf, in the very ſame chapter (l. iii. c. 11.) ſpells it *Beardaneu* and *Peartaneu*, and we may obſerve the like difference in him with regard to the name of one of its abbots, whom he there calls *Aldeuini*, and yet (in l. iii. c. 27.) he calls the very ſame perſon *Aedhilun*. *Dugdale* and all antiquaries own their ignorance, as to the founder and hiſtory of the foundation of this abbey: but I am apt to think it was founded by *Chad* (ſee *Bede*, l. iv. c. 3.) when made biſhop of the *Mercian* kingdom, at leaſt the time, and what is known of the monaſtery, agree to this conjecture. It was uſual for biſhops in thoſe days (when a monaſtic life was ſo much in vogue) to get monaſteries founded in different parts of their dioceſes; the abbacy of which they kept for their lives, that they might have a proper place of abode, whatever quarter thereof they viſited (ſee *Simeon Dunelm.* c. 9.) This was the reaſon why *Wilfrid* had no leſs than nine in his vaſt dioceſe of *York*; and for this reaſon probably *Chad* might found *Bardney* in that extremity of his *Mercian* dioceſe; which vied with the *Northumbrian* in largeneſs. It appears to me very probable that *Theodore* might leave *Winfrid* in poſſeſſion of the part of his dioceſe that lay in *Lincolnſhire*; for which this monaſtery of *Bardney*, in which, as well as in his ſee, he ſucceeded *Chad*, afforded him a convenient abode. The ſentence, preſcribed by the council of *Hertford*, in caſe of oppoſition to their canons, was degradation and excommunication; but it is plain, that theſe were not inflicted on *Winfrid*, and he ſeems only to be turned out of *Lichfield* (which is the expreſſion of *Eddius*, c. 25.) and to be confined to the exerciſe of his function, which he ſtill retained, to the country of *Lindſey*, where his monaſtery lay, and which from this time became a diſtinct ſee from the other, under the name of *Sidnaceſter*. He had indeed very little time there for the exerciſe of his paſtoral office; which might be the reaſon why it is not taken notice of by hiſtorians; for he was ſcarce got thither, when, ill fortune purſuing him, all that province was reduced by *Egfrid*, and continued for five years in the hands of the conqueror, till *A. D.* 679, when it was recovered by *Ethelred*, king of *Mercia*. His joining with *Wilfrid* in his meaſures of diſobedience to the canon, and in the appeal made afterwards to *Rome*, might be the reaſons why *Eadbed* was made biſhop there *A. D.* 678, whilſt it was in the *Northumbrian* hands; and why in the next year 679, when it was recovered by the *Mercians*, or at leaſt in the year following, *Ethelwin* was made biſhop of *Sidnaceſter*. It is however not unlikely, but *Winfrid* kept poſſeſſion of his monaſtery of *Bardney*, till the time of his death; which ſeems to have happened ſoon after his *French* diſaſter, in the time of *Ethelwin's* holding that ſee; for it was during his time that I ſuppoſe *Ethelwin's* brother (whom *Bede*, as is above obſerved, calls both *Aldevini* and *Ædilhun*) was made abbot of *Bardney*, as his ſiſter *Ædilhild* was made abbeſs of a nunnery near adjoining.

[1] Ea quæ unitati pacis eccleſiaſticæ congruerent, eo quo pontificem decebat animo—*Bede*, l. iv. c. 5.

[2] How neceſſary it was, for theſe ends, to erect more ſees in the *Northumbrian* province at this time, appears undeniably from *Bede's* letter to *Egbert*, where even after three ſees had been taken out of the dioceſe of *York*, he ſtill repreſents it as too large, and the people in abundance of places utterly deſtitute of all inſtruction and opportunities of divine worſhip. This venerable writer conceiving a further diviſion of the dioceſe to be the only means of removing that defect, preſſed it ſtrongly on the conſcience of the prelate to uſe his intereſt with the king, and engage him to erect ſtill more ſees, the neceſſity of which muſt be vaſtly greater, when *Egfrid*, in concert with *Theodore*, and ſupported by a ſynodical authority, erected the ſees above-mentioned. It was undeniably their duty, as well as in their power, to do it: and it would have looked like inſulting *Wilfrid*, if they had ſummoned him to be preſent, whilſt a matter, which they knew to be ſo diſagreeable to him, was tranſacting. *Eddius*, in his apology for *Wilfrid*, complains of this being done in his abſence, though that method ſeems to be taken to prevent the expoſing an uſeful man, whoſe reputation it was fit to manage; for he could not, but with a very ill grace, oppoſe a thing of ſuch urgent neceſſity, ſo evidently for the ſervice of religion, and ſo expreſsly directed by the canons, to which he had conſented by his legates, and which however it was his duty to obey. The ſame writer complains further, that none of the three new biſhops were taken out of the ſubjects of the *dioceſe*, which, if the words are to be underſtood in their natural ſenſe, was falſe in fact: for *Eata* [a] was one of the

[a] *Bede*, l. iii. c. 26, 23. *Angl. Sacr.* tom. i. p. 693, 694.

A. D. 678. at being deprived of a great part of his revenue, which aroſe from the portions of country allotted to the ſees of the new biſhops, came to court [1], where the king and archbiſhop were ſitting in judgment and giving audience to the people; and aſked the reaſon why he was deprived of his income, given by princes for pious uſes, without being guilty of any miſdemeanor. Upon their reply, that they charged him with no crime; but had done their own duty, and would not repeal their ordinance, he denounced publickly, that he appealed to the ſee of *Rome* for redreſs. This appeared ſo new and ſingular to the audience, that it occaſioned a general laughter, as a thing quite ridiculous. *Eddius* ſays, that he took this ſtep by the advice of his fellow biſhops: but it is very plain, there were none in *England* could join with him in it, except *Winfrid*.

Thousands of monks [2] are ſaid to have attended *Wilfrid* to the port at which he embarked, ſailing with a fair weſterly wind to *Frizeland*; where he was well received by *Adalgiſe*, prince of the country, and paſſed the winter; employing the time ſo well, that he converted him, with moſt of the nobility and ſome thouſands of the people, to the *Chriſtian* religion. During his ſtay, *Adalgiſe* received [3] letters from *Thierry* and *Ebroin*, offering him great ſums of money, if he would deliver up *Wilfrid*, or ſend his head: but he threw them into the fire before the meſſen-

A. D. 679. gers, with theſe expreſſions of his indignation at the propoſal, *So may that man burn, who betrays his friend out of avarice.* *Wilfrid*, in the ſpring, continuing his journey through *Alſace*, where *Dagobert* reigned, whom, *Eddius* ſays, he had entertained nobly and ſerved greatly in his exile, and who now in return having tempted him in vain to ſettle in his country, by the offer of the biſhoprick of *Straſbourg*, ſent him thence with rich preſents, and an honourable eſcorte, till having croſſed the *Alpes*, he entered the *Milaneſe*, a champain country, where he was handſomely treated by *Berthere*, king of the *Lombards*; who being tempted by the like offers to deliver him up to his enemies, rejected them with the ſame deteſtation as *Adalgiſe*. *Wilfrid* arriving ſafe at *Rome*, preſented [4] a petition to Pope *Agatho*, in a council of fifteen biſhops and thirty-ſeven preſbyters, ſetting forth, "that in a ſynodical meeting of the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and other "biſhops concurring with him, his biſhoprick, which he had held for above ten "years without being accuſed of any crime, had been invaded; and not one, but "three other biſhops placed in the ſame ſee; who had been conſecrated by the "archbiſhop alone; that though this was uncanonical, he had not acted ſeditiouſly "in oppoſing it; but contenting himſelf with a proteſt againſt the proceedings, "which he had notified to his fellow biſhops of *England*, had appealed to that "apoſtolical ſee, whoſe ſentence he was determined to obey; hoping, that by their "ſynodical ſentence the intruders might be expelled; or if it ſhould be deemed "neceſſary to put others into his ſee, and to increaſe the number of biſhops, they "would be pleaſed to order them to be ſuch as he might live with in peace and "concord; and that the archbiſhop and his fellow biſhops might take ſuch out "of the clergy of his own church as they might think fit to chooſe, when aſ-"ſembled in a ſynod." This, with ſome compliments to the ſee of *Rome*, was the ſubſtance of his petition.

twelve *Engliſh* youths, which *Aidan*, at his firſt accepting the *Northumbrian* ſee, took under his care, and bred up in his monaſtery of *Lindisfarne*, and he had lived ever ſince either there, where St. *Cuthbert* was bred under him, or at *Mailroſs*, of both which he was at this very time *abbot*. *Boſa* was bred in the abbey of *Whitby* [b], under the famous *Hilda*; and *Eadhed*, perhaps St. *Chad's* diſciple, was chaplain [c] to king *Oſwi*.

[1] *Vit. Wilfridi*, c. 24. [2] *Ib.* c. 25.
[3] *Malmeſb. De geſt Pont.* l. iii. c. 262.
[4] *Concil. Magn. Britann.* tom. i. p. 45, 46. *Vit. Wilfr.* c. 20.

[b] *Bede*, l. iv. c. 23. [c] L. iii. c. 28.

THE ſynod, in whoſe name [1], and not the Pope's, the ſentence runs, was ſo pleaſed with this firſt precedent of an appeal to *Rome*, and with the deference expreſſed to that ſee in the petition, that, with a ſalvo to Pope *Gregory's* conſtitution, which they confirmed, for, there being at leaſt twelve biſhops in *England*, they decreed "that *Wilfrid* ſhould be reſtored to the poſſeſſion (not of *York*, which "they avoided mentioning, but in general terms) of the biſhoprick he had be-"fore; that ſuch coadjutors as he ſhould chooſe, with the conſent of a ſynod, "ſhould be ordained by the archbiſhop; and thoſe who had been made biſhops in "his abſence ſhould be expelled; declaring every perſon who ſhould oppoſe this "ſentence to be degraded, if in holy orders, but if laymen, or even kings, to be "excommunicated." *Wilfrid* having carried his point, ſtaid at *Rome* till the *Eaſter* following; when another ſynod was held againſt the *Monothelites:* in which he ſat and gave an account of the faith of the *Engliſh* churches on [2] that ſubject. Being diſmiſſed, he returned home with a copy of the ſentence, under the hands and ſeals of the members of the ſynod; and landing in the *Northumbrian* territories, delivered it to king *Egfrid*; who called a council of his nobility and clergy to conſider of the contents. When it appeared what they were, a general diſſatisfaction enſued; ſome not ſcrupling to exclaim againſt the ſentence as obtained by bribery, and it was abſolutely rejected: ſo little regard had the nobility and clergy of *England* for the papal claims of authority, even in an age, when they had an extravagant veneration for *Rome*, on account of its inexhauſtable ſtock of relicks. The applying to a foreign juriſdiction was ever deemed in *England* a crime of the higheſt nature, and deſerving of a puniſhment little leſs than capital; nor could any thing be more odious and inſulting to both the civil and eccleſiaſtical governors of the nation, than the bringing over bulls, which pretended to repeal acts of the greateſt ſervice to religion; which they had done agreeable to the conſtant practice of all countries in the like caſes from the firſt ages of the goſpel, and in virtue of an authority, which though univerſally, and in one place or other continually, exerciſed, had never yet been diſputed. *Wilfrid* was taken into cuſtody by an order of the king and council: and ſentenced to cloſe impriſonment. A.D. 679.

THE Pope had ſent over *John* [3], the præcentor of St. *Peter's*, to enquire [4] whether the church of *England* was free from the hereſy of the *Monothelites*; upon

[1] *Ib.* c. 31. [2] *Ib.* c. 33.

[3] This *John* came over with *Biſcop*, abbot of *Wyremouth*, who brought a papal bull confirming the privileges granted by king *Egfrid* to that abbey, as *Bede* informs us in the Lives of the abbots of that monaſtery. It was that paſſage in this author which put the monks of *Medeſhamſted* or *Peterborough* upon forging, in the name of Pope *Agatho*, the bull of privileges, in thoſe days unknown, which is printed by *Dugdale*, in his *Monaſticon* (t. i. p. 66.) and is recited in the *Saxon Chronicle A. D.* 675. Their abbot, in virtue of this bull, pretended to be exempt from all epiſcopal juriſdiction and all ſecular ſervices and taxes, and to be the Pope's legate all over *England*, with other privileges ſufficient of themſelves to make it ſuſpected, if all other circumſtances did not evidently prove it ſpurious. 'Tis pretended that *Wilfrid* was ſent by *Ethelred* to *Rome* to procure it; and that he bringing it over, delivered it to the council of *Hatfield*, where he ſigned it himſelf with the reſt of the biſhops. But *Eddius* knew nothing of all this; and theſe pretences are utterly inconſiſtent with his hiſtory of *Wilfrid*, who went to *Rome* on his own account, without paſſing through *Mercia*, and was not preſent at the council of *Hatfield*; neither was king *Ethelred* at that council, where he is made to ſign it. *Adrian*, a perſon unknown, is ſaid to ſign it as the Pope's legate, though, in the *Peterborough* chartulary, *John* is joined with him, and ſtyled alſo legate. *Putta* is put among the ſubſcribers as biſhop of *Rocheſter*, though he had been tranſlated to *Hereford* four years before; and *Quichelm* had been as long in poſſeſſion of the ſee of *Rocheſter* (*Bede*, l. iv. c. 12. and *Godwin De præſul.*) So as to the other charter of king *Wulfhere* to the ſame abbey, pretended to be paſſed at the conſecration of the church (ſee *Saxon Chron. A. D.* 656.) in the preſence of ſeveral kings, and all the nobility; it is ſaid to be dated *A. D.* 664, though the year of our Lord was not in uſe at that time, in the ninth year of *Deuſdedit*, which expired on *March* 26, that year, at which time *Suidhelm*, king of the *Eaſt-Saxons* was living (*Bede*, l. iii. c. 30.) whoſe ſucceſſors *Sigher*, an apoſtate, and *Sebbi* are yet placed among the ſubſcribers, as *Ithamar*, biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and *Wina*, biſhop of *London*, alſo are, though this laſt was then at *Wincheſter*, and not removed to *London* till *A. D.* 666, and the former had been dead nine years before (*Bede*, l. iii. c. 20.)

[4] *Bede*, l. iv. c. 17, 18.

whoſe

A. D. 679. whoſe arrival archbiſhop *Theodore* convened a ſynod to meet on *September* 12, at *Hatfield* in *Hertfordſhire*. It was purely eccleſiaſtical, being compoſed of biſhops, and a great number of learned divines; who all agreed to receive the five firſt General councils, and ſigned a confeſſion of their faith in the legate's preſence: which, notwithſtanding what had paſſed at *Rome*, did not hinder them from confirming [1] the canon of the council of *Hertford*, for augmenting the number of biſhopricks in *England*. Agreeable thereto the *Mercian* dioceſe, out of which *Hereford* had been already taken, was leſſened by the diſtricts aſſigned to three new ſees, which king *Ethelred*, having recovered *Lindſey*, conſented to erect: and *Sexulph* retaining *Lichfield*, the beſt endowed, and the largeſt in extent, *Ethelwin* was placed in *Sidnaceſter*, *Cuthwin* in *Leiceſter*, and *Boſel* in *Worceſter*. *Winchester* was ſtill the onely ſee among the *Weſt-Saxons:* and *Hedda* having loſt all that part of his dioceſe, which lay north of the *Thames*, and had, on *Kenwalch's* dividing it, been left to *Agilbert*, its further diviſion was deferred till the death of *Hedda* [2]; which happening *A. D.* 703, *Berctwald* conſecrated *Daniel* to the ſee of *Winchester*, which comprehended *Hampſhire* and *Surrey*; and *Aldhelm* to that of *Sherburn*, which took in all the reſt of the *Weſt-Saxon* territories.

Wilfrid [3] had been near a year in priſon, when the king and queen coming to the monaſtery of *Coldingham*, *Æbbe*, that prince's aunt, who was abbeſs of the place, embraced the opportunity to ſollicite for the prelate's liberty. *Egfrid*, though naturally firm in his purpoſes, and determined to maintain his royal authority againſt the incroachments of the court of *Rome*, was yet, as *Eddius* owns, very religious: and notwithſtanding *Wilfrid's* obſtinacy [4], in rejecting the part which was left him of his dioceſe, with the offers of further favours, which the king had made him in caſe he would acquieſce in what had been done and renounce the authority of his papal bull [5], did yet conſent to his enlargement, upon condition that he immediately quitted the *Northumbrian* territories. *Wilfrid* thereupon went into *Mercia*; where *Beorthwald*, ſon to a brother of king *Ethelred*, gave him lands for the ſubſiſtence of the clergy that were with him: but he had ſcarce begun to build a ſmall monaſtery for their accommodation, when *Ethelred*, who had marrid *Oſtrytha*, *Egfrid's* ſiſter, and perhaps conceived that prince's quarrel with *Wilfrid* to be the common cauſe of kings, ſent poſitive orders to *Beorthwald* not to let him ſtay a day longer in his territories. This obliged the prelate to retire into the dominions of *Kentwin*, king of the *Weſt-Saxons:* but the queen being ſiſter to *Ermenburga*, *Egfrid's* wife, he was forced, after a ſhort ſtay, to quit the country.

The *Eaſt-Saxons* and *Angles* were either tributary to the kings of *Mercia*, or under their influence, ſo that no *Chriſtian* kingdom in *England* being likely to afford him a refuge from *Egfrid's* power, he was reduced to ſeek it in one, which, by its mountainous ſituation and the thickneſs of its foreſts, ſeemed to bid defiance
A. D. 681. to all invaſions, but which was as yet pagan. *Wilfrid* coming into *Suſſex* [6], was kindly received by king *Ethelwalch*; who was himſelf a *Chriſtian*, and promiſed him a ſure protection. He there taught the people [7] the art of fiſhing: and by that means afforded them a great relief in a time of famine; with which, having ſcarce had any rain for three years, they were ſorely afflicted. This made them entertain a great opinion of him, and more readily hearken to his preaching; in which he was ſo ſucceſsful, that he ſoon converted all the nobility and many thouſands of the commonalty. For maintaining a body of clergy to aſſiſt him in this work, the king gave him a large tract of land about *Selſey*, where he built a monaſtery: and *Ceadwalla*, whom he had ſerved in his diſtreſſes, by the good advice he gave

[1] *Angl. Sacr.* tom. i. p. 424. [2] *Ib.* p. 193. [3] *Vit. Wilfridi*, c. 38. [4] *Ib.* c. 19, 21.
[5] *Ib.* c. 35, 38, 39. [6] *Ib.* c. 40. [7] *Bede*, l. iv. c. 13.

him,

him, which contributed to the recovery of his crown, being ſettled in the kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons*, made him a grant of the fourth part of the *Iſle of Wight*; which he had reduced, and which this prelate was very ſerviceable in converting. He continued in thoſe parts five years: and in that time had brought over, either by his own inſtructions, or the king's influence, the whole nation in a manner to the *Chriſtian* religion. *A. D.* 681.

WILFRID'S zeal and ſucceſs, in propagating the goſpel among the *South-Saxons*, worked much upon *Theodore:* and made him willing to overlook the paſt conduct of a man, whom God had made ſuch a ſignal inſtrument of his glory, and whom indeed he had always treated with more lenity than he deſerved; conſidering his refractorineſs in oppoſing, for ends which appeared merely ſelfiſh, the regulations made in the northern churches for the common good of religion. In the firſt diviſion which *Egfrid* and the archbiſhop had made of the *Northumbrian* dioceſes, *Lindisfarne* had been reſerved for *Wilfrid*, and had been adminiſtered, during his abſence, by *Eata*, biſhop of *Hexham:* but when *Wilfrid* had, in contempt of their authority, appealed publickly to a foreign judicature, and had, with an unprecedented inſolence, offered his papal bulls, condemning their proceedings and ordering him to be reinſtated, to the king and his great council, and was ſo little humbled by his impriſonment, as ſtill to continue obſtinate in rejecting that ſee and all other offers made him, and to inſiſt on being reſtored to all he had before enjoyed, according to the terms of the *Roman* decree, it was thought proper, ſince there were no hopes of reclaiming him, to ordain a biſhop of *Lindisfarne*. *Eata* had been long ſuperior of the monaſtery in that place, and was deſirous to be tranſlated thither; his requeſt was granted, and *Tunbert* ſucceeded him in the ſee of *Hexham*, which he enjoyed till the ſynod held *September* 19, *A. D.* 684, at *Twyford* upon the *Alne*. It is not known for what miſdemeanor he was there deprived: but the king deſigning [1] St. *Cuthbert* for his ſucceſſor, could not prevail with him to accept the dignity, till he went in perſon with biſhop *Trumwine*, and great numbers of the nobility and clergy, to fetch him from the *Iſle of Farne* to the ſynod. The intreaties of all the world at laſt engaged him to comply; but chooſing rather the ſee of *Lindisfarne*, *Eata*, under whom he had been educated, quitted it to him, and returned to his former ſee of *Hexham*. On *March* 26 [2], in the next year, being *Eaſter-day*, he was conſecrated at *York* by archbiſhop *Theodore*, aſſiſted by ſeven biſhops, and died on *March* 20, *A. D.* 687 [3], being ſucceeded about a year after by *Eadbert*. *Egfrid* was killed in battle againſt the *Picts* on *May* 20, *A. D.* 685, and his reputed brother *Aldfrid* mounted the throne; in the firſt year of whoſe reign *Eata* dying, was ſucceeded by the famous St. *John* of *Beverley*; who, upon *Boſa's* death, was tranſlated to *York* in *A. D.* 687, the ſecond year of *Aldfrid*.

THESE circumſtances of the *Northumbrian* dioceſes afforded *Wilfrid* a favourable opportunity for making his peace, and getting to be reſtored to his ſee of *Hexham*; the church and convent of which place he had taken care to build and beautify in the moſt magnificent manner, chiefly for this reaſon, as *Richard*, prior of the convent, ſays [4], becauſe he knew very well, *that by the canons of the church, one biſhop could not*, except in a caſe of great neceſſity, *hold two biſhopricks together*. The ſame author adds, "that though at *Rome* they were deſirous, in their decree, to do ſome "honour to his character, and ſave his reputation, Pope *Agatho* had, in the council "there held, recommended to him to let another biſhop be ſubſtituted in the church "of *York*, and to be ſatisfied with recovering the poſſeſſion of his new biſhoprick of "*Hexham*," which had been nobly endowed by the bounty and [5] authority of the

[1] *Bede*, l. iv. c. 28. *Vita Cuthberti*, c. 24. [2] *Angl. Sacr.* t. i. p. 695. [3] *Sim. Dunelm.* c. 10.
[4] *De ſtatu & epiſ. eccl. Hagulſt.* c. 2. [5] *Ib.* c. 5.

A. D 681. *Northumbrian* kings and princes, as well as favoured with great immunities and privileges granted by the ſame authority, which *Wilfrid* had eaſily got fortified by the papal. The clergy who had followed his fortune, and were the companions of his exile, grew [1] tired of living in another country, and longed to return home; they had indeed a very plentiful ſubſiſtence provided for them in *Seleſey* and the *Iſle of Wight:* but if the poſſeſſion thereof was not rendered precarious, it was become at leaſt very uncomfortable by the miſerable objects they had daily before their eyes [2], through the horrible ravages and barbarities committed in all the country about them by *Cedwalla* king of the *Weſt-Saxons*; to whom *Eddius* [3] however repreſents *Wilfrid* (whoſe patron *Edilwalch* he had ſlain) as firſt miniſter. They thought the death of *Egfrid* very favourable to their wiſhes: and the firſt ſtep being to make their peace with the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Wilfrid* ſeems to have made uſe of the mediation of *Earconwald* [4] biſhop of *London*, for that purpoſe. *Theodore*, pleaſed with the ſubmiſſion of a prelate, whoſe late ſervices to *Chriſtianity* had atoned in a manner for his former refractorineſs, and merited ſome favour, was eaſily reconciled: and wrote to *Ethelred*, king of *Mercia* in his behalf, deſiring he might be reſtored to the monaſteries formerly given him in that prince's dominions. The motive urged in the letter to engage the king to that ſtep, was *Wilfrid's* labours in propagating the goſpel among the Heathen during his exile; yet *Eddius* makes no difficulty in imputing *Etheldred's* compliance, not to the archbiſhop's reaſons or requeſt, but to the authority of the Popes *Agatho*, *Benedict*, and *Sergius*, though this laſt was not raiſed to the papal chair till ſome years after, *viz.* 20 *Oct. A. D.* 688.

Aldfrid, ſucceſſor to *Egfrid*, was a very religious prince; and had ſo ſtrong an inclination to learning that he had quitted his native country many years before, to proſecute his ſtudies in *Ireland*; continuing there till, upon his predeceſſor's death, he was ſent for to take upon him the government of the *Northumbrian* kingdom. Whether he made any difficulty in the affair when the archbiſhop firſt wrote to him, or, out of apprehenſion of ſome diſturbance from the haughty, graſping, and aſſuming temper of *Wilfrid*, was careful to have this prelate bound by ſome agreement, before he allowed him to return into his dominions, it is very plain, that it was not till the ſecond year of his reign, nor till after *Wilfrid* had ſubmitted to the terms inſiſted on by the king, and preſcribed by *Theodore*, that he was ſuffered to return. Theſe terms ſeem to be, that he ſhould be reſtored to the ſee of *Hexham* alone, and drop all pretenſions to the abbeys he had formerly poſſeſſed, at leaſt to that of *Ripon*. *Eddius* [5] pretends that though he was at firſt reſtored only to the ſee of *Hexham*, according to the biſhop's deſire; yet he was after ſome time put alſo in poſſeſſion of what this writer affects to call his epiſcopal ſee of *York*, and of the monaſtery of *Ripon*, with all their revenue; but it is evident from *Bede* [6], and indeed from *Stubbs*, and all other writers, that *Wilfrid* never was put into poſſeſſion of *York*; and it may be gathered from *Eddius* himſelf, that he did not recover *Ripon*, till about five years before his deceaſe. *Wilfrid* ſeems to have returned into *Northumberland* at the latter end of *A. D.* 686, or the beginning of the year following, when St. *Cuthbert* retired from his ſee of *Lindisfarne*, in order to die in the iſle of *Farne* [7]; and had the adminiſtration of that ſee for about a year, till *Eadbert* was appointed biſhop. In the mean time St. *John* of *Beverley* being tranſlated to *York*, *Wilfrid* was reſtored to the ſee of *Hexham*; and enjoyed it quietly till the death of *Theodore* [8],

[1] *Vit. Wilfridi*, c. 43. [2] *Bede*, l. iv. c. 12, 15, 16. [3] *Vit. Wilfridi*, c. 41. [4] *Ib.* c. 42. [5] *Vita Wilfridi*, c. 43. [6] L. iv. c. 3. [7] *Simeon. Dunelm. Hiſt. Eccl. Dun.* c. 10, 11. [8] *Bede*, l. v. c. 8.

which happened *A.D.* 690. Whether *Wilfrid* thought himſelf by the archbiſhop's death freed from the engagements into which he had entered with him, he began from that time to be very troubleſome, to oppoſe the canons and regulations made in the time of his primacy, and to inſiſt on his own being reſtored to *Ripon*. This monaſtery [1] had been founded by *Eata* (under whom St. *Cuthbert* was for ſome time prior, till removed to *Landisfarne)* and filled with *Scotch* monks: but theſe, upon their non-compliance with the *Roman* uſages [2], having been turned out by *Alchfrid*, the eldeſt ſon of *Oſwi*, who died before his father, it was given to *Wilfrid*, who had much enlarged and enriched it by new grants; which with great liberties and privileges annexed, he procured from the crown; and erecting a ſtately church, dedicated to St. *Peter*, got them eaſily confirmed by the papal authority. Whilſt this prelate was proſecuting his appeal at *Rome*, king *Egfrid* had given it to *Eadhed*, upon his being driven from the biſhoprick of *Sidnaceſter*, by the *Mercians* recovering *Lindſey*, *A. D.* 679. It is uncertain when *Eadhed* died, or whether it was ever regranted to *Eata* its firſt abbot: but St. *John* of *Beverley*, who ſucceeded him in the ſee of *Hexham*, was undoubtedly poſſeſſed of it when he was biſhop of *York*, and ſeems to have got it annexed to the ſee, making it an uſual place of his reſidence. Hence aroſe *Wilfrid's* complaints, as *Eddius* [3] hath thought fit to repreſent them in his affected obſcurity, that he was not only kept out of the church, which he had built in honour of St. *Peter*, with the eſtate and territories belonging to it, but the monaſtery itſelf was altered in its nature, and made an epiſcopal ſeat, notwithſtanding the privileges granted to it by Pope *Agatho*. *Wilfrid* had ſo much intereſt with the nobility and clergy in the country, among whom he diſtributed his preſents with a laviſh hand, that he gave king *Aldfrid* a great deal of trouble: various quarrels happened and were made up; and no way could be found to keep him quiet, but by making him ſubſcribe to all the canons and regulations made in the days of *Theodore*. He had not been preſent in the councils, where many of them paſſed; and excepted particularly to thoſe which enjoined the diviſion of large dioceſes and the erecting of new ſees, as being inconſiſtent with his preſent claims and Pope *Agatho's* general orders for his reſtitution to what he had held formerly. He was ready to confirm ſuch of them as he liked: but a ſubſcription to them all being inſiſted on, *Wilfrid*, to avoid it, retired into *Mercia*; where *Ethelred* received him well, and (*Sexulf* biſhop of the *Middle Angles* being lately dead) gave him the adminiſtration of the ſee of *Leiceſter*. It was during his ſtay in this country, that in *A. D.* 691, the ſee of *Canterbury* being as yet vacant, he, by *Ethelred's* orders [4], ordained *Oft-for* biſhop of *Worceſter*, and two years after did the ſame office for *Suidbert* biſhop of *Frieſland*; *Berctwald* the ſucceſſor of *Theodore* not returning from *France*, till the laſt day of *Auguſt*, *A. D.* 693. *A. D.* 681.

There is an end of all government, order, and peace in a church, if a ſingle biſhop ſhall pretend to controll, and refuſe to ſubmit to the acts and regulations made by the authority of ſynods: but the court of *Rome* finding ever her intereſt in the diſturbances of a country, hath in all ages been fond of encouraging ſuch diſobedience, and ready to patronize every reſtleſs and ſeditious ſpirit, that would ſacrifice the liberties of a national church to his ſelfiſh ends, and by appealing to her, favour the claims of their uſurped judicature. *Wilfrid* was ſure of a ſupport from thence; and this made him obſtinate. Archdeacon *Boniface* [5], who had been his preceptor and chief miniſter to *Agatho* and the ſucceeding Popes,

[1] *Vit. Cuthberti*, c. 7. [2] *H. E.* l. iii. c. 25. l. v. c. 19. [3] *Vita Wilfridi*, c. 44.
[4] *Bede*, l. iv. c. 23. l. v. c. 11. [5] *Vit. Wilfridi*, c. 51.

was

A. D. 681. was ſtill living; as was likewiſe *Siſinnius*, another friend of his youth; who afterwards, *A. D.* 707, was himſelf promoted to the Papacy. *Sergius* was now in the papal chair: and, at the inſtances of ſuch powerful advocates, eaſily granted letters, enforcing *Agatho's* decree, and directing that *Wilfrid* ſhould be reſtored to the poſſeſſion of all he deſired. Theſe letters had no effect, being rejected with a general indignation by the king, the nobility, and the biſhops; the two firſt reſolving to maintain the right and prerogative of the crown, and the laſt being as ſteady in aſſerting the liberties and independence of the *Engliſh* churches. Thus the affair was drawn out to the length of twelve years; St. *John* of *Beverley*, biſhop of *York*[1], having all that time the adminiſtration of the ſee of *Hexham*, and *Wilfrid* that of *Leiceſter*. A diſpute of this nature could not be carried on without a good deal of diſtraction in a country; *Aldfrid* was concerned for the peace of his realm; the biſhops for the ſake of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, which they ſaw openly inſulted, and in danger of being utterly ſubverted: and it behoved both, for the good of religion, to have the affair terminated. It was reſolved accordingly in the beginning of *A. D.* 703, to call a convocation of all the biſhops in *England* in order to bring it to an iſſue; and the place of meeting was appointed on the plain of [2] *Neſterfeld* in the *North Riding* of *Yorkſhire*; where [3] tents were pitched for holding their aſſembly. The archbiſhop came in perſon to preſide in it; ſeveral abbots likewiſe aſſiſted at it: and the king was preſent with his council.

It was proper to have *Wilfrid* before them; and a biſhop was deputed to fetch him to the ſynod. Pope *Sergius*, who had eſpouſed his quarrel, had died on *Oct.* 2. *A. D.* 702; and they probably imagined that *Wilfrid* in that juncture might be diſpoſed to hearken to ſome accommodation: but he knew the court of *Rome* too well, to doubt of his being ſupported in any meaſures he ſhould take for bringing the church of *England* into her ſubjection. He appeared before the council, not like a criminal who had broke the canons, or a ſubject that was under their juriſdiction; but with the air of a ſuperior, who contemned their authority, and of an accuſer, that arraigned their conduct. When he was preſſed to ſubſcribe to the canons made in the late archbiſhop's time, he aſked them, how they dared for twenty two years together to oppoſe the papal power, and to prefer the decrees of *Theodore* to thoſe of the Popes *Agatho*, *Benedict*, and *Sergius*: and abſolutely refuſed ſubſcribing, unleſs with two qualifications, that would render it uſeleſs. As he excepted to the late archbiſhop's decrees and canons, becauſe made at a time when he was not on good terms with him, it was propoſed to him to ſubmit his caſe to *Berctwald's* judgment, and to engage under his hand to conform to his award without the leaſt ſubterfuge or deviation: but this he likewiſe refuſed, unleſs he firſt knew the terms of that award, or might clogg his promiſe with the ſame qualifications as before. Theſe were calculated to make his ſubmiſſion in either caſe only conditional [4], ſo far as the decrees were agreeable to the rules of the ancient fathers; and provided there *was nothing in them, that differed in any point from the judgment of* Agatho's *ſynod and the decrees of the Popes his ſucceſſors*. The king and the archbiſhop were both incenſed at this obſtinacy in refuſing to ſubmit to any trial or ſentence but what determined in favour of his demands: and the council ſeeing there were no hopes of reclaiming him, was inclined to deprive him at once of all his abbeys and poſſeſſions, as well in the *Mercian* as in the *Northumbrian* dominions. But ſome of them

[1] *Ric. Hag.* c. 12. *Angl. Sacr.* t. i. p. 424.
[2] *Eddius* calls this ſynod by the name of the Council of *Ætſwina-watha*, and *Neſterfeld* lies between two towns ſtill called, the one *Wada*, the other *Wath*.
[3] *Vita Wilfridi*, c. 45. 49.
[4] *Ib.* c. 51.

thinking

thinking it too hard to turn him out of all, without leaving a place to ſerve for his habitation, it was propoſed (probably by St. *John* of *Beverley*, whom it concerned as being poſſeſſed of it, and who had not the leaſt tincture of avarice) to reſtore him to the monaſtery of *Ripon*, for which he had ſhewn ſuch an inordinate deſire. This however the council would not agree to, unleſs he promiſed under his hand, to live there quietly, never to ſtir out of the precincts of the convent without the king's licence, nor exerciſe any part of his epiſcopal office. When this ſentence was notified to *Wilfrid*, he utterly rejected the terms: and bragging aloud of the ſervices he had done, in driving out the *Scotch* clergy, in introducing the *Benedictine rule* into monaſteries, and the alternate way of ſinging by reſponſes into the choirs of churches, and in eſtabliſhing the *Roman Eaſter*, tonſure, and other uſages, appealed to the Pope; challenging thoſe who had preſumed to depoſe him of his dignity, to appear before the *Roman* tribunal, and ſee what the conſiſtory there would think of his degradation. The king was ſo incenſed at the arrogance of *Wilfrid's* diſcourſe and behaviour, and at his appeal to a foreign juriſdiction, that he would have ſeized his perſon, and forced him to ſubmit to the ſentence, if the biſhops had not interpoſed, out of regard to the ſafe-conduct, which they had promiſed him, and which ſecured him a ſafe return into *Mercia*. A.D. 681.

Wilfrid, thus by a ſynodical ſentence deprived, inhibited from exerciſing his epiſcopal function, and in caſe of his non-ſubmiſſion ſubject to an excommunication, wherein all that communicated with him were likewiſe involved, was reduced, with the abbots and clergy that attended him, to a very uncomfortable condition. They were [1] avoided by all the world, as perſons cut off from the ſociety of the faithful; notwithſtanding their appeal to *Rome*, and the letters of ſeveral Popes in their behalf: no body would be preſent at their miniſtrations in any act of religion, and ſuch deteſtation was expreſſed of them, even [2] in *Mercia*, that *Hedda* biſhop of *Lichfield* took upon him the adminiſtration of the ſee of *Leiceſter*, and *Wilfrid* was forced to quit the country and haſten his *Roman* expedition. *John* VI. was now Pope, and ſufficiently diſpoſed by the maxims of that court to juſtify the conduct of his predeceſſors, and [3] to confirm their decrees; which was the ſubſtance of *Wilfrid's* petition, and comprehended in its conſequences every thing elſe he had to deſire. It was in vain to charge him with contumacy in refuſing to ſubmit to his metropolitan's orders and the judgment of an *Engliſh* ſynod: the precedents of former Popes were made the rule of the conſiſtory's deciſion. *Wilfrid* was acquitted; and ſent back with the Pope's letters to *Ethelred* and *Aldfrid*, notifying the ſentence, which was in effect the ſame with *Agatho's*, and requiring it to be put in execution. *Ethelred*, who was retired into the convent of *Bardney*, received the letters with the ſubmiſſion of a monk, and recommended the affair to his ſucceſſor *Kenred*: but there was more delicacy to be uſed in proceeding with the king of the *Northumbrians*; nor durſt *Wilfrid* offer to approach his preſence, without leave firſt obtained. He ſent two of the moſt venerable of his clergy to aſk it: but *Alfrid*, the wiſeſt and moſt learned prince of the age, who very well underſtood the true conſtitution of the church and the juſt rights of the crown, told them plainly, by the advice of his council, "that though he had a great reſpect for their perſons, and was ready "to do them any ſervice, yet he would never hear a word from them on the "ſubject of *Wilfrid*; for what the kings his predeceſſors with their council had "determined, and what had been afterwards adjudged by the archbiſhop and all

[1] *Ib.* c. 47. [2] *Angl. Sacr.* T. i. p. 424, 427. [3] *Vit. Wilfrid.* c. 49, 50, 51, 52, 55.

A.D. 681. " the biſhops of *England*, he was reſolved not to change, for any papal letter or " reſcript whatever."

Aldfrid had too much wiſdom, ſteadineſs, and reſolution, to allow *Wilfrid* any hopes of being able to prevail with him to change his meaſures: and the prelate's reſtitution to his ſee and monaſteries ſeemed very remote, when the death of that prince at *Dryffield* [1], on *Dec.* 14, *A. D.* 704, and the troubles which immediately broke out among the *Northumbrians*, offered a favourable juncture for accommodating his affairs. There are certain modes of piety, which being preached up, and repreſented as highly meritorious, become faſhionable in their reſpective ages; and whether reaſonable or no in their practice, they are then ranked among the moſt neceſſary virtues and duties of religion. Such was virginity in the ſeventh age; it became a mode not only to abſtain from marriage (a ſtate of life which any body may reject that pleaſeth, becauſe it is a thing indifferent in its nature) but even, if perſons were married, to abſtain from the uſe of the marriage bed: and a lady's body being found unputrified after death, was of courſe deemed unſullied by human contact, and her ſanctity no longer doubted. Thus *Etheldretha* became a ſaint, having lived [2] twelve or fourteen years with her huſband *Egfrid*, and never ſuffered him to touch her; which might very well be the occaſion of his dying without lawful iſſue, and the line of *Ethelric* being extinct. The diſtreſs of the country, over-run by the *Picts* after the battle in which *Egfrid* was killed, St. *Cuthbert's* credit [3] with all the world, and the great merit and reputation of *Aldfrid*, the baſtard ſon of *Oſwi*, and brother to *Egfrid*, made the *Northumbrian* nobility unite on that occaſion in the choice of his perſon for their ſovereign. The caſe was otherwiſe at *Aldfrid's* death; his children being minors, the ſucceſſion of the crown became diſputed: and *Eadulf* getting poſſeſſion of it [4], *Wilfrid* thought proper to apply to him in confidence of their former friendſhip. The anſwer he received was harſh and peremptory; being ordered to quit the kingdom in ſix days; or elſe all his companions ſhould be put to death: but *Eadulf's* reign was ſhort; he was depoſed in about two months, and *Oſred*, a boy eight years old, yet the eldeſt of *Aldfrid's* ſons, was proclaimed king of the *Northumbrians*.

In the firſt year of this prince's reign [5], *Berctwald* archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, being (as *Eddius* repreſents) intimidated by the papal menaces, and having promiſed *Wilfrid* to mitigate the ſeverity of the ſynodical ſentence againſt him, came with this prelate to a council of the *Northumbrian* biſhops, abbots, princes, with the king himſelf at their head, held at a place on the eaſtern bank of the river *Nidd* in *Yorkſhire*. The archbiſhop opened the meeting with a motion for leave to read the Pope's letters: and eaſily obtained, what in leſs difficult times would ſcarce have been granted. The laity not underſtanding the letters, which were wrote in *Latin*, *Berctwald* expounded their contents: and acquainted them with the Pope's threats of excommunication and degradation, in caſe they did not comply with the terms of his decree, and come to a reconciliation with *Wilfrid*. The biſhops however oppoſed them roundly, and declared they did not ſee, how they could repeal the judgment given by their predeceſſors, with archbiſhop *Theodore* and king *Elfrid's* conſent: which had been afterwards confirmed in the ſynod of *Neſterfeld*, by *Berctwald* himſelf and all the biſhops of *England* there convened. The king was a child, *Berecfrid* the chief miniſter was gained to *Wilfrid's* party, and pretended to have made a vow, in the great diſtreſs *Oſred* and his friends were in at *Bamburg*, to comply with the papal mandates and the late king's

[1] *Bede*, l. v. c. 19. *Flor. Wig.* [2] *Bede*, l. iv. c. 19. [3] *Vit. S. Cuthberti*, c. 24, 27.
[4] *Vit. Wilfr.* c. 57. [5] *Ib.* c. 58.

deſign

deſign on his death-bed, in favour of *Wilfrid*, if God would pleaſe to deliver them from their enemies; whoſe hearts were turned from that moment, and *Oſred* became maſter of the kingdom. *Elfleda* (if we may believe *Eddius* in this matter) atteſted *Aldfrid's* dying intentions; which had a great influence upon the lay part of the aſſembly: but the biſhops retired apart to conſult by themſelves; *Berctwald* and *Elfleda* going to them by turns, and uſing their inſtances to bring them to an accommodation. At laſt, without conforming to the terms of the papal decree, it was agreed, that *Wilfrid* ſhould be reſtored to his ſee[1] of *Hexham* (which had not been yet filled up, but kept under St. *John's* adminiſtration) and the monaſtery of *Ripon*, with all their rents and profits. He enjoyed them quietly till his death: which happened four years after, in *A. D.* 709, at his convent of *Oundle* in *Northamptonſhire*. *A. D.* 681.

SUCH was the iſſue of the firſt attempt made to ſubject the *Engliſh churches* to the *Roman* judicature, ſet on foot by a man of the greateſt parts, character, and popularity of any in the age wherein he lived; who employed them all in the moſt artful manner to propagate the principles he had imbibed, and the prejudices he had contracted in his *Roman* education; but in which he muſt have ſunk finally, had it not been for ſome unforeſeen accidents, and the troubles, which an uncertain and diſputed ſucceſſion had raiſed among the *Northumbrians*, and which diſpoſing every body to put an end to all other occaſions of embroiling a nation, opened a way for the compromiſe that ſaved him and his followers from ruine. In the hiſtory thereof we ſee clearly the ſenſe of the *Engliſh* churches, with regard to their own independency on any foreign eccleſiaſtical power; the kings aſſerting their prerogative, the biſhops, in every part of the iſland, maintaining their juſt and unappealable authority in the adminiſtration of their dioceſes and in the exerciſe of diſcipline throughout the nation; and all the ſaints, as well as learned men in the country, adhering to them in ſupport of their liberties againſt the encroachments of the papal power. This muſt appear not a little extraordinary, conſidering the pains that had been taken for many years to inculcate into people extravagant notions of ſome ſupereminent authority veſted in St. *Peter*, different from what was common to the reſt of the apoſtles; and yet not ſo perſonal to him, but that it deſcended to thoſe who, ſitting in the chair of *Rome*, pretended on that account to be in a peculiar manner his ſucceſſors. Theſe notions were evidently calculated, and directly tended to introduce a papal ſupremacy: there were others leading indirectly to the ſame end, that were likewiſe encouraged; ſuch as the eminent ſanctity of particular places and churches of martyrs at *Rome*; where alſo was to be found an infinite quantity of bones and other relicks of ſaints, to which miraculous effects were aſcribed; ſo that princes left their crowns, and deſerted the care of their people, to retire to a place, which they were taught to believe would enſure them a paſſport to heaven. It would have been well, if ſuch voyages had been the onely ill conſequences of the ſtreſs laid upon trifling matters, and on the ſupernatural effects in the cure of diſeaſes both of mind and body, imputed, without any divine promiſe or ſcripture warrant, to inanimate things, when hallowed by a ſacerdotal bleſſing, or the touch of a ſaint, adjudged often to be ſo by very equivocal marks; ſuch as the incorruption of a corpſe, which, though perhaps owing to the ſoil where it lay, paſſed for a ſure proof of ſanctity in men, and virginity in the women. But the effects of theſe, being more general, were likewiſe more unhappy. People turning their devotion this way, and little obſervances engaging moſt of their attention, they began to neglect the more ſubſtantial parts and duties of religion: and *Chriſtianity*, being made, by this manner of inſtruction, a leſs reaſonable religion than it is in

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Decline of the *Northumbrian* kingdom.

XIX. That kingdom had made a great figure from the time of *Ethelfrid*, under whom the two provinces of *Deira* and *Bernicia* may be ſaid to be firſt united. He had broke the power of the *Britiſh* chieftains, that ruled on the borders of his dominions, in the provinces ſeated in the middle of *England*: and had, by his ſucceſs, enabled the *Mercian* princes to complete their ſettlements in thoſe parts, the moſt northern of which he kept to himſelf. He was, by this means, maſter of all the country between the ſea, which waſhes *Lincolnſhire* on the eaſt, and *Cheſter* on the weſt, which, through the *Britains* averſion to be cooped up within walls, and venturing an engagement in the open field with unequal forces, had fallen into his hands upon their defeat. [1] *Edwin*, who ſucceeded him, enjoyed all his predeceſſor's conqueſts, and even extended them, by reducing the *Britains* of the foreſt of *Elmet*, in the *Weſt-Riding* of *Yorkſhire*, and in the moſt ſouthern parts of *Lancaſhire*. [2] *Oſwald* kept poſſeſſion of all the territories which the others had acquired, till his death at the battle near *Oſweſtre* allowed the enemy to over-run the country; which was however recovered, for the moſt part, by his brother *Oſwi*. This prince enlarged his dominions northward, by either ſubduing ſeveral of the *Britiſh* and *Pictiſh* clans in *Scotland*, or rendering them tributary: and by his great victory over *Penda*, was enabled not only to recover the countries of the northern *Mercii*, *Middle-Angles*, and *Lincolnſhire* [3], but alſo to keep all *Mercia* for three years in ſubjection. This ſtate of dependency was very diſagreeable to the *Mercian* nobility: and *Wulfhere*, the eldeſt ſurviving ſon of *Penda*, aſſuming the crown, they ſhook off the *Northumbrian* yoke, and regained the poſſeſſion of all their country, ſouth of the *Trent* and *Humber*. *Egfrid*, ſon and ſucceſſor [4] of *Oſwi*, reconquered *Lincolnſhire A. D.* 679: but was drove out of it again five years after by *Ethelred*, king of *Mercia*; who defeated him in a bloody battle fought near the *Trent*, with the ſlaughter of a great part of the *Northumbrian* army. In this battle was ſlain, in the eighteenth year of his age, *Ælfwin*, a prince of amiable and noble qualities, the darling of both theſe contending nations, brother to *Egfrid*, and to *Oſtrytha Ethelred's* queen; a loſs regretted generally by the *Mercians*, but more ſo by the *Northumbrians*, to whom it was irreparable, and by the extinction of the line of *Ethelric*, proved in the end fatal to their monarchy. It was not unreaſonable to apprehend that this accident might exaſperate matters, and cauſe the war to be carried on with greater fury than ever: but archbiſhop *Theodore* taking occaſion thence to repreſent the unhappy conſequences of their quarrel, prevailed ſo much, by his wiſe remonſtrances, upon two princes ſo nearly allied, as to bring them to a laſting peace, without proceeding to any further hoſtilities. By this treaty, a ſum of money, the uſual fine according to the legal eſtimation of a prince's head received among the *Engliſh*, was paid to *Egfrid* for the death of his brother, and *Lincolnſhire* remained to the *Mercians*.

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THE *Northumbrians* received a terrible blow in this battle: they had loſt in it the the flower of their nobility; and by the king's death, the legitimate line of their old race of princes was extinct; ſo that they had no head to unite them, in defence of their country, againſt the enemy, who over-ran it at pleaſure. In [4] this diſtreſs the great character of *Aldfrid*, an illegitimate ſon of *Oſwi*, who had in the queſt of wiſdom and knowledge retired, many years before, a voluntary exile from his country, to ſtudy in the *Scottiſh* iſles, recommended him to their choice; and by the [5] influence of the queen dowager and St. *Cuthbert*, they all agreed in ſending for him over to receive the crown. This prince, though he could not recover what the *Picts* had conquered, redreſſed however the diſorder of the *Northumbrian* affairs: and having made his people happy for near twenty years by his wiſe and ſteady government, died at [6] *Dryffield* in *December*, *A. D.* 704. *Eadulf*, upon

[1] *Ib.* c. 17. [2] *Sim. Dunelm. inter ſcriptores*, p. 69. *Hiſt. S. Cuthb. Bede's App.* n. 22. *Sim. Dunelm. Hiſt. Eccl. Dun.* c. 9. [3] *Chron. Brompton.* [4] *Bede*, l. v. c. 18. [5] *Vita S. Cuthb.* c. 24. [6] *Vita Wilfridi*, c. 57.

his death, ſeized the crown, making himſelf maſter of the province of *Deira*: but ſuch was the affection of the nobility to their late prince, that ſome of them retiring with his children to *Bamburg*, the chief city and fortreſs of *Bernicia*, and being there inveſted by *Eadulf*, a defection of the reſt ſoon followed,; and *Oſred*, the eldeſt of the young princes, though but eight years of age, was advanced
A. D. 705. to the throne by a general conſent. *Berectfrid*, the moſt conſiderable of the *Northumbrian*[1] lords, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his attachment to *Aldfrid's* family, and had, by his management, brought them all to unite in the behalf of *Oſred*, had the care of the king's perſon and the protection of the realm during his minority; an important truſt which he ſeems to have diſcharged with fidelity and vigour, [2] repulſing the *Picts* at *Hefeld*, or *Carehouſe* near the wall, when about
A. D. 716. ſix years after they attempted to invade *Northumberland*. *Oſred*, after [3] a reign of eleven years, being killed, was ſucceeded by *Kenred:* who dying in about two years, *Oſric*, the ſecond ſon of *Aldfrid*, was placed upon the throne; and dying on *March* 7, *A. D.* 729, left his crown to *Ceolulf*, the brother of his predeceſſor *Kenred*, to whom it ſeems to have of right belonged.

A. D. 729. There are ſome differences in the accounts of the deſcents of theſe brothers, and genealogy of the *Northumbrian* princes, which it may be proper to mention on this occaſion. *Simeon Dunelmenſis*[4] ſays, *Ida*, the founder of their royalty, had twelve ſons, and ſpeaks of them as if they were all legitimate; whereas *Alured* of *Beverley*, *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and others, making between them a diſtinction ſeldom obſerved among the *German* nations before they became *Chriſtian*, allow only ſix of them to be legitimate, putting the reſt in the claſs of natural children. *Ocga*, from whom *Simeon* derives the deſcent of *Kenred* and *Ceolulf*, was the youngeſt of *Ida's* ſons, and is ranked by *Florence* among his ſpurious iſſue: but the *Cumbrian Britain*, who wrote the *Saxon* genealogies printed at the end of *Nennius*, and ſeems to have been cotemporary with thoſe brothers, and their couſin-german king *Eadbert*, whoſe ſubject probably he was, makes them deſcend from *Edric*, the fourth legitimate ſon of *Ida*, in whoſe line, after the extinction of thoſe of *Adda*, *Theodric* and *Ethelric*, his elder brothers, the right of the *Northumbrian* crown was veſted[5]. *Oſric's* diſpoſition of the crown in favour of *Ceolulf*, brother to the very man who had ſupplanted him in the poſſeſſion of it, affords a very ſtrong preſumption in behalf of this latter deſcent; for though a dying perſon may be willing that his reſentments ſhould be buried with him, yet it is not reaſonable

[1] *Ib.* c. 57. [2] *Bede*, l. v. c. 24.
[3] *Ib.* c. 23, 24. *Sim. Dun.* c. 19.
[4] C. 13.
[5] *In App.* i. *ad Nennium*, the deſcent is thus ſtated. *Edric* begat *Ecgulf* who was father to *Liodwald*, father to *Cutha* and *Eata: Kendred* and *Ceolulf* were ſons to the elder brother *Cutha*, as *Eadbert* king of the *Northumbrians*, *Egbert* archbiſhop of *York*, and *Ecgred* (who died at *Rome* very young and without iſſue) were of *Eata*. *Simeon*, c. 13. and 18. agrees that theſe couſin germans were the ſons of *Cutha* and *Eata:* but inſtead of making theſe laſt to be ſons of *Liodwald*, he repreſents them as his grandſons by his ſon *Cuthwin*. This I imagine to be a miſtake ariſing from *Simeon's* ſuppoſing *Cuthwin* and *Cutha* (names promiſcuoſly uſed for the ſame perſon by all the writers of the *Weſt-Saxon* hiſtory, and even by *Simeon*, who, in *Hiſt. de S. Cuthbert*, calls this *Ceolulf* the ſon of *Cuthwining*, whom he calls here ſon of *Cutha*) to be two perſons: whereas, in all appearance, they were only names given by different writers to the ſame man; for the abbot of *Joreval* [*inter Decem Scriptores*, p. 695.] agrees with the *Cumbrian* author in making *Cutha* and *Eata* ſons of *Liodwald*. It is not ſo eaſy to reconcile the higher part of the two genealogies, ſince *Simeon* ſays, *Liodwald* was the ſon of *Egwald*, ſon of *Aldhelm*, ſon of *Ocga*, and the *Cumbrian* genealogiſt makes him the ſon of *Ecgulf* ſon of *Edric*. By the *Cumbrian* account (which I prefer as the more ancient by three hundred years, and given by a perſon who had the beſt opportunities of knowing a fact within the direct view of his writing) *Liodwald* was ſecond couſin to king *Oſwi*, and grandfather to *Kendred* and *Ceolulf*, as *Oſwi* was to *Oſred* and *Oſric*, ſecond couſins likewiſe to the two princes laſt named: whereas by *Simeon's*, *Liodwald* is removed a degree lower in deſcent from *Ida*, and likewiſe another degree higher from *Kenred* and *Ceolulf*; who yet ſeem to be elder than their couſins *Oſred* and *Oſric*, who according to the *Cumbrian* author ſtood in the ſame degree of deſcent with them, from their common anceſtor.

to ſuppoſe he ſhould forget them to ſuch a degree, unleſs for the ſake of right, and from a motive of conſcience. It is [1] to this prince, whoſe learning, piety, religion, and readineſs to reform the eccleſiaſtical ſtate of his kingdom he celebrates in ſeveral places, that *Bede* dedicates his hiſtory. *A. D.* 729.

Ceolulf, in [2] the beginning of his reign, found himſelf involved in ſo many difficulties, and ſuch a number of enemies upon his hands, that it was not eaſy to gueſs when he ſhould ſee an end of his troubles, or what would be the event of thoſe wars and commotions. It was for ſome time various; he was taken priſoner, thruſt into a convent, and afterwards reſtored; yet he got the better of them all in the ſpace of two years; when *Bede* having put the laſt hand to his work, ſays, he was at peace with the *Picts*, the *Scots*, and the *Britains*; ſome of which laſt were in ſubjection to him, and the others, who were ſtill independent, committed no hoſtilities. His kingdom likewiſe enjoyed ſuch a ſettled peace and tranquility, that the nobility and other perſons leſs conſiderable, forgetting their old inclination to arms, ran with ſuch eagerneſs to embrace a monaſtic life, the prevailing mode of religion in thoſe times, that *Bede* was apprehenſive another age might feel the conſequences of that general inclination. *Ceolulf* himſelf taking the ſame turn of devotion [3] at the latter end of *A. D.* 737, or in the beginning of the year following, voluntarily reſigned the crown to *Eadbert*, his uncle's ſon: and profeſſing himſelf a monk, lived above twenty years afterwards in the monaſtery of *Lindisfarne*. *Eadbert* was a wiſe and a great prince, brave and experienced in war, ſkilled in the arts of peace, vigilant and prudent in the whole courſe of his government. His dominions ſuffered no inſult during his reign, [4] except in the beginning of it, when being engaged in an expedition againſt the *Picts*, *Ethelbald* king of *Mercia*, without any regard to the faith of treaties, ſeized the opportunity to invade the ſouthern parts [5] of the *Northumbrian* territories, then left unguarded, in confidence of the ſtate of amity which had long ſubſiſted between the two nations. The *Mercian* had ſoon reaſon to repent his invaſion, ſharing the like fate with *Eadbert's* other enemies; who were either defeated by him in the field, or reduced under his ſubjection. This laſt was the fate of moſt of the [6] *Strath-Cluyd Britains*, who loſt a large tract of their country in *A. D.* 750, when *Eadbert* [7] ſubdued *Kyle*, and the adjacent parts of *Galloway*: and purſuing his conqueſts, made himſelf maſter of *Alcluid*, the capital of their dominions, which ſeem from that time to have loſt the name of a kingdom. *A. D.* 737. *A. D.* 740.

The continued ſeries of troubles and civil wars which broke out ſoon after among the *Northumbrians*, and laſted till their country was ruined, afforded indeed theſe *Britains* an opportunity to throw off their yoke: but expoſed them likewiſe to the invaſion of the *Picts*; who increaſed in ſtrength as the others grew weaker, and were in poſſeſſion of a great part of the *Strath-Cluyd* territories, when they were conquered [8], in *A. D.* 842, by *Kenneth Mac Alpin*, the firſt monarch of all *Scotland*. *Langhorne* gives a liſt of ſeven or eight kings of the *Britains* in theſe parts, ſucceeding one another down to *Dum-nul*, who lived in the middle ofthe tenth century, and *Ailredus Rievallenſis*, who, about *A. D.* 1150, wrote the life of St. *Ninian*, ſays, it was certain by hiſtories, and by memory of men, that thoſe *weſtern* countries had kings of their own to the end of the *Engliſh* times: *i. e.* till the *Norman* conqueſt. But this laſt author, agreeable to the cuſtom of ancient times, gives the ſtyle of King to the chieftains of conſiderable clans, that lived in a ſtate of independency; as probably the old writers likewiſe did, from whom the other derived his cata-

[1] *Ep. ad Egbert* and *Prefat. ad hiſt. eccl.*
[2] *Bede*, l. c. 23. and *Continuatio.*
[3] *Sim. Dun. Hiſt. Eccl. Dunelm.* c. 16.
[4] *Bede's Continuat.* [5] *Sim. Dunelm.* c. 18.
[6] *Bede's Continuat.* [7] *Sim. Dun. De geſtis Reg. Angl. Hoveden.* p. 402. [8] See *Innys's Diſſ.* p. 968. [9] *Hiſt. rerum. Albion.* p. 239.

logue

A. D. 740. logue of princes. For the preface to the *Glaſgow Chartulary* obſerves, that after the taking of *Alcluyd*, the *Picts*, *Scots*, and *Danes* over-ran the country ſo continually, that abundance of the inhabitants quitted it, and the reſt remained in a ſtate of anarchy, till the time of king *Alexander* I. or his brother *David*, who re-eſtabliſhed the ſee of *Glaſgow*. Theſe chieftains continued thus independent for ſome ages, being re-inforced by great numbers of *Picts*; who, upon the conqueſt of their [1] country by *Kennet*, retired into *Galloway*, and there fortified themſelves, till at laſt they were forced to ſubmit, retaining ſtill ſome of their liberties, laws, and cuſtoms, with princes of their own, though depending on the crown of *Scotland*, as *Fergus*, *Uchtred*, and *Alan*, among whoſe daughters *Galloway* was divided. We ſee, in the hiſtory of the *Iſle of Man*, ſuch inſtances of the power of the chieftains here mentioned, and of their raiſing armies by their own authority to aſſiſt or oppoſe the various claimants of the kingdom of the *iſles*, even after the time of *William the conqueror*, that their dependance upon the crown of *Scotland* doth not ſeem to have been very great, nor their clans in the condition of other ſubjects. It was much later before the *Scottiſh* kings left off to mention them under the diſtinct name of *Galweyenſes*, in their royal charters and other acts of ſovereignty: and it is certain, that as theſe people enjoyed liberties, ſo they ſpoke a language [2] different from what was uſed in the reſt of *Scotland*; the *Welſh* continuing to be generally ſpoke till the time of the reformation.

Eadbert [3], after his reducing of *Alcluyd*, received no moleſtation from the *Engliſh*, *Picts*, or any other neighbouring powers: they were all glad to be at peace with him; they honoured his perſon, and admired his great qualities. He was beloved and eſteemed by all his ſubjects, who felt the benefits of his adminiſtration: and ſuch was the fame of his virtues and the reputation which his actions had gained him abroad, that *Pepin*, king of *France*, frequently ſent him many royal preſents, as teſtimonies of his friendſhip and eſteem. Thus happy in the ſituation of his affairs, and in the proſperity and obedience of his people, after having ſupported a tottering kingdom for twenty-one years, he took a ſtep which expoſed it to utter ruin. Full of religious ſentiments, and carried away by the
A. D. 758. humour or notions of the times, he reſigned his crown to his ſon *Oſulf*: and retired into a convent, where he lived ten years; long enough to ſee the calamities which, in conſequence of that action, fell upon his family and country. [4] *Oſulf*, not knowing the world, nor underſtanding the art of government, like his father,
A. D. 759. July 24. had reigned little more than a year, when he was murdered by his own domeſtics, and his throne filled by *Ethelwold*, ſon of *Moll*; who was ſet up by the people, and does not appear any way related to the royal family. When he entered upon the third year of his government, *Oſwin*, ſtyled [5] *Clito*, who ſeems to be a ſon either of the late king or *Eadbert*, raiſed a body of forces to recover the crown: but was ſlain in a bloody battle fought for three days together at *Eldem*, near *Melroſs*, in which
A. D. 765. *Ethelwald* got the victory. This uſurper, after he had enjoyed the crown ſix years, either reſigned [6] or was forced at [7] *Winchanbeale* (an uſual place for holding councils and ſynods) to quit it to *Alchred*, the ſon of *Oſred*; who, nine years
A. D. 774. after, was deſerted by all his nobility, and forced to fly to *Kinoth*, king of the *Picts*, for refuge. *Ethelred*, ſon of the late uſurper *Ethelwald*, was placed in his ſtead upon the throne: but had ſcarce poſſeſſed it five years, when he was driven [8] out
A. D. 779. by *Ælfwold* (ſon of *Oſulf*, and brother to *Alchred*) who recovered the crown of his anceſtors. This prince, who is celebrated for his juſtice and piety, enjoyed it
A. D. 788. Sept. 23. about ten years: and being then perfidiouſly murdered at *Scythelceſter* (now St.

[1] *Innys's Ib.* p. 161. [2] *Buchanan.* l. ii. [3] *Sim. Dun.* c. 18. [4] *Ib.* c. 19. [5] See *Spelman's Gloſſ. v.* Clito. [6] *Flor. Wig.* [7] *Sim. Dun. De geſtis Reg. A. D.* 765. *Alured. Beverl.* [8] *Chr. Sax.* and *Sim. Dun. A. D.* 774, 779.

Oſwald's) near the wall of *Severus*, by *Siega*, one of his Generals, was ſucceeded by his nephew *Oſred*, ſon to the late king *Alchred*. The improvidence or miſtaken piety of the *Northumbrian* kings in making exorbitant grants of their demeſnes to monaſteries, had left ſo little power in the crown, that the murderer died five years after in his bed, and in his own country: and the new king, after a reign of one year, was ſurprized and ſeized by his nobility, ſhaved and put into a monaſtery; whence he ſoon after fled to the *Iſle of Man* for refuge from the cruelty of *Ethelred*. This uſurper had murdered duke *Eardulf*, and put *Oelf* and *Oelfwine*, the two ſons of the late king *Ælfwold*, to death, after drawing them, by fallacious promiſes, from the ſanctuary of *York*: and ſeemed determined to extirpate the royal family. *Oſred* was ſoon after invited home by the oaths and ſolemn aſſurances of ſeveral of the nobility: but, being betrayed and deſerted by his troops, was taken, and, by the uſurper's orders, was put to death at *Aynburg*, *September* 14, *A. D.* 792[1]; as *Alchmund*, ſon of *Alchred*, was eight years after by *Eardulf*. Thus was the line of *Edric* extinct; which had afforded a race of great and good princes, under which the nation had been happily governed, and flouriſhed in the height of power and glory: and the *Northumbrians*, in conſequence of their repeated rebellions and perfidies, found themſelves involved in all the miſeries which are the never failing conſequences of an uncertain ſucceſſion. *A. D.* 789.

THE fate of *Oſred* and his predeceſſors was enough to deter any body from advancing a claim to the crown: the nobility being maſters of the kingdom, ſeem to have been at a loſs for ſome time how to diſpoſe of it; and in this exigence reſolved at laſt to recal *Ethelred*, the ſon of *Moll*, from an exile, which had now laſted twelve years, to reſume the government. [2] *Ethelred* endeavoured to ſecure himſelf by the meaſures above-mentioned, and by the marriage of *Elfleda*, daughter of *Offa*, the powerful king of *Mercia*: but all his precautions were inſufficient, being killed on *April* 18, in the ſeventh of his reign, at *Cobre*. *Oſbald*[3], a nobleman, was choſen for his ſucceſſor by ſome of the princes: but being forſaken by all, before a month was expired, found himſelf obliged to fly, for the ſafety of his life, into *Scotland*; where he died three years after in a convent. *Eardulf*, the ſon of a father of the ſame name, was then advanced to the throne; but whether by thoſe who had diſpatched *Ethelred*, is uncertain: it appears however that they were ſoon weary of him, and General *Wada* putting himſelf at their head, a battle was fought two years after at *Billingboth*, near *Walalege*, in which they were defeated by *Ethelred*. Theſe were times of ſuch diſtraction among the *Northumbrians*, that (as *Alcuin* complains in his letters) "no[4] body's perſon could be ſecure among them; no advice could do good upon them; all learning, for which the country had been famous in the time of his maſter archbiſhop *Egbert*, was now neglected; the monaſteries were polluted with adulteries, the altar with perjuries, and the land with the blood of their princes; the ſame vices prevailed every where, as reigned among the *Britains* in the time of *Gildas*, and the people full as ripe for deſtruction, the kingdom being, in a manner, ruined by their inteſtine broils, perjuries, and treacheries; and that *Charle-Magne* was ſo incenſed at what he heard of their conduct, that had it not been for his interceſſion, he would have taken ample vengeance on ſuch a perverſe perfidious nation, which he deemed to be worſe than pagans, and have puniſhed them for their continual rebellions and murders of their princes." *Malmeſbury*, who quotes theſe paſſages, adds, that the crown of *Northumberland* was ſo precarious in its poſſeſſion, and the accepting it ſo ſure a ſtep to death, that no body cared to venture upon it: and the nation was left above thirty years without a regular governor, expoſed all the time as a ſubject of deriſion to all

[1] *Ib.* 792, 800. [2] *Ib. A. D.* 790. [3] *Ib. A. D.* 796. [4] *Malmeſb.* p. 25, 26.

their neighbours, and a prey to every invader; till at the end of that term, in *A. D.* 827, they fell under the dominion of *Egbert*; and what kings they had afterwards were tributaries to thoſe of the *Weſt-Saxons*.

Simeon[1], however, gives an account ſomewhat different: and ſpeaks of kings that ſucceeded *Eardulf*, who ſeems to have been an active prince, and marched with an army to invade *Mercia*, upon king *Kenulf's* giving protection to ſome of his enemies. *Kenulf* met him in the field with a numerous force, and a battle was like to enſue, but prevented by the biſhops and nobility of both parties; whoſe mediation prevailed to have a peace concluded. [2] *Eardulf*, when he had governed about ten years, was drove out by *Elfwold*; who not keeping his power above two years, was, in his turn, dethroned by *Eanred*, ſon of *Eardulf*. This prince is ſaid to have had the chief command for thirty-three years, and to have been ſucceeded in it by his ſon *Ethelred*; who maintained his dignity till *A. D.* 850, when he underwent the common fate of the *Northumbrian* princes. *Oſbert*, [3] who ſlew him, ſeems to have paſſed the firſt twelve years of his government without any remarkable diſaſter: but then the *Northumbrians* ſetting up *Ælla*, a civil war enſued; which laſted five years, till *A. D.* 867, when an infinite multitude of *Danes*, *Friſians*, and other pagan nations took *York*, and over-ran the country. Theſe pirates[4] had plundered *Lindisfarne* in *A. D.* 793; and the year following had treated the monaſtery of *Jarrow* in the ſame manner: but had not then advanced within land for want of a force ſufficient. They came now in a large fleet, and in prodigious numbers, under the command of *Halfdene*, *Inguar*, *Hubba*, *Harold*, and ſeveral kings and chieftains, threatning a conqueſt of the whole kingdom; though having taken *York* on *November* 1, and advanced from thence as far as the *Tyne*, they did not think fit to paſs the river; but returned back to that capital of *Deira*, which they made their head quarters. The two competitors for the crown ſuſpending their quarrel, to guard againſt the common danger, joined their forces: and marched, attended by eight earls, to attack the enemy in *York*; but were both ſlain on *March* 21, *A. D.* 868, and their forces defeated in the action.

A. D. 840.

The[5] monk of *Jorval*, who ſhould know the affairs of his own country: and probably had ſome account of them in the regiſters of his monaſtery, relates this event in a different manner: which ſeems to account for the *Danes* coming over at this time, not under private chieftains in a piratical way, as they had ever done before, but under the command of kings and princes, with the view of making a conqueſt of the country. He ſays, that *Bruern Brocard*, a *Northumbrian* nobleman, who had the care of the ports and ſea coaſt, being abſent from home in performing the duties of his charge, *Oſbert* coming back from hunting with a ſmall retinue, called at his houſe: and committed a rape upon his lady, who had entertained him nobly; and being inconſolable for the violence and diſhonour ſhe had ſuffered, acquainted her huſband with it at his return. *Bruern*, full of fury at an injury of ſuch a nature, went with a body of his relations and friends to court; and ſurrendering his land, with all that he held of the crown, renounced his homage and fealty; declaring that he would never hold any thing of him as his lord for the future: and immediately taking leave of his friends, went to *Denmark*; where he found means to perſuade king *Codrin* or *Guthurn* to undertake this expedition. The account he gave of the ſtate of the *Northumbrian* kingdom probably filled that prince with the hopes of a conqueſt: and aſſembling his nobility, particularly the two warlike brothers *Inguar* and *Hubba*, he came over with a great army; landing in *Holderneſs*, and deſtroying all the country before him, till he came to

[1] *Sim. Dunelm. De geſtis regum. A. D.* 801. [2] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 806. *Sim. Dun. Hiſt. Eccl. Dun.* c. 20. [3] *Ib.* c. 21. [4] *Ib.* c. 20. [5] *Chron. J. Brompton*, p. 802.

York,

York, where he routed and killed *Oſbert* in battle. The ſame author adds, that upon advice of that event, *Ælla*, whom *Bruern's* relations, after following his example in renouncing their fealty and tenures, had ſet up for a king, marched againſt them with his forces: but was likewiſe defeated and ſlain not far from *York*, at a place called from thence, and ſtill bearing the name of, *Elleſcroft*. This ill ſucceſs brought on an agreement, by which the *Danes*, remaining in poſſeſſion of their conqueſts, appointed *Egbert* to govern the country north of the *Tyne*, under their dominion: but *Inguar* marching two years after with part of the *Daniſh* forces to invade the *Eaſt-Angles*; and *Halfdene* with other of their chieftains being employed in different parts of *England*, the *Northumbrians* imagined they had a fair opportunity, either of depoſing their king, or of recovering their liberty. They turned out *Egbert*, and ſet up one *Ricſig* in his ſtead, whoſe rule was of no long continuance; for *Halfdene* quitting his quarters at *Repton* in *Derbyſhire*, and embarking his troops, landed at the mouth of the *Tyne:* and deſtroyed all *Bernicia* with fire and ſword, from the eaſtern to the weſtern ſea, and from one end of the *Northumbrian* territories to the other. Thus ended that kingdom, after a continuance of three hundred and twenty eight years, if the miſerable times of confuſion, which took up the latter part of that term, may be reckoned in the number. An account of the *Mercian* and *Weſt-Saxon* kingdoms, will neceſſarily take in the affairs of the leſſer ſtates of their neighbourhood; and compleat the hiſtory of the heptarchy.

A. D. 875.

XX. The *Mercian* kingdom, founded by *Crida*, made no great figure till the time of his grandſon *Penda*; who, by his victory over S. *Oſwald*, made himſelf maſter of thoſe parts of the *Northumbrian* territories, which lay ſouth of the *Humber*, and kept them till his death: when *Oſwi* recovered them, but was three years after drove out of *Lincolnſhire* and what he poſſeſſed ſouth of the *Trent*, by *Wulfere* ſon of *Penda*. This prince had ſcarce ſettled the northern part of his territories, when he was attacked by the *Weſt-Saxons* [1] in a different quarter: but their king *Kenwalch*, having paſſed the *Ouſe*, which divided their dominions, was defeated by *Wulfhere* at *Poſſents-birig*, by [2] ſome ſuppoſed to be *Potterſbury*, but probably *Poſenham*, towns lying near one another in *Northamptonſhire*, and the latter parted only by the abovementioned river from *Bucks*, and *Stony-Stratford*. In conſequence of this victory, *Wulfhere* over-ran all the vale of *Bucks*, and the adjoining parts of *Oxfordſhire*, as far as the *Thames*; all that country being in thoſe days, known by the name of *Aſhendun*. Whether *Cuthred*, ſon of *Cwichelm* [3], and nephew to *Kenwalch*, to whom the latter had given it thirteen years before, was, with his couſin *Kenbright*, ſlain or wounded in the battle, it is obſerved, that they died in the year of this action. *Wulfhere*, to improve his victory, and do what miſchief he could to his enemy, paſſed the *Thames*, and waſting *Surrey* with part of *Hampſhire*, reduced the *Iſle of Wight:* but theſe conqueſts being too remote from his own territories to be eaſily maintained, he made a preſent of the iſland and of the country of the *Meanuari*, a part of *Hants* bordering upon *Suſſex*, to *Edilwald* [4], king of the *South-Saxons*; to whom he had been godfather upon his converſion to the *Chriſtian* religion.

Account of the kingdom of *Mercia*.

A. D. 642.

A. D. 658.

Wulfhere, an active prince, at the head of a warlike nobility, ſeems to have been continually at war with one neighbour or other, and extended the dominions of the *Mercians* weſtward beyond the *Severne:* driving the *Britains* from what they had hitherto poſſeſſed between that river and the *Wye*; and ſubduing thoſe tracts of country,

[1] *Paroch. Antiq.* p. 29. [2] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 661. [3] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 648.
[4] *Bede*, l. iv. c. 13. *Chron. Sax. ib. Flor. Wig. Brompton*, p. 772.

which formed ſoon after the [1] dioceſe of *Hereford*, and part of that of *Worceſter*; the former of which ſees was erected, the year following his death, and the other about four years later. He reduced [2] the kingdoms of the *Eaſt-Saxons* and *Eaſt-Angles* to a ſtate of vaſſalage; in which they continued, paying tribute to the *Mercians*, till the end of the heptarchy: and appears to have been ſucceſsful in all his enterprizes, till the year before his deceaſe; when, being defeated by *Egfrid*, he loſt the province of *Lindſey*. The great ſlaughter, made of the *Mercians* in that defeat, put their affairs into a condition, which rendered it very unpolitick to provoke new enemies: and *Wulfhere* had too much ſpirit and bravery to acquieſce in ſuch a loſs, if he had not been diverted by an invaſion from another quarter. It is very improbable that he ſhould, in ſuch a juncture, have any thoughts of new conqueſts, or be able to penetrate (as ſome ſuppoſe) ſo far as *Bedwin* [3] in *Wiltſhire*, the very centre of the territories of the *Weſt-Saxons:* but it is not at all unlikely, that theſe ſhould embrace an opportunity, which ſeemed favourable, to have their revenge for former diſgraces and ravages. It is for theſe reaſons, that I judge *Æſcwin* was the aggreſſor; and that *Wulfhere*, to oppoſe his paſſage at the *Ouſe*, met him at *Bidenham* (which I take to be the *Bedanheof* of *Florence* and the *Saxon chronicle*) near *Bedford*; where a battle enſued, the event whereof is not related by our old hiſtorians. *Wulfhere* died the ſame year: and leaving a ſon too young for empire, the government was aſſumed by his brother *Ethelred*.

[4] This prince was, by all relations, much fitter for a cloiſter, than a crown: and yet the year after his acceſſion, he waſted *Kent* in an horrible manner; deſtroying all the poſſeſſions of the ſee of *Rocheſter*, and not ſparing either churches or monaſteries. This ſucceſs againſt a ſmall kingdom encouraged him three years after to cope [5] with *Egfrid* king of the *Northumbrians*; from whom he recovered *Lincolnſhire:* and a peace enſuing, he ſpent the reſt of his reign of twenty nine years in a ſtate of inaction. He retired at laſt into the monaſtery [6] of *Bardney*; leaving the kingdom to his nephew *Kenred* (ſon of *Wulfhere*) whom two years before he had put in poſſeſſion of *Lincolnſhire*. *Kenred* did not hold it above five years, before he reſigned it to *Ceolred* [7] the ſon of his predeceſſor: and went in a fit of the faſhionable devotion, with *Offa* king of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, to *Rome*; where he paſſed the remainder of his days in a monaſtery. *Ceolred's* reign is remarkable only for a battle [8] between him and *Ina*, king of the *Weſt-Saxons* (at a place called *Woddeſbeorge*, perhaps *Weddeſborow* [9] near *Bermingham* in the ſkirts of *Staffordſhire*, where *Ethelfleda*, governeſs of the *Mercians*, afterwards erected a fortreſs) and for ſome diſputes with *Ethelbald*. This prince was the next heir of the crown: and ſucceeding to it upon *Ceolred's* [10] deceaſe, founded the famous monaſtery of *Croyland*, in a place which had [11] ſerved for the retreat of his friend St. *Guthlac*, the firſt *Saxon* hermite.

A. D. 704.

This was but an equivocal mark of *Ethelbald's* religion, he was ſecond couſin to the late king, [12] being grandſon to *Eapa* brother to *Penda:* and as ambition had been the cauſe of the firſt troubles of his life, ſo after he came to the crown he lived in a very diſſolute manner, teaching, by his example, the *Mercian* nobility to

[1] *Bede*, l. iv. c. 12, 23. *Ang. Sac.* i. 427. 469.
[2] *Bede*, l. iii. c. 7. 30. [3] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 675.
[4] *Chron. Sax. A. D.* 676. *Bede*, l. iv. c. 12.
[5] *Ib.* c. 21. [6] *Bede*, l. v. c. 19.
[7] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 709. [8] *Ib. A. D.* 715.
[9] This place is eleven or twelve leagues from *Banbury*, if this laſt be the *Bonebiry* where *Hoveden* ſays the battle was fought; but as he makes *Ina* the aggreſſor in the war, it is not likely that he fought in his own dominions, where *Banbury* was ſituated, though he might very well march from thence, to make an impreſſion on the *Mercian* territories, whoſe princes at that time uſually reſided at *Tamworth*, whence *Weddeſbury* is about ten miles diſtance. See *Camden's Staffordſhire*, and *Alured. Beverlac.*
[10] *Ib. A. D.* 716. [11] *Ingulf. Hiſt.*
[12] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 716.

have the ſame averſion to matrimony that he expreſſed himſelf, and to indulge themſelves in a vague concubinage. Hence aroſe a general corruption of manners throughout his dominions; the fame whereof flew into foreign parts, and drew upon him a ſevere reproof from *Boniface*, archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and his fellow biſhops ſynodically aſſembled; as we ſee in their letter: which having been preſerved by *Malmeſbury* [1] gives an illuſtrious teſtimony of the chaſtity of the *old Saxons*, who, heathens as they were, puniſhed every breach of it capitally and with marks of the utmoſt deteſtation. How far *Ethelbald* reformed upon this admonition in that reſpect, is uncertain: but he appears to have made the clergy ſome amends for the invaſions, which, following his predeceſſors example, he had made upon their rights and poſſeſſions; granting to all the churches and monaſteries within his territories a privilege [2] of exemption from all taxes, works, burdens, and ſecular ſervices; except ſuch as were neceſſary for the building of bridges, and the erection or repair of fortreſſes. This prince's fondneſs for pleaſures did not ſtiffle his ambition; nor did the enjoyment of the crown of *Mercia* ſatisfy his deſires: the ſame paſſion that made him unquiet and ſeditious whilſt a ſubject, kept him when upon the throne from allowing any reſt, either to himſelf, or his neighbours. His ſudden attempt upon the *Northumbrian* territories hath been already mentioned: but what took up the greateſt part of his reign, was his wars againſt the *Weſt-Saxons* [3], with various ſucceſs, and with very little intermiſſion. The moſt remarkable of his fortunate campaigns was that in which he took and demoliſhed *Somerton* [4], a frontier garriſon of the *Weſt-Saxons* in *Oxfordſhire*, about two leagues from *Brackley*, on the borders of the *Mercian* dominions. Peace was ſometimes made between the two kingdoms; but never laſted any conſiderable time: it however allowed them on one occaſion to join their forces together to oppoſe the *Welſh*, who had drawn together a vaſt army, in order to invade either the one or the other's territories, but were defeated by the two *Saxon* princes vying with one another in bravery. *Ethelbald* fell at laſt, after a reign of forty one years, either by [5] the ſword of the *Weſt-Saxons*, as *Brompton* ſays, or, as others think, by the rebellion of his own ſubjects, being ſlain in a battle fought on *Seggeſwald* [6] between *Leiceſter* and *Newark*.

A. D. 745.

A. D. 749.

[7] Beornred upon this event uſurped the crown: but was ſoon driven out of *Mercia* by a general defection of the people; who reſtored *Offa*, the next heir of the royal line, being deſcended of *Eawa*, brother to *Penda*. *Malmeſbury* [8] ſays of this prince, that it is difficult to decide, whether his vices or his virtues were greater and prevailed moſt in his conduct: it is certain that he was infinitely ambitious; and, if he could but carry his point, never troubled himſelf about the lawfulneſs of his meaſures, or the juſtneſs of his enterprizes. *Brompton* [9] mentions the *Northumbrians*, as the firſt of his conqueſts; the confuſions and civil wars, that reigned in that country, affording him an opportunity of reducing *Nottinghamſhire*: which they being in no condition to recover, [10] it is reckoned among the counties that lay within his dominions, and of which *Offa* died poſſeſſed. There is a paſſage in *Bede* [11], which ſeems to hint, that in his time the kings of *Kent* were in ſome reſpect dependent on thoſe of *Mercia*, and probably paid them tribute or ſome other marks of ſubjection. Whether *Lothair*, who had lately ſucceeded to the *Kentiſh* crown, had been negligent in paying that duty, which was

[1] L. i. c. 4. [2] *Concil. Magn. Brit.* vol. i. p. 100. [3] *Brompton.* p. 768.
[4] *Parochial Antiq.* p. 31.
[5] *Brompton.* p. 775. *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 755. *Petriburg. Ingulf Alured Beverl.*
[6] *Seggeſwald* is an hilly tract of country, now bare of wood, and called the *Would*, running from a place ſix miles north of *Leiceſter*, known by the name of *Seggs-hill*, along the *Foſſe* road for about twelve miles towards *Newark* upon *Trent*.
[7] *Paroch. Ant.* p. 32. [8] L. i. c. iv.
[9] P. 776. [10] *Conc. M. Brit.* t. i. p. 156.
[11] L. v. c. 24. *Fl. Wig. A. D.* 731.

A. D. 749. expected from him; [1] *Offa* conceived a violent hatred againſt the people as well as their king: and entering the country with a potent army, routed them after an obſtinate engagement, in which there was a vaſt effuſion of blood on both ſides, at *Otford* upon the *Darent*; by which ſucceſs his authority over that province was fully eſtabliſhed. He was now able to draw into the field a ſtrong body of auxiliaries from this and his other tributary kingdoms of the *Eaſt-Saxons* and *Angles*; which added to the forces of *Mercia* rendered him an over-match for the *Weſt-Saxons*; who had hitherto maintained their ground againſt the moſt powerful and warlike of his predeceſſors. He attacked them accordingly in [2] the year following: and having defeated their king *Kenwulf* in a battle near *Benſington* in *Oxfordſhire*, he took the place; and ſoon after made himſelf maſter of that country. *Glouceſterſhire* in a ſhort time had the ſame fate, being entirely reduced by *Offa*; as [3] appears by his founding the abbey of *Bath*; which with the few towns of *Somerſet* lying on the ſame ſide of the *Avon*, were the fartheſt of his conqueſts weſtward. *Kenwulf* was a brave and experienced warrior: but being unequal in force to his adverſary, was obliged to quit all the territories lying north of the *Thames*; which having belonged to the *Weſt-Saxons* for two hundred years, were from this time reckoned a part of *Mercia*.

This ſeries of ſucceſs raiſed *Offa's* reputation to a great height: and the luſtre of his victories, the fame of his great actions, and the merit of his good qualities made the world, which always follows fortune, and is blind to whatever is not the preſent or immediate object of its view, willing to overlook his bad ones, and obſcured for a time the odium and enormity of his vices. *Charle-Magne*, the wiſeſt and the greateſt monarch of the age, cultivated a friendſhip with him; ſending noble preſents from time to time as a teſtimony thereof, and remitting upon his account to all *Engliſh* pilgrims and travellers, either for religion or learning, thoſe tolls and cuſtoms, which were uſually paid in thoſe times by merchants or others for their goods or paſſage, and which made in all countries a conſiderable part of the royal revenue. Encouragements were mutually given for a free intercourſe and commerce between their ſubjects; till the reverſe of *Offa's* character coming to be known, and fame ſpreading the report of ſome of his enormous crimes (perhaps the treacherous murder of the king of the *Eaſt-Angles*) *Charles* was ſo incenſed againſt him, that he was on the point of prohibiting all commerce with his ſubjects, and of proceeding to other extremities, if he had not been prevented by the inſtances of *Alcuin* (an *Engliſhman*, and a ſcholar of archbiſhop *Egbert*) whom he kept conſtantly about his court, and for whoſe piety and learning he had the higheſt veneration. *Offa* elated with the greatneſs as well of his power at home, as of his credit abroad, incenſed for ſome reaſon or other againſt *Jainbert*, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and envying *Kent* the honour of the primacy of *England*, reſolved to eſtabliſh one within his own dominions; to which the *Mercian* prelates, and thoſe who lived in the country of his vaſſals, ſhould be ſubject. It was a thing agreeable to the ancient practice of the primitive church; which had, for very wiſe reaſons, adapted the *eccleſiaſtical* juriſdiction to the *civil*, confining the exerciſe thereof to the ſame bounds: but it was contrary to the cuſtom which had hitherto been received in *England*; nor had any inconvenience yet been found in the primate of *Canterbury's* exerciſing his authority within the bounds of different kingdoms. The accounts given by various authors of this affair, and [4] the circumſtances thereof are ſo perplexed and confuſed, ſo inconſiſtent with one another in ſome points, and ſo void in others of all ſupport from any authority which deſerves credit, that there

[1] *Brompton.* p. 776. *Chron. Petrib. Chr. Sax. A. D.* 774. [2] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 775.
[3] *Angl. Sacr.* vol. i. p. 586. vol. ii. p. 25.
[4] *Angl. Sacr.* vol. i. p 429. *Concil. Magn. Brit.* from p. 152, to p. 167.

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are only a few particulars relating to it that deſerve to be mentioned, as being ge- *A. D.* 749.
nerally admitted or founded upon unexceptionable teſtimonies.

IT is agreed by all, that *Lichfield* was erected into an archiepiſcopal ſee by *Offa* and a ſynod of *Engliſh* biſhops aſſembled at *Calchyth* [1], at the latter end of *A. D.* 685, the year fixed by the *Saxon Chronicle*, *Florence*, *Huntingdon*, *Hoveden*, and others for this tranſaction; that all the ſees in the kingdom of *Mercia* and the *Eaſt-Angles* were made ſubordinate to the primacy of *Lichfield*, and archbiſhop *Jainbert* was forced againſt his will to reſign, not only all claim of authority over thoſe ſees, but alſo all the lands in *Mercia* belonging to his own ſee; which the king either kept to himſelf, or aſſigned to the new primate for the ſupport of his dignity. There was ſtill wanting the ornament of a *pall* to grace the new metropolitan, which was to be obtained from Pope *Hadrian:* and this being a work of time and negotiation, *Highbert*, biſhop of *Lichfield*, for whom it was deſigned, died in the year following, before it was procured. *Aldulph* ſucceeded him, and, to keep free from any ſhew of dependance upon *Canterbury* [2], was conſecrated at *Corabridge* by *Eanbald*, archbiſhop of *York*, aſſiſted by *Tilbert* and *Hygbald*, biſhops of *Hexham* and *Lindisfarne*. It happened at this time that there were two legates ſent over by Pope *Hadrian*, to renew the ancient friendſhip and correſpondence between the churches, and to recommend ſome rules relating to order, and canons received in other churches (as *Boniface* [3] and *Lullus*, archbiſhops of *Mentz*, had lately done) to the obſervance of the *Engliſh*; who accordingly adopted them ſynodically. Theſe having been in the *Northumbrian* dominions [4], where none of their character had ever appeared before, came thence to the court of *Mercia:* and were preſent in a great council of all the biſhops, princes, and nobility of the realm, before [5] whom *Offa* made a vow to remit three hundred and ſixty-five *mancuſes* [6] a year to *Rome*, for relief of the poor, and maintaining the lights on St. *Peter's* altar. This ſolemn engagement, being followed with effects, was enough to carry his point in a venal court: but *Offa* omitting no means that could contribute to it, not only diſmiſſed the legates, after an honourable treatment, with marks of his royal bounty, proper to engage their good offices in behalf of what he deſired; but ſent over likewiſe envoys of his own [7] with valuable preſents; knowing how welcome money would be at *Rome*; and the *pall* was granted according to his expectations. It is very probable that *Aldulph* might exerciſe his metropolitical power in preſiding at *Mercian* ſynods; though it doth not appear he did ſo in any other inſtance, nor particularly in the conſecration of any biſhop, during the few years of *Offa's* life: but the two next ſucceſſors of that prince, making it their buſineſs to reverſe this, as well as his other illegal and oppreſſive acts; and the *Engliſh* biſhops in general being for reſtoring the old conſtitution of the church, he ſeems to have abſtained afterwards, not only from the exerciſe of the power, but from the uſe of the title, of archbiſhop. Thus, in a ſynod held, according to the *Saxon Chronicle* and the evidences of *Chriſt Church, Canterbury* [8], in *A. D.* 796; in which archbiſhop *Athelard*, who had ſucceeded *Jainbert A. D.* 790, preſided, agreeable to the ancient right of his

[1] I take this place to be *Calecoyth* or *Calecoyd*, near *Matherne* and *Chepſtow* in *Monmouthſhire*, on the *Severne* ſhore, where the kings of *England* had anciently a royal ſeat or caſtle; and *Offa* choſe generally to reſide in this part of his dominions. This caſtle lies in the mid-way between *Bath*, where he founded an abbey, and *Sutton*, near *Hereford*, where he kept his court when king *Ethelbert* was aſſaſſinated. See *Leland's Itin.* t. v. f. 5. t. vii. f. 152. But this conjecture is founded on *Offa's* reſidence in thoſe parts; elſe *Chelſey*, near *London*, ſeems a more convenient place of meeting; and it is in old records called *Chelche-hith*; and was a ſeat of the *Mercian* kings. See *Camden in Middleſex.*

[2] *Chr. Mailros, Ric. Hagulſt.* l. i. c. 16. *Sim. Dun. De geſtis Regum. A. D.* 786.

[3] *Concil. M. Brit.* vol. i. p. 90, 145.

[4] *Ib.* p. 151. [5] *Angl. Sacr.* l. i. p. 461.

[6] A *mancuſe* was of the value of thirty *Saxon* pence, or about ſeven ſhillings and ſix pence of our money now.

[7] *Matth. Paris in vit. Off.* p. 21.

[8] *Decem Scriptores*, p. 2211, 2212.

A. D. 749. ſee; *Aldulph* ſubſcribing to the acts of the council among a great number of other biſhops, ſtyles himſelf onely biſhop of *Lichfield*. The grant of the *pall*, however, was not yet revoked: and Pope *Leo* III. according to the politic maxims of the court of *Rome*, did not care to reverſe his predeceſſor's acts; alledging in excuſe, that what *Hadrian* had done, was at the requeſt of the biſhops of *England*. This drew the affair into length; notwithſtanding the [1] earneſtneſs with which *Kenulf*, king of *Mercia*, preſſed it, and the inſinuations in a letter of the *Engliſh* biſhops to the Pope himſelf, as if the delay was owing to avarice. At laſt, upon *Athelard's* going himſelf to *Rome*, with freſh letters and preſents to the *Pope*, an expedient was found out for terminating the affair; without *Leo's* throwing any direct ſlur upon *Hadrian's* memory, or paſſing any ſolemn act of his own to reverſe the other's privilege in favour of *Lichfield*. All that he would appear to do, was to forbid any invaſions of the rights of the ſee of *Canterbury*: but he conſented that the grant of the *pall* and metropolitical dignity to *Lichfield* ſhould be declared null by the authority of an *Engliſh* ſynod, on account of its being obtained by ſurprize and fallacious ſuggeſtions. This was done accordingly, upon *Athelard's* return, with a perfect unanimity in the ſynod of *Cloveſhoe*; the acts of which appear ſigned in a more ſolemn manner than thoſe of other councils (at leaſt the ſignatures are better preſerved, or more fully copied) being ſubſcribed by the inferior clergy, the preſbyters, and archdeacons, as well as the biſhops and abbots; *Adulf* himſelf ſigning his name in the order of prelates, next to the archbiſhops.

The kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles* had been long tributary to the *Mercian*: but ſtill continued to have princes of its own; who enjoying the revenue of the crown, governed it according to the laws and cuſtoms of the province. *Offa* had long wiſhed to have it in his own immediate ſubjection, and only waited for an opportunity of ſeizing it; having no ſcruple about the means of effecting any of his purpoſes. *Ethelbert*, onely ſon of the late king *Ethelred*, [2] and the laſt heir of the royal family, was now upon the throne; a young prince of very amiable qualities; a fine perſon, and great virtues. The goodneſs of his nature, the humility of his mind, the regularity of his life, the regard he ſhewed to religion in all his actions, and to juſtice in all his adminiſtration, with the clemency he exerciſed on all fitting occaſions, rendered him the delight of his people: who wanted nothing to complete their happineſs, but an heir to ſucceed to the crown after his deceaſe. He had been bred to letters; and being fond of ſtudy, had either no taſte for marriage, or perhaps avoided it from an apprehenſion of ſome inconveniences in that ſtate of life; or rather out of what would paſs for a motive of religion in an age, when all other *Chriſtian* graces were thought to yield in point of merit to virginity. The univerſal deſire and common good of his people, the diſtraction and troubles that the kingdom would infallibly fall into for want of an heir to the crown, were topicks continually inſiſted on by the nobility, and even by his biſhops, to engage him to marry: and theſe being urged both in public and private, weighed ſo much with him at laſt, that he called a great council to conſider of the matter. It was the unanimous opinion of this aſſembly, that the king ſhould marry: and count *Oſwald*, the chief of his council, propoſing a match with *Offa's* legitimate daughter *Althrida*, a young princeſs of great piety and merit, who, after the tragical event here to be related, renounced the world, and lived an hermit's life in the marſhes of *Croyland*, there appeared ſo many reaſons of policy and convenience to ſupport the motion, that it met with a general approbation. *Ethelbert* ſet out with a ſplendid equipage, accompanied by the count: and waited on the borders of the *Mercian* territories, till he received a ſafe-conduct and an invitation from *Offa*; who

[1] *Angl. Sacr.* l. i. p. 461. [2] *Brompton*, p. 748. & *ſeq.*

was then keeping his court near *Hereford*. When the King of the *East-Angles* arrived there, a council was held to consider in what manner he was to be treated: and as courtiers easily discover, and obsequiously follow, the inclinations of their prince, it was soon resolved to murder him, and seize his dominions. Some writers, thinking a wretched apology better than none at all, are willing to impute *Offa's* conduct to the suggestions of his wife; who, either incensed at slighted love, or moved with envy at the fine appearance made by *Ethelbert's* guards, and the magnificence of his nobility, filled the head of an old and wicked prince with a jealousy of his designs. It is not unlikely, but insinuations of that nature might be thrown out, to procure so infamous a resolution as was taken: but the seizing of the kingdom of the *East-Angles*, and adding it, upon the extinction of the royal family, to the *Mercian* dominions, is an irrefragable proof, that this was the chief view in the murder of *Ethelbert*. To dispatch him in as private a manner, and with as little noise as possible, he was invited to a secret conference with *Offa*, for settling every thing about his marriage: and going thither unattended, was seized in the way by *Guimbert*, and beheaded [1] on *May* 20, *A. D.* 792. The nobility, that accompanied him, had early notice given them by *Althrida* of this *catastrophe:* and mounting on horse-back immediately, with the guards which escorted them, made the best of their way to their own country. *Ethelbert's* corpse and head were buried at first, by *Offa's* orders, in an obscure place, on the banks of the *Lugge:* but were afterwards removed to *Fernley*, since called *Hereford*; the cathedral of which city is dedicated to his honour. Thus was the line of the princes of the *East-Angles* extinct, after the kingdom had lasted two hundred and seventeen years. *A. D.* 794.

AN act so full of impiety, cruelty, and horror, perpetrated with all the circumstances of baseness and treachery, could not but give some remorse to the most hardened sinner: but princes had, in those days, so easy a way of commuting for the blackest crimes, that conscience served for a very weak restraint to them, when they could expiate their guilt, and even acquire a character of piety, by some benefactions to religious uses. *Offa* enjoying the spoil of *Ethelbert*, and possessed of the country of the *East-Angles*, which he had usurped, did not think, perhaps was not taught, that restitution was a proper satisfaction for rapine, or a necessary mark and condition of repentance for a crime, of which it was the motive: but chose to give himself an air of regret, in a way that clashed less with his passions, and was more convenient for his affairs; by giving the tenth of his goods or estate to the clergy, and several manors about *Hereford*, to the church of that city. He was removed with his court to *Bath*; where, after a restless night, he is said to have had the vision or dream; discovering to him the place where the bones of St. *Alban*, [2] the first *British* martyr, were reposed, and admonishing him to build an abbey at *Verolam*. This dream easily passed for a particular favour of heaven to *Offa*; who knew the world well enough to make his advantage of the credulity and superstition of the people: the relicks were accordingly found [3] and translated with great solemnity to the place, where the church was afterwards erected in that saint's honour. Nothing was wanting to establish an opinion of *Offa's* sanctity, but his going to *Rome*; a journey, which in that age of ignorance, was deemed as meritorious, as the pilgrimages to *Mecha* are now among the *Mahometans*. This was resolved on in a synod of bishops held at *Verolam*: and *Offa* going thither, made the settlement [4] of three hundred and sixty-five *mancus's* a year, which he had vowed before, and which coming afterwards to be collected throughout the twenty-

[1] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 792. [2] *Concil. Magn. Brit.* tom. i. p. 154, *& seq.* [3] *A. D.* 793.
[4] *Matth. Paris in. vit. Offæ*, p. 31. *Angl. Sacr.* tom. i. p. 461.

three counties, of which the kingdoms of *Mercia* and the *Eaſt-Angles*, then ſubject to him, conſiſted, and being paid at the rate of a penny by every family, that had thirty pence annual rent in land, every year, on the firſt of *Auguſt*, the feaſt of *St. Peter ad vincula*, was thence called *Peter-pence*; though on other occaſions it bore the name of *Rome-ſcot*. *Offa* having received the Pope's abſolution, and obtained a bull to confirm whatever privileges and poſſeſſions he ſhould think fit, upon his return home, to grant, in a council of his biſhops and nobility, to the new monaſtery he propoſed to found, came back to *England*; built, and endowed the abbey of *St. Alban's*: which he juſt lived to finiſh; dying after a reign of thirty-nine years, in *A. D.* 794, either on *July* 29, or *Auguſt* 10, as the day is differently fixed by *Florence* and the *Saxon Chronicle*.

He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Egfrith*, a prince of great hopes; whoſe reign was very ſhort: for dying in leſs than five months, he made way for *Kenulf*; who, two years after [1], invading *Kent*, took *Egbert*, ſurnamed *Pren*, who ſeems to have uſurped the crown of that country. *Kenulf* is celebrated, by all our old hiſtorians, as a wiſe, as well as a victorious prince; a character ſcarce conſiſtent with his barbarous treatment of the unfortunate captive, whoſe hands he ſuffered to be cut off, and his eyes to be put out, and then carried him in chains to *Mercia*. [2] *Malmeſbury* extols his compaſſion and clemency in ſetting *Egbert* afterwards at liberty, upon the day of the dedication of the church of *Winchcombe*; and imputes his invaſion and ravaging of *Kent* to an hereditary hatred, derived from *Offa* againſt the people of that country: but he aſſigns no reaſon for this prince's animoſity againſt *Pren* in particular, or for the rage of thoſe whom he allowed to treat him in ſo ſhocking a manner. To account for this in ſome meaſure, it muſt be obſerved, that upon the death of *Alric*, [3] the youngeſt ſon of *Withred*, who having, in *A. D.* 760 [4], ſucceeded his brother *Ethelbert*, died after a reign of thirty-four years, the royal line of *Kent* became extinct: and there being no certain heir to the crown, the country was torn in pieces by factions, ſupporting the different competitors. Of theſe, *Egbert Pren* prevailing over the reſt, got poſſeſſion of the kingdom: and after two years, imagining that nothing could withſtand his power, ventured (as *Malmeſbury* ſays) to attack the *Mercians*; which brought upon him the calamities here mentioned. It was not barely his uſurpation, but the tyranny with which he uſed his power, and ſome circumſtances of his condition, that provoked his adverſaries to thoſe cruel indignities. For *Egbert* (whoſe ſurname of *Pren* [5], implies that he was a preacher, one of [6] thoſe impudent tongue-pads, that *Malmeſbury* [7] ſpeaks of, as affecting tyranny, and uſurping the throne of *Kent*) was undoubtedly that renegado clergyman, who is mentioned in Pope *Leo's* epiſtle [8] to king *Kenulph*, as having got poſſeſſion of the kingdom; and is there compared to *Julian* the apoſtate; having renounced probably his religion, as well as his order, perſecuted the orthodox faith, and going to put archbiſhop *Athelard* to death for adhering to it, if he had [9] not ſaved his life by flying out of the country. It was for theſe reaſons, the *Pope* thought it proper to ſubject him to an *anathema*, and to iſſue out a mandate, admoniſhing all the princes and people of *Britain*, to drive the uſurper out of his kingdom: and it was on the ſame account that *Egbert* became deteſted by all the world, and was treated in the cruel manner above-related. That it could be no other than he, appears further from *Cuthred's* being, immediately upon *Egbert's* captivity, made king of *Kent*, and reigning quietly under *Kenulf's* protection [10], till *A. D.* 805,

[1] *Sax. Chr. A. D.* 796. [2] L. i. c. 4.
[3] *Ib.* l. i. c. 1. [4] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 760.
[5] From the *Saxon Pregan*, to *preach*.
[6] *Malmeſb.* l. i. c. 1. Tunc impudentiſſimus quiſque, cui vel lingua divitias, vel factio terrorem comparaverat, ad tyrannidem anhelare, regio inſigni indigne abuti.
[7] *Angl. Sacr.* tom. i. p. 460. [8] *Malmeſb.* l. i. c. 4. [9] *Concil. M. Brit.* tom. i. p. 159.
[10] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 805.

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when he died, and was ſucceeded by *Baldred*. This prince, after a precarious government of eighteen years [1], was at laſt driven out by *Egbert*, reputed the firſt monarch of *England*: and in him ended the kingdom of *Kent*, after having ſubſiſted three hundred and ſixty-eight years. *Kenulf*, equally brave and religious, lived afterwards in peace with all his neighbours; too powerful to be attacked with impunity, and too equitable in his ſentiments to attempt the conqueſt of other princes dominions: but retaining ſtill what *Offa* had unjuſtly acquired, he was, after [2] a reign of twenty-four years, ſlain in an inſurrection of the *Eaſt-Angles*. *Mercia*, from that time, made a very inconſiderable figure, and produced nothing memorable, but the deplorable fate of her princes: of which *Kenelm*, left a minor by his father *Kenulf*, being murdered the ſame year by his ſiſter *Quendrada*, who aſpired to the crown, was ſucceeded by his uncle *Ceolulf*; who, in his ſecond year, was driven out by *Beornulf*. This uſurper had been little more than two years upon the throne [3]; when invading the country of the *Weſt-Saxons*, he was routed by *Egbert*, and ſoon after ſlain by the *Eaſt-Angles*. *Ludecan* ſucceeding and endeavouring to revenge his death, underwent the ſame fate, in the ſame ſpace of time: and with him fell five of the moſt conſiderable of the *Mercian* nobility. *Wiglaf* [4] then mounted the throne: but two years after was defeated, and *Mercia* ſubdued by *Egbert*. He was indeed ſoon reſtored to it by that prince, and poſſeſſed it for thirteen years: but always in the nature of a vaſſal, and on the condition of paying tribute. *Berthulf*, his ſucceſſor, enjoyed it as long upon the ſame terms: but being at laſt forced by the *Danes* to take refuge abroad, was ſucceeded by *Burrhed*. This prince having married *Ethelſwida*, daughter to king *Ethelwolf*, continued twenty-two years in the government of *Mercia*: [5] and being then driven out by the ſame enemy, fled to *Rome*, where he died in the *Engliſh* ſeminary. Such was the fate of the *Mercian* kingdom, after having laſted two hundred and ninety-two years.

Account of the kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons*.

XXI. In the hiſtory of the ſeveral kingdoms of the heptarchy, it appears evidently, that they flouriſhed in a proſperous condition, and preſerved their power and reputation as long as they maintained the ſucceſſion of the royal family: but when by the monkiſh taſte of devotion, infuſed into their kings and queens, and putting them on abſtaining from the uſe of the marriage-bed, and on retiring into convents, or by other means, the line of the firſt founder of the royalty came to be extinct, they fell from that time into decay; were over-run by different factions, ſupporting the various aſpirers to the crown; haraſſed and weakened daily by inteſtine broils and civil wars, the never-failing conſequences of a diſputed title and uncertain ſucceſſion; and were, in a ſhort time, forced to ſubmit to a ſtate of vaſſalage under their next powerful neighbour. The kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons* was the only one that did not labour under this misfortune; into which, however, it was very near falling, when *Egbert* having eſcaped from the deſigns, formed by a jealous and cruel prince, to bereave him of his life, reſtored it to its former luſtre: and not only recovered the provinces, which had been diſmembred from it, but added all the reſt of *England*, poſſeſſed by the *Saxons*, to his empire.

The hiſtory of this kingdom hath been already deduced to the reign of *Kenwalch*, a warlike and great prince; whoſe wars with *Penda* and *Wulfhere*, kings of *Mercia*, have been already mentioned. In theſe he met with diſaſters enough to diſcourage him from purſuing them; which perhaps made him more intent upon enlarging his dominions on the ſide of the *Britains*: of whom it muſt in juſtice

[1] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 823. [2] *Ib. A. D.* 819. [4] *Malmeſb.* l. i. c. 4. *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 825. *Brompton*, p. 776. [3] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 823. [5] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 874.

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be ſaid, that if they loſt their country, it was not till after they had done all that the braveſt of men could do in its defence for ſome hundreds of years together, and notwithſtanding their want of union among themſelves, and inequality in point of force to the *Saxons*, they never quitted any part thereof, till it had been firſt well moiſtened with the blood of their enemies. As they were ſtill in poſſeſſion of *Somerſet*, *Devon*, and *Cornwall*, *Kenwalch's* firſt attempt was upon the *ſouth-eaſt* quarter of the firſt of thoſe counties, where it lies contiguous to *Wiltſhire*; in the borders of which laſt country he defeated the *Britains* in a battle fought [1] near *Bradford upon Avon*. The old *Saxon* writers were not fond of preſerving the memory of actions, in which their countrymen had the diſadvantage: and this perhaps is the reaſon why nothing is ſaid of the events of this war; till ſix years after, when *Kenwalch*, probably diſcouraged by the difficulties of making an impreſſion [2] upon *Somerſet*, on the ſide of the foreſt of *Mendip*, having removed the ſeat of the war to another quarter, fought the *Britains* at *Penne*, on the edge of *Dorſet*; and being victorious, purſued them as far as *Pedderton*, and reduced the *ſouth-weſt* corner of the country, which lies between the rivers *Ivel* and *Parret*. This [3] prince dying *A. D.* 672, without children, a good deal of confuſion happened among the *Weſt-Saxons*, probably not agreeing about the ſucceſſion of the crown; ſo that queen *Sexburga* [4], relict of the deceaſed prince, a lady of great prudence and merit, continued to exerciſe the government till her death; which happened before the end of the year following.

It ſeems to have been a method generally taken by the *Saxon* kings in this iſland, to grant large appanages to all the younger branches of the royal family, and to give conſiderable territories to their ſons: who, poſſeſſing them either in the way of property or government, had the ſtyle of kings frequently given them on that account. Thus *Alchfrid*, the eldeſt ſon of *Oſwi*, governing *Bernicia* under him, is ſpoken of by [5] *Bede* and others, as in fact, a king in his father's life-time. Thus all *Penda's* ſons, not only *Peada*, whom he indulged with the government of part of his territories whilſt he was living, and *Wulfhere*, who ſucceeded to the ſovereignty of the whole, after his elder brother's deceaſe; but *Merewald* and *Mercellin*, both younger than the others, are alſo termed kings, and [6] governed their reſpective territories among the weſtern *Mercians* and the *Girvii*. The ſame royalty [7] is aſcribed to *Kenric*, ſon of *Cerdic*, and *Cwichelm*, ſon of *Kynegils*, whilſt their fathers were living, and to *Cuthred*, whilſt his uncle *Kenwalch* was upon the throne of the *Weſt-Saxons*. The title was communicated, even to the collateral branches of the royal family, as if the *Saxons* of old had made the ſtyle of king, as the *Germans* ſtill do thoſe of duke, marqueſs, and count, common to all the deſcendants of the male line of a family. For thus *Kenbright*, father of *Ceadwalla*, is ſtyled king [8]: and *Ceadwalla* himſelf, before he pretended to the throne, and in the middle of *Kentwin's* reign, [9] aſſumed the ſame title in his grant of *Pageham*, and other lands to *Wilfrid*. Hence [10] *Bede* mentions a king *Oſric* in the *Mercian* territories, during the reign of *Ethelred*; and [11] *Wallingford* ſpeaks of *Alcmund Egbert's* father, reigning at the ſame time with king *Offa*: and *Baldred* [12], with other kings of this leſſer kind, are named in *Saxon* charters. Theſe princes of the blood ruling only over parts of the larger kingdoms, are generally called *Duces*; and are probably thoſe meant by *Bede* [13], when he ſays, they had the adminiſtration of the realm of the *Weſt-Saxons*, after the death of *Kenwalch*. They

[1] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 652. [2] *Ib. A. D.* 658. *Fl. Wig.* [3] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 672.
[4] *Bede*, l. iv. c. 12. [5] *Ib.* l. iv. c. 25.
[6] *Sim. Dun. De geſt. Regum*, p. 89. *Hiſt. Elienſ. Higden. Pol.* p. 240.
[7] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 519, 626, 636, 639.
[8] *Ib. A. D.* 661. [9] *Evidentia Eccl. Cant. in Decem Scriptores*, p. 2207. [10] L. iv. c. 23.
[11] *Inter Viginti Scriptores*, p. 530, 531.
[12] *Malmeſb. ib.* p. 308, 312. [13] L. iv. c. 12.

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ſeem to have governed in their reſpective diſtricts; whilſt *Sexburga* had the ſuperintendance of the whole, or at leaſt of that part of the realm, which had been under the immediate care of her huſband [1]: but after two years, *Æſcwin*, great grandſon to *Cuthgils*, uncle to *Kenwalch*, is ſaid to have aſſumed the crown, or rather to have divided the government of the kingdom with *Kentwin*; who was brother to the late king *Kenwalch*, and after *Æſcwin's* death, in *A. D.* 676, enjoyed it alone.

Kentwin purſued his brother's meaſures for reducing the *Britains:* and not being diverted by any other enemy, did it with ſuch ſucceſs, that he marched with his troops as far [2] as the *Briſtol* channel, and added a good part of *Somerſet* to his dominions. *Ceadwalla*, to whom, after reigning alone for nine years, he left his crown [3], was hindered from improving his predeceſſor's conqueſts by the oppoſition he found at his entrance upon the government; the faction againſt him being ſo powerful, that he was forced to quit the country and take refuge in the foreſt of *Andredſwald* in *Suſſex*. But being extremely beloved by the military part of the nation, they repaired to him in ſuch numbers during his exile, that he was ſoon in a condition of recovering his kingdom, and of re-uniting to it ſome provinces, which had belonged to it formerly. Theſe were the country of the *Meanuari* in *Hants* and the iſle of *Wight*; which having about twenty four years before been conquered by *Wulfhere* king of *Mercia*, were given by that prince to *Edilwalch* king of the *South-Saxons*, in whoſe hands they ſtill remained. There being a diſpute at this time in *Kent* [4] about the right of the crown, between *Eadric* eldeſt ſon of the late king *Egbert*, and his uncle *Lothair*, who had got poſſeſſion of it during his nephew's minority; *Edilwalch* had embarked in the young prince's quarrel, and furniſhed him with an army, to try the fortune of a battle with *Lothair*; who being mortally wounded in [5] the action, *Eadric* became upon his death maſter of the kingdom. *Edilwalch* being thus engaged in the *Kentiſh* war, *Ceadwalla* judged the opportunity to be favourable, as well for recovering the above mentioned territories, as for making a conqueſt of *Suſſex*, which his anceſtors had in vain attempted. He marched with an army into thoſe parts ſo ſuddenly, that *Edilwalch* was ſurprized and ſlain: leaving two ſons very young; who falling into the hands of the conqueror, were ordered to be put to death, that the royal family of the *South-Saxons* might be utterly extinguiſhed. *Ceadwalla* lay ill of [6] the wounds he received in the battle with *Edilwalch*, at the time he gave theſe cruel orders; which the abbot of *Retford* preſſed him in vain to revoke; being able to prevail only for a ſmall reſpite of their execution, till the children were baptized. The country of the *South-Saxons* was cruelly ravaged after this action: till *Berthun* and *Audhun*, two of their chief nobility, putting themſelves at the head of the people, forced *Ceadwalla* to retire out of their territories: but it was only to return the year following with a greater force, which enabled him to beat and ſlay *Berthun* in battle, and to over-run the whole country in a more horrible manner. He ſeems to have reduced it entirely; the province being from this time without any biſhop of its own, and ſubject to the ſee of *Wincheſter:* ſo that here we may fix the ruin of the *South-Saxon* kingdom, after it had ſubſiſted about an hundred and ninety ſix years.

Edric, king of *Kent*, dying about a year and an half after he had recovered the crown, left his kingdom full of factions and troubles; to which his weak government perhaps had contributed. *Ceadwalla* taking advantage thereof, paſſed thither

[1] *Aſſerii Annales*, *Chr. Sax.* and *Flor. Wig.* *An.* 674, 676. *Malmeſb.* l. i. c. 2.
[2] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 681. *Vit. Adelmi in Ang. Sacr.* t. ii. p. 14.
[3] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 685. *Vit. Adhelmi*, p. 11.
[4] *Bede*, l. iv. c. 26.
[5] *Flor. Wig.* *Malmeſ.* l. i. c. 2.
[6] *Bede*, l. iv. c. 15, 16. *Brompton*, p. 799, 800.

from *Suſſex*: and laid all the country waſte, without any oppoſition [1]. His brother *Moll*, who had been with him in this expedition, tempted by the greatneſs of the booty and eaſineſs of the acquiſition, made the next year another irruption into the country, with a body of forces: but finding no ſhew of reſiſtance, and roving about with a ſmall party of twelve men, at a diſtance from the main body of his army, he was inveſted by the *Kentiſh* men in an houſe [2], and burnt with all his attendants. *Ceadwalla*, enraged at his brother's death, entered *Kent*: and deſtroyed all before him with fire and ſword; till wearied with vengeance, he began to lay his cruelties to heart, and in a fit of repentance made ſome [3] grants to the ſee of *Canterbury* and the abbey of *Malmeſbury*, and took a reſolution of going to *Rome*, where he was baptized on *Eaſter-Eve*, and died on *April* 20, *A. D.* 689. At his departure from *England*, he reſigned the crown to his couſin *Ina*: who having ſettled the affairs of his own kingdom, advanced about five years after [4] with a mighty army into *Kent*, in order to take further vengeance for the death of *Moll*. The country was now free from its inteſtine broils, and happy under the government of their rightful king *Withred*, ſon of *Egbert*, and brother to *Edric*, a wiſe and good prince; who having quelled the rebellion of *Webbeard* (an uſurper that diſputed the crown with him) found means to pacify *Ina* with a ſum of money, which the *Saxon chronicle* computes at 30000 *l.* and *Florence* at 3750, by way of ſatisfaction for the death of his couſin [5].

[6] Ina who was a prince of great moderation, prudence, and religion, as well as fortitude, making peace with *Withred* upon his ſubmiſſion, turned his arms againſt the *Britains*: and by his victory over *Gereint* [7], king of *Cornwall*, ſeems to have compleated the conqueſt of *Somerſet*. From a circumſtance of this battle, in which *Hygbald*, one of the chief *Saxon* generals was ſlain, it appears to have been obſtinately fought; though the *Britains* [8] being at laſt defeated, were forced either to take refuge in wild craggy places, or ſubmit to the yoke of the conqueror. It is very probable, that he gave good terms to the chieftains of their clans, and allowed them to retain a conſiderable part of their lands and territories; becauſe in *Athelſtan's* [9] charter to *Malmeſbury*, dated at *Dorcheſter*, *A. D.* 938, and ſigned by ſixteen biſhops, there appear the ſubſcriptions of no *Saxon* nobleman, but only of four *ſubreguli*, whoſe names, *Owen*, *Howell*, *Morcant*, and *Judual*, ſhew them to be *Britiſh*; a circumſtance, which is not found in any other *Saxon* charter. This [10] gives ſome colour of probability to what is ſaid in the *Auctarium* at the end of the laws of *Edward the confeſſor*, about the intermarriages between the *Britains* and *Saxons*: which *Ina*, purſuant to the advice of his great council, took care to encourage, for the better eſtabliſhing an union and friendſhip between his ſubjects of thoſe different nations. There was likewiſe for that purpoſe a fur-

[1] *Brompton*, p. 741. [2] *Chr. A. D.* 687.
[3] *Evidenc. Eccl. Cant.* p. 2208. *Vit. Adhelmi*, p. 25. [4] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 694.
[5] It appears from the laws of *Athelſtan* that, according to the received valuation, the fine paid for the death of a king was 30000 *thrymſa*[a]; a large ſum in thoſe days, and probably more than *Kent*, in its exhauſted condition after ſome years of civil wars and foreign ravages, was able to advance. This renders it not unlikely that the value thereof was made up in land, and that ſome part of that country, perhaps where it borders upon *Suſſex*, was given up to *Ina*; who ſeems to have granted it to his brother *Ingild* by way of *appanage*; the territories thus given to younger branches of the royal family being generally taken out of conquered countries. *Ingild* probably enjoyed the title of king over this territory; at leaſt it is certain that the title was born, and a conſiderable territory in *Kent* poſſeſſed, by king *Alchmond*, great grandſon to this prince [b], and father to *Egbert*, the firſt monarch of *England*.
[6] *Vit. Aldhelmi*, p. 12. *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 710.
[7] This was an uſual name to the princes of that country.
[8] *Vit. Aldhelm.* p. 14. [9] *Ib.* p. 32.
[10] *Concil. M. Brit.* t. i. p. 74.

[a] A *thrymſa* was three ſhillings *Saxon* money. [b] See *Sax. Chron. A. D.* 784. *Evidentiæ Eccl. Cant. inter Decem Scriptores*, p. 2211.

ther

ther proviſion made by his laws; in which the *Britains* are expreſly mentioned and comprehended; this being the firſt time, that they appear to be allowed the benefit of any of the *Saxon* laws and privileges.

Ina erected a ſtrong caſtle at *Taunton* to ſecure his conqueſts: but when the country had been for ſome time pacified, it was demoliſhed; and the [1] manor given to the church of *Winchester*. He knew very well what effect religion hath on the minds of men, and what troubles any differences in the acts of it may produce on ſome occaſions: and thinking it better that men ſhould be convinced by reaſon, than driven by force, to a conformity, got the learned [2] *Aldhelm* to write a treatiſe to convince the *Britains* of their error in keeping *Eaſter*. This book, which was dedicated to *Gereint*, king of the *Corniſh Britains*, had a great ſucceſs in bringing them to conform in that point to the *Saxon* churches: and the ſee of the *Weſt-Saxons* being in *A. D.* 705 divided into two dioceſes [3], *Aldhelm* was made biſhop of *Sherbourne*, lying on the borders of *Somerſet* (which country [4] had hitherto been ſubject to the *Britiſh* biſhop of *Congreſbury*) to compleat by his daily inſtructions the work which his writings had ſo well begun. He now founded a monaſtery at that ſee, as he had done before at *Malmeſbury*, *Bradford*, and *Frome*, in proportion as the *Saxon* conqueſts advanced in that country. *Ina* was a benefactor to all theſe foundations, and probably followed the method, obſerved by the *Northumbrian* princes, of aſſigning to the *Saxon* clergy and religious, all the lands and revenues, which had been enjoyed by the *Britiſh*. This at leaſt he did in the endowment of the great abbey of *Glaſtenbury*, which he founded; and confirmed all the grants made in former days by the *Britiſh* princes; among whom the old church or convent of that place had been held in the higheſt veneration.

Ina's [5] quarrel with *Ceolred* king of *Mercia* was terminated (as before related) by a ſingle battle; in which neither party could pretend to victory; ſo that he had no foreign enemy, beſides the *Britains*, to interrupt the quiet of his reign: the time of which he employed chiefly in cultivating the arts of peace, and in providing by wholeſome laws and regulations for the good conduct and government of his people. The cuſtom however, obſerved among the *Weſt-Saxons* from the time of *Cerdic*, who gave the *Iſle of Wight* [6] to his nephews, of granting large territories by way of appanage to the younger branches of the royal family, ſeems to have been the occaſion of ſome troubles in his kingdom, after the deceaſe of his brother *Ingild*, in *A. D.* 718. [7] Whether *Ina*, having no ſons of his own, ſhewed too great a regard to *Ethelhard*, who was brother to his queen *Ethelburga*, but ſeems, though of *Cerdic's* line, to be a remoter prince of the blood than ſome others; or had made any declaration in his favour touching the ſucceſſion of the crown, the princes, whoſe proximity of blood gave them better pretenſions to it, were alarmed with the apprehenſions of being defeated of what they claimed as their right, and [8] broke out into inſurrections. The ſons of the reigning king, and the preſumptive heirs of the crown, were uſually diſtinguiſhed by the ſtyle of [9] *Clito* or *Ætheling*: and three years after *Ingild's* death, we find *Kineulf Clito* ſlain by *Ina*, to whom he was perhaps a nephew by *Ingild* or ſome other brother. This prince's death did not put an end to all commotions; for the very next year [10], another was raiſed by *Ealdbright*, who though mentioned at firſt without that addition to his name, is afterwards honoured alſo with the title of *Clito*. This prince

[1] *Annal. Winten.* p. 289. [2] *Vit. Aldhelmi*, p. 15. *Bede*, l. v. c. 18. [3] *Vit. Aldhelm.* p. 20, 21. [4] *Angl. Sacr.* t. i. p. 553. [5] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 715. [6] *Chr. Sax.* [7] *Flor. wig. A. D.* 534. [8] *Ib. A. D.* 721. [9] *Du Freſnes Gloſſ. v.* Clito. [10] *Chr. Sax. An.* 722, 725.

began

began his insurrection in the lately conquered province of *Somerset:* but being routed near *Taunton*, fled to *Sussex*; which though it had been reduced earlier than the other, was not yet sufficiently settled in its subjection; hoping to stand his ground in the fastnesses of that country. The *South-Saxons* took up arms in his favour; and *Ina* following him thither, several battles ensued: but after the war had been carried on three years, they were at last defeated in an action; which by the death of *Ealdbright*, who was slain in it, proved decisive. This experience of the mischiefs and civil wars, inevitably flowing from a breach in the true and natural order of the succession, did not lessen either *Ina's* regard to *Ethelhard* or his wife's influence in her brother's behalf; nor alter the disposition he proposed to make in his favour. *Ina*, governed by his wife, and sacrificing the peace and happiness of his people to her passions and affection [1], put the government of the realm into the hands of this prince; when, agreeable to the modish devotion of the age, he quitted *England* with his queen, and retired to *Rome:* where he died some years after in a monastery, perhaps in the *English* seminary; to which he was a great benefactor, and [2] probably had the merit of being its original founder.

Ethelhard taking possession of the throne, found still a *Clito* to dispute it with him: this was *Oswald*, second cousin to the late kings *Ceadwalla* and *Ina*; they being descended in the same degree from *Cedda*, *Ceolwald*, and *Cynebald*, all three younger brothers to king *Cynegils*. *Oswald* was defeated in battle: [3] and dying two years after, *Ethelhard* met with no other disturbance till his death; which happening [4] *A. D.* 741, he was succeeded by his cousin *Cuthred*. This prince was continually at war, all the fourteen years of his reign, either with *Ethelbald*, king of *Mercia*, or with the *Britains:* but on what occasion his son [5] *Kynric Clito* was slain, is uncertain; though [6] *Brompton* imputes it to a too great eagerness for war, and says, it happened in a sedition of the soldiery. That misfortune was, in about two years, followed by an insurrection among the *West-Saxons*, headed by one of their chief nobility *Ædelhun*; a man of great military skill, high spirit, and intrepid courage. This brave and experienced General met *Cuthred* in the field with a body of forces, far unequal to the king's in number, but so animated by the courage and conduct of their commander, that the fate of the battle was long doubtful, and even going to declare in his favour; when *Ædelhun* being unluckily ran through the body, his men were dispirited, and left the field to *Cuthred*. It doth not appear, whether this nobleman fought his own quarrel, or that of some prince of the blood, who claimed the crown: but in either case, it was not the *Saxon* custom, in those days, to carry their resentments farther than the place of battle; which was followed with no executions, unless there was some heinous crime to be punished, besides an insurrection. The fate of the day seems then to have buried all animosities, like that of a modern duel, according to the received rules of honour; one contending party being satisfied, and the other acquiescing in a decision, which they equally ascribed to providence. *Ædelhun* was pardoned: and lived to make ample amends to the victor, for his clemency and wisdom in saving the life of a great man, capable of doing eminent services to his prince and country.

Two years after this action [7], *Ethelbald*, king of *Mercia*, who was perpetually harassing the *West-Saxon* territories, invaded *Oxfordshire* with a mighty army, raised out of his own and the tributary kingdoms of *Kent*, *Essex*, and the *East-Angles*, and wasted all the country as far as *Burford*. There *Cuthred*, encouraged by *Ædelhun*, and depending on his conduct, met him with an army inferior in point of

[1] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 728. [2] *Angl. Sacr.* i. 202. [3] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 730. [4] *Ib. A. D.* 741.
[5] *Ib. A. D.* 748. [6] P. 768. [7] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 752. *Brompton*, p. 769.

numbers,

numbers, but a match for any enemy under ſuch a General. *Ædelhun* began the battle with an act of vigour, proper to inſpire his men with hopes and reſolution; for advancing before their ranks, bearing the *Weſt-Saxon* ſtandard, a *golden dragon*, in his hand, he challenged the ſtandard-bearer of the *Mercians*; who ſeems to have declined the combat. The armies ſoon joined, and a bloody battle enſued with great ſlaughter on both ſides: yet none thought of retiring; both parties ſeeming determined either to die or conquer. It was long doubtful to which ſide the victory would incline, but the glory of the day was reſerved for *Ædelhun*; who with his tremendous battle-axe, which no armour could reſiſt, piereed the *Mercian* troops like a thunderbolt, making a terrible havock among them, and opening a way wherever he charged. *Ethelbald*, on his ſide, had fought with great courage, but his pride was now to be humbled: and meeting with *Ædelhun*, in the heat of the action, he was attacked by him with ſo much fury, that his heart failing, he was the firſt man of his army that fled, and quitted the field to the enemy. His troops had hitherto ſtood their ground with great reſolution: but ſeeing their king turn his back, they ſoon followed his example. Thus ended an action, which gained the brave *Ædelhun* immortal honour, and covered the arrogant *Ethelbald* with an indelible mark of reproach; the ſhame of which made him, three years after, throw away his life in the battle of *Seggſwold* [1].

Cuthred dying two years after this victory at *Burford* [2], was ſucceeded by his couſin *Sigebert*, a young, headſtrong, violent, and cruel prince; incapable of receiving advice, or of being corrected by any experience. Proud of his predeceſſors actions, without any merit of his own, he treated all the world with inſupportable haughtineſs, oppreſſion, and indignities; being extravagant in his conduct, and arbitrary in all his proceedings, without the leaſt regard to law, juſtice, or equity. The people ſuffering daily from his inhumanity, and the nobility from his inſolence, he had not governed in this manner above a year, before he was driven out by *Kineulf*; a prince of the ſame family, who diſpoſſeſſed him of all the *Weſt-Saxon* dominions, except *Hampſhire*, which ſeems to have been governed at that time by duke *Cumbran*. This nobleman afforded him a refuge in that province: and adhering firmly to his intereſts, endeavoured to make him ſenſible of the miſtakes of his conduct, by a free repreſentation, as well of the grievances of the nation, as of the conſequences which his illegal, oppreſſive, and cruel meaſures had produced. But pride is neither to be obliged nor adviſed: *Cumbran* had merited as much as a ſubject can do of a king, by the proofs he had given of his ſingular loyalty in a time of general defection; and was abſolutely neceſſary to him in the diſtreſſed ſituation of his affairs; yet notwithſtanding his actual ſervices, and thoſe which might ſtill be expected from him, he was put to death by a worthleſs and ingrateful prince for this remonſtrance, the pure effect of his rare attachment and fidelity. This was one of thoſe crimes which carry their own puniſhment with them: *Sigebert*, forſaken by every body that had as yet followed his fortune, was forced to fly from *Hampſhire* into the wilds of *Andredſwald*, where he lurked for a ſhort time; but being diſcovered by a ſwineherd, who looked after *Cumbran's* hogs, which had paſnage in that foreſt, was killed by him in revenge of his maſter's murder.

Kineulf, poſſeſſed of all the *Weſt-Saxon* territories, employed his arms [3], as his predeceſſors *Ethelhard* and *Cuthred* had done, againſt the *Corniſh Britains*, whom he defeated in ſeveral engagements. He was a warlike and great prince, very ſucceſsful, during the firſt twenty years of his reign, in all his enterprizes: and having, in all that time, no enemy upon his hands but thoſe *Britains*, it is very likely that

[1] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 755. [2] *Ib. A. D.* 754, 755. [3] *Ib. A. D.* 755.

he made himſelf maſter of a great part of *Devon*, to the north of *Dartimore*. The latter part of his reign was leſs fortunate, loſing all his dominions north of the *Thames* (as above related) to *Offa*, and being diſturbed in the enjoyment of the reſt by the *Clito Kynehard*, brother to his predeceſſor *Sigebert*. This prince of the blood was forced to fly into exile: but kept with a ſmall party of followers hovering near the borders of the kingdom, and waiting an opportunity of having his revenge on *Kineulf*; which he found at laſt, by means of an amour the king had with a fair damoſel, who lived at *Merton* in *Surrey*. *Kineulf* going with a few attendants to paſs a night with his miſtreſs, *Kynehard* had notice thereof; and inveſting the houſe with his men, got to the chamber where the king lay, before any of his retinue took the alarm. *Kineulf* running haſtily to his arms, defended the door with great bravery; till ſeeing *Kynehard* among the aſſailants, rage made him forget the precautions neceſſary for his own ſafety: and ſallying out into the midſt of his enemies, he attacked and wounded his adverſary; but fell himſelf, over-powered by numbers. The king's attendants that were in the houſe, hearing the noiſe, ran to the place, with what came next to hand, to defend his perſon, or revenge his death: and finding they were too late for the firſt, fell upon *Kynehard*, who tried in vain, with aſſurances of life and promiſes of rewards, to draw them over to his party. They rejected all his offers with indignation: but being too few to contend with his numbers, they were ſlain every man; except a *Britiſh* hoſtage, who likewiſe was grievouſly wounded. The nobility, that either dwelt in the neighbourhood, or had been left at *Kingſton*, a royal ſeat in that age, hearing in the morning of what had paſſed, mounted on horſeback with their followers, and coming to *Merton*, found the houſe barred and garriſoned by the regicides. *Kynehard* tempted them with promiſes of continuing to them their eſtates, manors, privileges, and honours, if they would put him upon the throne; intimating withal, that he had with him ſeveral of their relations, who were reſolved to run his fortune. Duke *Oſric*, who had probably the government of that country, and the *Thanes* that were with him, replying, that they had no relation ſo dear to them as their lord; and that they would never obey his murderers, did yet offer to let ſuch of them, as would deſert *Kynehard*, depart in ſafety. This being likewiſe refuſed by the aſſaſſins, who declared themſelves determined to defend *Kynehard* to the laſt drop of their blood, they were all ſlain with him; except a youth, who was ſorely wounded, but had his life ſpared, becauſe he was *Oſric's* godſon. Such was the end of *Kineulf*, after a reign of thirty-one years: he was buried at *Wincheſter*, as *Kynehard* was at *Axeminſter*; a circumſtance which ſhews that part of *Devon* to be at this time in the hands of the *Weſt-Saxons*.

Brightric then mounted the throne [1], being deſcended from *Cerdic*, as all his predeceſſors ſince *Ina* were, but not by the eldeſt line, nor ſprung of *Kenric*, *Ceaulin*, and *Cuthwin*; from whom all the reſt of the *Weſt-Saxons* kings, down to *Ina*, derived their deſcent. *Ingild*, brother to this laſt named prince, dying before him, had left a ſon named *Eoppa*; who was probably a minor when *Ina* took the fatal ſtep of reſigning his crown to *Ethelhard*, and had iſſue *Eata*, father to king *Alchmond*. This prince ruled over a territory in the eaſtern extremity of the *Weſt-Saxon* dominions; and dying not long after *Brightric* came to the crown [2], left a ſon named *Egbert*, a young prince of great hopes; who being educated among the nobility of the country, grew extremely popular. He was the only heir left of the royal family: and having, by his deſcent from an elder line, a better right to the crown than *Brightric*, this laſt grew extremely jealous of him; and thought it neceſſary to ſtrengthen himſelf by a marriage [3] with *Eadburga*, daughter to *Offa*,

[1] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 784. [2] *W. Malmſb.* l. i. c. 2. and l. ii. c. 1. [3] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 787.

king of *Mercia*. This alliance did not remove his fears, nor alter the deſigns he had formed againſt *Egbert's* life; though it deprived the young prince of all hopes of refuge in *England*, and forced him to fly to *France* for protection. There he found an aſylum in the court of the wiſeſt and greateſt monarch of the age; a court of virtue, politeneſs, and honour; where under the eye and in the armies of *Charles the great*, he improved himſelf in all points of knowledge: and became maſter of thoſe talents and accompliſhments, which fitted him for empire, and rendered him the greateſt king which *England* had yet produced.

Eadburga had qualities agreeable to her baſe original by the mother's ſide [1], being illegitimate: ſhe was wanton, falſe, inſolent, and cruel; charging continually ſome or other of the nobility to her huſband with feigned crimes, in order to have them put to death; and if ſhe could not make him the tool of her malice, finding means to take them off by poiſon. There was a young nobleman [2], a great favourite of *Brightric*, againſt whom ſhe conceived a violent animoſity, and having no crime to accuſe him of, with any colour or likelihood of ſucceſs, ſhe had recourſe as uſual to the fatal cup: which indeed executed what ſhe propoſed, but deſtroyed alſo her huſband; who chanced to taſte of it, and to whom ſhe deſigned no miſchief. She had made herſelf too odious to ſtay in *England*: and flying to *France*, was there put at firſt into a monaſtery, but being expelled thence for her incontinency, lived in a very indigent way, and died miſerably. *Egbert* [3] was, upon *Brightric's* death, ſent for by the nobility to take the crown of the *Weſt-Saxons*: but did not arrive time enough to prevent all the inconveniencies of an *interregnum*; there being, on the very day of his arrival, a battle fought at *Kemesford*, on the *Gloceſterſhire* ſide of the *Thames*, on the borders of *Wilts*, between the governors of thoſe two counties; in which both the Generals were ſlain, and the *Wiltſhire* men had the victory.

[1] *Brompton*, p. 749, 750. *Aſſer. Menev. De geſtis Alfredi.* [2] *M. Weſtm.* [3] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 800.

A GENE-

A GENERAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK IV.

Containing an Account of the Affairs of ENGLAND, from the Reign of *Egbert* to the *Norman* Conqueſt.

Egbert reduceth all the kingdoms of the *Saxons*.

I. EGBERT, having got poſſeſſion of the throne of his anceſtors, lived in peace with his *Saxon* neighbours; but employed his military ſkill to enlarge his territories at the expence of the *Corniſh Britains*, with whom he had frequent engagements, and in a few years reduced *Exeter* [1], with all the county of *Devon*. In the year 823, he invaded *Cornwall*, and advancing into the country as far as *Camelford*, routed the *Britains* in a bloody battle; memorials whereof are found at this day in the [2] horſe harneſs of braſs, and the pieces of armour, which are turned up in the fields about that town by huſbandmen as they are ploughing. This ſeries of ſucceſs raiſed the envy or jealouſy of *Bernulf* king of *Mercia*; who fearing perhaps that *Egbert* might grow too powerful, and ſeeing him engaged in a war at the fartheſt weſtern part of his dominions, ſeized an opportunity that appeared favourable for invading the eaſtern part of the *Weſt-Saxon* territories, bordering upon *Mercia*. This invaſion prevented *Egbert's* improving his victory in *Cornwall*, and obliged him to march back in all haſte to oppoſe the *Mercian*. The two armies met at *Ellandun*, now *Wilton:* and *Egbert* gaining a compleat victory, made a terrible ſlaughter of the enemy; who being at a conſiderable diſtance from their own country, had no place of ſtrength to favour their retreat.

[1] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 813, 823. [2] *Camden in Cornwall.*

EGBERT.

THIS was a great blow to the *Mercian* kingdom, and *Egbert* reſolved to take vengeance on a faithleſs enemy; who had, without any provocation, and in a time of ſettled peace, invaded his territories. He ſaw now a fair opportunity offered him, not only of recovering the provinces wreſted by *Offa* forty eight years before from the *Weſt-Saxons* during the uſurpation of *Kineulf*, but of entirely breaking the *Mercian* power, which was the only conſiderable obſtacle to his reducing all the parts of the *Saxon* heptarchy under his own dominion. The old line of their kings being extinct; *Mercia* was torn in pieces by factions of the nobility, prevailing over one another by turns, and the ſtrongeſt of them placing a prince upon an unquiet throne: which he held very precariouſly, when there was no principle flowing from right to make the ſubject obey out of conſcience, and the meaſures he was forced to take for cruſhing the party which had oppoſed his ſucceſſion, neceſſarily perpetuated diſcontents and kept up a ſpirit of ſedition. A kingdom, however great in its natural ſtrength, cannot long ſtand, when divided againſt itſelf: it may expire perhaps with ſtronger convulſions than a weaker; but its ruin is unavoidable, unleſs ſome remedy be found to remove the original cauſe of its diviſions. None ſuch appeared in the caſe of the *Mercian* kingdom; the chief power of which, in its divided ſituation, did not conſiſt ſo much in the reality, as in the opinion, of its ſtrength; entertained in conſequence of the great figure made by *Offa* and his predeceſſors. It now ſubſiſted only in virtue of its former reputation, and for want of being attacked at home; which alone would betray its weakneſs: whilſt it made a ſhift to keep up an exterior ſhew of power by foreign wars againſt the *Welſh*, diſabled by their own inteſtine broils from making any conſiderable oppoſition. The chief advantages enjoyed by the kings of *Mercia*, were derived from their tributary provinces; which not embarking in the quarrels for the crown, followed the fate of the diſpute: and ſubmitting always to the prince reigning, paid him their uſual tribute, and ſupplied him with auxiliary forces upon all occaſions. But this power was likewiſe precarious, as well becauſe of the horrible oppreſſions which thoſe provinces ſuffered under the *Mercian* government, as becauſe the people had either no opinion of the dependant kings put over them by their oppreſſors; or if they had no king, which was the caſe of the *Eaſt-Angles*, they bore a mortal hatred to the *Mercians*, for extinguiſhing the race of their lawful princes. Thus ready to embrace any opportunity of throwing off the *Mercian* yoke, they were charmed with the character of *Egbert*; the wiſdom and lenity of whoſe adminiſtration rendering all his own ſubjects happy, inſpired into them a deſire of coming likewiſe under his government.

IN theſe circumſtances *Egbert* thought it proper to ſuſpend his operations againſt the *Corniſh Britains*, who were not to be ſubdued without being in a manner exterminated; and to turn his arms againſt the *Mercians* and other *Saxons*, from whom he might reaſonably expect a readier ſubmiſſion. Whilſt he fell upon *Oxfordſhire*[1] and the adjoining county of *Glouceſter*, which had been formerly part of the *Weſt-Saxon* territories, and were now eaſily recovered, he ſent his ſon *Ethelwolf* with biſhop *Ealhſtan* and *Wulfheard*, a general in whom he much confided, with an army to reduce *Kent*; which they ſoon did, forcing king *Baldred*, the *Mercian* deputy, to fly the country[2]. The *Eaſt-Saxons*, and the part of *Surrey* belonging either to their or the *Mercian* kingdom, ſubmitted as readily; ſo eaſily are conqueſts made over a people diſcontented with their government. The *Eaſt-Angles* lying at a greater diſtance, ſent embaſſadors to offer their ſubmiſſion, and to deſire *Egbert's* protection and aſſiſtance againſt the

[1] *Paroch. Ant.* p. 33. [2] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 823.

EGBERT. *Mercians*; who were now attacked on all ſides, and deprived of thoſe auxiliaries, which uſed to make a great part of the force of their armies. What weakened them exceedingly, was in the ſame degree an acceſſion of ſtrength to *Egbert*; who in the quarter of *Mercia*, which he invaded, puſhed on his conqueſts with little oppoſition: whilſt *Bernulf* drew off the beſt of his forces to oppoſe the *Eaſt-Angles*; imagining that as they lay at too great a diſtance from *Egbert* to be ſpeedily reinforced by his ſuccours, he could more eaſily quell a ſudden inſurrection among them, than make head againſt a great king, who perfectly underſtood the art of war, at the head of a veteran army uſed to victory. But he ſoon found his miſtake: the *Mercians* were now to atone, by their own ruin, for their murder of *Ethelbert*, and their ſeizing of his kingdom; and the *Eaſt-Angles* were deſigned by providence to be the principal inſtrument of their deſtruction. They had four years before defeated and ſlain his predeceſſor *Kenulf* in battle; *Bernulf* had now in his turn the ſame fate; and his ſucceſſor *Ludecan* was two years after killed likewiſe by the ſame people, with a great ſlaughter of his men, and of five of his chief nobility, governors of provinces. Such were the conſequences of the perfidy of *Offa*, and the heavy oppreſſions of the *Mercian* government.

EGBERT was all this while making his advantage of theſe diſaſters, and of the troubles, which, as the royal line was extinct, the election of new kings neceſſarily occaſioned among the *Mercians*; and ſubduing one province after another, till in the ſpace of four years he had reduced all *Mercia*[1] as far as the *Humber*. *Wiglef*, who had mounted the throne upon the death of *Ludecan*, was now reduced to the condition of a private man, if not of an exile: but after he had been hid four months in his couſin *Etheldrida's* cell at *Croyland*,[2] *Egbert* either pitying his misfortunes, or thinking fit for a time to humour a people, eaſily impoſed on by forms, and apt to miſtake them for realities, with ſome ſhew of their ancient conſtitution, and to indulge the haughty *Mercians* with the appearance of a king of their own, did in the year following reſtore him his title; giving him the government of the greateſt part of the *Mercian* territories, which from that time he held as a tributary and vaſſal. *Egbert*, having thus provided for the quiet of *Mercia*, was at liberty to extend his conqueſts on the ſide of the *Welſh Britains* and *Northumbrians*; neither of which nations were in a condition to make much reſiſtance. The latter had, for a century paſt, been involved in civil wars and continual diſputes for the crown, and the country had been all that time a miſerable ſcene of uſurpation, blood, and confuſion; ſo that as ſoon as *Egbert* had paſſed the *Humber* and advanced with his army to *Dore* in *Yorkſhire*, the *Northumbrians* met him and ſubmitted to be his ſubjects. Thus were all the provinces of the heptarchy united at laſt, in *A. D.* 823, under one monarch, and formed, what was afterwards ſtyled the kingdom of *England*.

OFFA's ditch had hitherto been the boundary between *Wales* and the *Saxon* dominions: and the *Welſh* had bravely maintained their country againſt all the invaſions of the *Mercians*; but their own diviſions rendered them unable to cope with *Egbert*. Their late king *Conan Tindaethwy*, prince of *Guyneth* and ſovereign of the reſt of *Wales*, had been all his reign engaged in war with his younger brother *Howell*[3], who claimed *Angleſey*, as his ſhare of their father's inheritance, according to the cuſtom of *Gavelkind*; which affording continual occaſions of unnatural quarrels between brethren, proved the ruin of the great families and the ancient nobility of *Wales*. He had juſt before his death got the better of *Howell*

[1] *Ib. A. D.* 827. [2] *Ingulf.* [3] *Powel's Hiſt. of Wales*, p. 21, &c.

and

and driven him out of *Angleſey*: but did not live long enough after that ſucceſs to eſtabliſh his own authority over the great lords, among whom the country was cantoned; and who having been long without any ſettled government, ruled their reſpective vaſſals and territories like ſo many independant princes. *Conan* leaving only a daughter, named *Eſylth*, and married to *Mervyn Vrych*, a nobleman of an ancient family but no great power, theſe princes had very little influence over their vaſſals; when in the beginning of their reign *Egbert* invading *Wales*, over-ran all the country as far as *Snowdon*, and took poſſeſſion of the hundred of *Rhyvonioc* in *Denbighſhire*. *Egbert*, victorious in all places, and ruling without a rival or diſturbance over all the *Engliſh*, ſeemed to have nothing more to do, but to enjoy the pleaſure of his conqueſts: when the quiet of his reign was interrupted by the deſcents and depredations of a new enemy from abroad, whoſe forces were compoſed of *Danes* and other northern people. EGBERT.

When *Charles the great* had, after thirty years war, and decimating the people for their frequent inſurrections, entirely ſubdued the *old Saxons* in *Germany*, the braveſt of the nation, who would not ſubmit to the yoke of ſervitude, were forced to quit the country; and retired to the peninſula of *Jutland* and the neighbouring parts of *Scandinavia*. The inhabitants of thoſe countries, which abounded with naval ſtores of all kinds, had long exerciſed themſelves in piracy: it was an honourable profeſſion among a people, who made rapine and arms their ſole glory; their kings did not think it below their dignity, and ſuch as had a chief command in any of their fleets or ſhips thought themſelves great enough to aſſume the ſame title. This additional colony coming into a country already well ſtocked with inhabitants, crouded it too much: and having habituated themſelves for a while to a ſea-faring life and to naval affairs, thought it time to look out for another ſettlement, in a more fruitful ſoil and a better climate. Many chieftains of clans in *Denmark* and *Norway* entered into the ſame view; and all theſe joining together, fitted out navies: by the benefit whereof they landed in what maritime countries they pleaſed, but more frequently in the *French* territories, than in any other; being particularly incenſed againſt that nation, where they paſſed under the general name of *Normans*. They were known in *England* by that of *Danes*, at leaſt after ſome *Daniſh* kings had appeared at their head; for before they ſeem only to have been termed in general, *Pagans*. The firſt time they were ſeen in this iſland, was in *A. D.*[1] 787, when they came to deſcry the country, and killed one of the king's officers, who would have obliged them to come before the governor of the county, to give an account of themſelves and their deſigns. Six years after, they landed and committed ſome depredations on the coaſts of *Northumberland*; but made no attempt afterwards till the thirty-ſecond year of *Egbert*[2], when they waſted the *Iſle of Shepey*, and retired before they were attacked. In the year following, they returned with a fleet of thirty-five ſhips, landing at *Charmouth* in *Dorſetſhire*, where *Egbert* fought them. But though he killed great numbers of them, he could neither prevent their encampment, nor hinder their retreat. In two years more[3], they came again with a great naval armament, and landing in *Cornewall*, were joined by the *Britains*: but as they advanced towards the borders of *Devon*, in order to enter the *Engliſh* territories, *Egbert* met them at *Hengſdown-hill*, near *Kellington*; and routing their united forces, cut almoſt the whole body to pieces. This great prince[4] dying the year following (or rather in *A. D.* 838, ſince he was preſent at the council of *Kingſton* held this year) was ſucceeded by his ſon *Ethelwolf*; who putting the conquered kingdoms of *Kent*, the *Eaſt* and *South-Saxons*, under his

[1] *Chr. Sax.* 787, &c. [2] *Ib. A. D.* 832, 833. [3] *Ib. A. D.* 835, 836. [4] *Concil. M. Brit.* t. i. p. 179.

Ethelwolf eldeſt ſon *Athelſtan* [1], kept the reſt of his father's dominions, with the ſovereignty of the whole, to himſelf.

Ethelwolf's wars; and journey to Rome.

II. This prince, leſs active and warlike than his father, was not very fit to ſtruggle with difficulties, and conduct the affairs of a kingdom attacked in every quarter by the *Danes*; who left no part of the coaſt of *England* uninſulted, from the north of *Lincolnſhire* to the weſtern extremity of *Devon*. He had the misfortune, in the beginning of his reign [2], to loſe *Wulfheard*, the ableſt of his Generals; whoſe death happened ſoon after a great victory he had gained over a numerous body of thoſe pirates, who had landed in his government of *Hampſhire*. Not a year paſſed without ſeveral engagements in one country or other; the *Danes* ſtill re-imbarking when they found oppoſition in any place, and landing in ſome other; where they expected to find leſs force, or the country leſs prepared for reſiſtance. Theſe battles were generally fought on the *Engliſh* ſide by the forces of each ſingle county; for though the whole nation was kept in a continual alarm, the *Danes* fell ſo ſuddenly upon the particular quarter they propoſed to ravage, and made ſuch terrible havock there, that the inhabitants had not patience to wait the coming up of freſh ſupplies. It would be too tedious to ſpecify the ſeveral actions that paſſed; eſpecially ſince the enemy did not appear to have any view but of plunder, till *A. D.* 851 [3], when they came with ſuch numerous fleets, as ſeemed plainly deſigned to make a ſettlement. The event did not anſwer their expectations: one party of them was routed by the governor of *Devonſhire*; another of their armies was defeated at *Sandwich* by king *Athelſtan*, and *Alcher* governor of *Kent*, and nine of their ſhips taken; a third, ſtronger than the others (being [4] carried in a fleet of three hundred and fifty ſail up the *Thames*) routed *Bertulf*, king of *Mercia*, and paſſing into *Surrey*, was cut in pieces by *Ethelwolf* and his ſon *Ethelbald*, at *Okeley*, with ſuch a ſlaughter of the *Danes*, as was never heard of before; and yet after all they took up their winter quarters in the *Iſle of Thanet*. An attempt was made two years after, by the *Kentiſh* and *Surrey* forces united, to diſlodge them thence; but though they ſeemed to have the better at firſt, they failed of their point; both their governors been ſlain in the battle, and the *Danes* advancing further to winter the next year in *Sheppey*. In the midſt of theſe alarms and invaſions, *Ethelwolf* quitted the [5] realm, and went to *Rome*; either in conſequence of ſome vow, or fit of voluntary devotion, or perhaps enjoined to do ſo by way of penance; a practice, which however inconvenient, was ſo uſual in thoſe days, that this prince imagined all his bounty to the churches, clergy, and people of *Rome*, ſufficiently recompenſed by a privilege he procured, that no *Engliſhman* ſhould be ſent out of his own country to do penance. *Anaſtatius Bibliothecarius*, who was there at the time, and an eye-witneſs of what he relates, extols the richneſs and value of the preſents which he made to the nobility, clergy, and people of that place, and ſpecifies many of them; beſides that benefaction, which is mentioned by all our hiſtorians, of three hundred mancuſes a year [6], one third to the lamps of St. *Peter*, another to thoſe of St. *Paul*, and the other to the pontiff himſelf, and his ſucceſſors. This grant hath been often confounded with that of *Peter-pence*; but was really a new and a different benefaction [7]: it ſeems to have been occaſioned by the diſtreſs in which the ſee of *Rome* appeared to be at that time; when the *Sarazens* were continually making deſcents in *Italy*. The *Engliſh* ſchool in that city had been lately burnt, and was now rebuilt by *Ethelwolf*, who had brought with him *Alfred*, the youngeſt of his ſons, and a favourite above all the reſt, perhaps to encourage the diſpoſition he had

[1] *Aſſer. Vita Alfredi.* [2] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 837. [3] *Ib. A. D.* 851. [4] *Aſſer. De geſtis Alfredi.*
[5] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 854. [6] *Aſſer. De geſtis Alfredi.* [7] *Anglia Sacr.* 202.

ſhewed

shewed to learning, or to receive the papal benediction. The young prince was but five years old, when he began the journey; but as he staid at this time a full year in *Rome*, it is very probable that he now received *confirmation* from the Pope; parents being by the old canons[1] enjoined to have their children confirmed by the seventh year of their age, under pain of excommunication. *Alfred* is said to have made two other voyages to *Rome*; one, the year before this of his father's; the other, the year after his return; which, as historians assign no particular cause for either, were probably owing to *Ethelwolf's* turn of devotion, and particular veneration of some places and relicks in that city. Unction was a ceremony used in the consecration of kings, as well as in the confirmation of children: and this hath occasioned a diversity of sentiments with regard to the unction that *Alfred* there received. Our old historians in general, think he was anointed by the Pope, to be either a king in futurity, or else to be actually so of the *South-Saxons*, and the people of *South-Wales*[2], whose countries were intended for his share of *Ethelwolf's* dominions. Some moderns imagine, that as old people are naturally fond of children, the Pope might make the father some compliment on the promising aspect and good dispositions of the son, and express his hopes or expectation, that he would be one day a great king; but they cannot conceive, that he anointed him as such, whilst his elder brothers were living: they might have added, because *Ethelwolf* himself never was anointed. Ethelwolf

III. NOTWITHSTANDING the reasons that have induced many to suppose, that the unction which *Alfred* received at *Rome* was only what is used in the rite of confirmation; yet there is no resisting the testimony of *Asserius*; who says expressly, that it was a *royal unction*, and is supported in this opinion, which, in all appearance, he derived from *Alfrid* himself, by the concurring sentiments of all our ancient historians. It is likewise universally agreed, that he was the first king of *England* inaugurated or designed to the royal dignity by that rite; which was after his time, and in consequence of his example, constantly observed at the coronation of all succeeding princes. To clear up this point, it may however be proper to enquire, as well into the original of this rite of unction, very ancient indeed among the *Jews* in the like cases, but not used in the coronation of *Christian* kings, till several ages after the Empire became *Christian*; as into the practice of the age wherein *Alfred* lived, in that respect. Now it is very plain from all the *Greek* historians, that the ceremony of proclaiming and inaugurating an Emperor was only by mounting him on a large shield, supported by some of the principal nobility and officers of the army, so as he might be seen by the people and soldiery; and whilst thus standing on high, the crown was put on his head by the first person of quality in the empire, or by him who had contributed most to his elevation. The history of *Julian's*[3] usurpation affords a remarkable testimony of the use of this rite, when he assumed the imperial title: and it was continued after the unction Of the unction of kings.

[1] *Concil. in Brit.* t. i. p. 576.

[2] It appears very clearly from *Asser* and other historians, that *Alfrid* never had possession of *Sussex*, till after the death of all his brothers. *Egbert* indeed had reduced the little princes or toparchs of *South-Wales* to the condition of [a] tributaries, and had perhaps annexed some part of that country to his own dominions, to serve, as new conquests generally did, for a provision to a younger branch of the royal family. Agreeable to this notion, we may observe that neither *Ethelwolf*, nor any of his sons, ever made any inroad into those *southern* parts; though *Ethelwolf* joined with *Burrhed*[b] in an expedition into *North-Wales*, and forced the inhabitants to a submission. It is very likely that the people of *South-Wales* continued quiet in their condition of vassals; and were, at least part of them, subject to *Alfred*; because *Asser* observes, that he had a body of *Welsh* serving in his armies; and the compromise, mentioned in his testament to have been made with his elder brother *Ethered* on this last accession, shews he had a body of subjects under his command.

[3] *Zosim.* l. iii.

[a] *Malmsb.* l. ii. c. 1. *M. West. A. D.* 810, 811, 830.

[b] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 853.

Ethelwolf

was introduced, as previous to it, according to *Cantacuzenus*[1]. When a living Emperor designed, appointed, or associated his successor, he did it by putting a crown on his head. If the father of the new Emperor was living, when this last was to be crowned, as he was deemed the most honourable person in the empire, it was his province to put on the imperial diadem. In some instances the son did it, for *Leo* the younger crowned his father *Zeno*: but in case there was no person so nearly related to the Emperor, that office, from the time of *Theodosius the younger*, devolved upon the patriarch of *Constantinople*; who, upon the erection of that patriarchate, was deemed the next person of dignity in the eastern empire. It was considered purely as a matter of state: and the solemnity was performed either in the cirque, as in the cases of *Zeno* and *Anastatius*, or within the palace, where *Justin* and *Justinian* were crowned. There is in *Corippus* a particular description of the inauguration of *Justinus the younger*, who succeeded the famous *Justinian* in *A. D.* 565: in which the new Emperor being hoisted on a shield, was, as he stood upon it, solemnly crowned by the patriarch *John*, who accompanied the act with his wishes of a happy reign, amidst the shouts and tumultuous acclamations of an infinite number of spectators. There was hitherto no form of divine service suited to the occasion, no coronation office as yet compiled; nor was the custom of anointing at that time introduced: the like ceremony being all that was practised either in the inauguration of *Tiberius*, or of his successor *Mauritius*. When the former of these princes drew near his end, he got out of his bed to put the imperial diadem on the head of the latter; and in the tribunal by his bed-side, invested him with the purple robe, in the presence of the patriarch and before the people, who made the ordinary acclamations: and[2] these, the historian observes, were the usual and legal ceremonies observed at the creation of an Emperor. *Mauritius* and his whole family were, about *A. D.* 602, barbarously murdered, with all the shocking circumstances of cruelty, designed to shake the constancy and aggravate the anguish of that deposed prince, by *Phocas*, a centurion; who putting himself at the head of the mutinous soldiery, had usurped the empire, and been proclaimed as usual, mounted on a shield, by the army on the banks of the *Ister*[3]. Rebellion, usurpation, and murder, are crimes that require extraordinary measures, to palliate them in the eyes of the people, and to procure some veneration to the person who hath been guilty thereof. It was, in all appearance, for this reason, that *Phocas* seems to have been desirous of a new coronation; and, to interest religion in a cause of detestable iniquity, would have it done with certain religious ceremonies never practised before on such an occasion; but which he conceived proper to affect the people with a sacred awe of his character, and make them look upon him with the same veneration, as the *Jews* did of old upon the *Lord's anointed*.

For this purpose he summoned the senate to *Hebdomon*, a place seven miles from *Constantinople*: and communicated his resolution to them and to the patriarch *Cyriacus*, who was to perform the ceremony. It was the first time it had ever been performed in a religious place, and the church of *St. John Baptist* being pitched on for that purpose; in order to render the action itself agreeable to the place, it was necessary to have a form of divine service adapted to the occasion. This form appears evidently to have been taken from the offices used in the ordination of bishops and priests, the same order being observed in them all; the same proclamation of his being *worthy* and *sacred*; the same prayers, habits, and ceremonies used, with only such small variations, as the difference of their respective stations and characters necessarily required. It is on this occasion, that we first find mention made of the *Ambo*, otherwise called (in the *liber regalis*, kept by the dean and chapter of *West-*

[1] L. i. c. 42. *in Chronographia.*

[2] *Theophyl. Histor. Mauritii*, l. i. c. 1.

[3] *Ib.* l. viii. c. 7. *Theophanes*

minſter, and containing the ceremonies of *Engliſh* coronations) the *pulpitum*, being a kind of ſtage or ſcaffold, raiſed ſo as to be aſcended by ſeveral ſteps, that all the rites may be ſeen by ſpectators, and in that reſpect anſwering the ends of the elevation on a ſhield; which fell of courſe into diſuſe, when a coronation ſervice was introduced. It was afterwards fixed, and continually ſubſiſting in the great church of *St. Sophia* in *Conſtantinople*, though in *England* it is only erected on particular occaſions, and taken away when the coronation is over. ETHELWOLF

Such was the occaſion upon which the unction was firſt uſed in coronations: and being one of the principal parts of the form of divine ſervice drawn up for (what is properly ſtyled) the *conſecration* of kings, it came to be conſtantly practiſed, not only in the inauguration of the *eaſtern* Emperors, but alſo of the *weſtern* and other *European* monarchs. Thoſe who have the leaſt of real religion, either in their conduct or ſentiments, find often political reaſons to make the loudeſt pretenſions to it, the better to gull and amuſe the unthinking world, too apt to judge of men by their profeſſions, rather than their actions. How far the parade of religious ceremonies, prayers, and particularly the unction, ſo agreeable to what were uſed in the conſecration of perſons to ſacerdotal dignities, which the people had always looked upon with the higheſt veneration, anſwered the uſurper *Phocas's* purpoſe, may be gueſſed from the notions induſtriouſly propagated in that age by divines, and in all probability generally entertained by others. Mr. *Selden*[1] quotes *Balſamon* on the *Ancyran* council, for a declaration of *Polyeuctus*, patriarch of *Conſtantinople*; who made no doubt but *John Tzimiſces*, who afterwards uſurped the *Greek* empire, *was cleared before heaven of the death of* Phocas, *by his being anointed Emperor*. Such extravagant effects were even in thoſe days, by perſons influenced in all appearance by political views, aſcribed to ſome exterior rites of religion.

It is upon this rite of unction, uſed in the coronation of our kings, that our common lawyers have[2] founded their notion of a king's being a *perſona mixta*, as if he was half a ſpiritual and half a temporal perſon; though the ſame might be as well ſaid of every *Chriſtian* baptized or confirmed according to the *Roman* ritual, which preſcribes unction in thoſe offices. It is upon this precarious footing, that ſome of them have injudiciouſly put the juriſdiction of the crown in eccleſiaſtical matters; though it be an incident to royalty, and inherently veſted in all ſovereigns, who have not made a ceſſion of their prerogative in that reſpect. It is to this unction likewiſe, Sir *John Forteſcue*[3] and others aſcribe the gift of healing the ſcrophulous humour called the *king's evil*, exerciſed by ſome *European* princes, anointed at their coronations, and ſucceeding lineally to their crowns by proximity of blood, hath been generally attributed. But whatever is to be ſaid in favour of its being appropriated to the eldeſt deſcendant of the firſt branch of the royal line of the kings of *France*, *England*, *&c.* I have myſelf ſeen a very remarkable inſtance of ſuch a cure[4], which could not poſſibly be aſcribed to the regal unction.

[1] *Titles of honour*, part i. c. 8. *Supplem. ad Balſam.* p. 1125. *edit. Paris. Fileſac. De idololat. politic.* c. 9. p. 73.

[2] *Year book* x. H. vii. 18. a.

[3] *Defence of the title of the houſe of Lancaſter*, *Pat. Bleſenſ.*

[4] One *Chriſtopher Lovel*, born at *Wells* in *Somerſetſhire*, but when he grew up, reſiding in the city of *Briſtol*, where he got his living by labour, was extremely afflicted for many years with that diſtemper, and ſuch a flow of the ſcrophulous humour, that though it found a vent by five running ſores about his breaſt, neck, and arms, there was ſuch a tumour on one ſide of his neck, as left no hollow between his cheek and the upper part of his left ſhoulder, and forced him to keep his head always awry. The young man was reduced, by the virulence of the humour, to the loweſt ſtate of weakneſs; appeared a miſerable object in the eyes of all the inhabitants of that populous city; and having for many years tried all the remedies which the art of phyſick could adminiſter, without receiving any benefit, reſolved at laſt to go abroad to be touched. He had an uncle in the place; who was an old ſeaman, and carried him from *Briſtol*, at the end of *Auguſt*, *A. D.* 1716, along with him to *Corke* in *Ireland*; where he put him on board a ſhip that was bound to *St. Martins* in the *Iſle of Ré*. From thence *Chriſtopher* made his way firſt to *Paris*, and then to the place where he was touched, in the beginning of *November* following, by the eldeſt lineal deſcendant of a race of kings, who had in-

The

Ethelwolf

The rite of unction, and a form of divine service at the coronation of kings, had been used near an hundred and fifty years in the *eastern* empire, before either of them were adopted in any part of the *west* of *Europe* for the inauguration of monarchs; except in *Spain*, where we find[1] *Wamba* was anointed in *A. D.* 673, by *Quirigo*, archbishop of *Toledo*; and the same rite being used at the coronation of his successor *Ervigius*, was probably continued for a few years, till the *Gothic* empire in that country was destroyed by the *Moors*; after which it was never revived in *Castille*. In *France*, about *A. D.* 751, *Pepin, maire of the palace*, having all the power of the kingdom in his hands, and resolving to depose his master *Chilperic*, the last monarch of the *Merovingian* line, thought it politic to be crowned in the eastern manner, with a form of divine service, and the rite of *unction*[2], so necessary to hallow his usurpation. *Boniface*, archbishop of *Mayence*, a prelate highly reverenced by the people for the exemplariness of his life, and his zeal in propagating the *Christian* religion, but ever ready to serve at any rate the ambitious views of popes and princes, was pitched upon as the fittest person to perform the office at *Soissons*, and to add, by the reputation of his sanctity, to the veneration which those religious solemnities would ordinarily inspire: and for the same reason, the rite was repeated three years after by Pope *Stephen* III. at *St. Denis*[3]. It was probably on this occasion, that the legend of the *Ampull*, and the holy oil of *Reims*, pretended to be sent to *St. Remi*, and used in the coronation of *Clovis* (who yet was only hoisted on a shield at his inauguration, and never was anointed, except at his baptism) was first invented, in order to be made use of at *Pepin's* consecration, and strike the people with a relation, easily swallowed in those days, of such a signal mark of divine favour. To such wretched shifts are the invaders of others thrones put, to gloss over the iniquity of their usurpation; and by imposing on the credulity of their subjects, to procure from them a veneration, which being

deed, for a long succession of ages, cured that distemper by the royal touch: but this descendant and next heir of their blood had not, at least at that time, been either crowned or *anointed*. The usual effect however followed: from the moment that the man was touched and invested with the narrow ruband, to which a small piece of silver was pendant, according to the rites prescribed in the office appointed by the church for that solemnity, the humour dispersed insensibly, his sores healed up, and he recovered strength daily, till he arrived in perfect health, in the beginning of *January* following, at *Bristol*, having spent only four months and some few days in his voyage. There it was, and in the week preceding *St. Paul's fair*, that I saw the man, in his recovered vigour of body, without any remains of his complaint, but what were to be seen in the red scars then left upon the five places, where the sharp humour had found a vent, but which were otherwise entirely healed, and as sound as any other part of his body. Dr. *Lane*, an eminent physician in the place, whom I visited on my arrival, told me of this cure, as the most wonderful thing that had ever happened: and pressed me as well to see the man upon whom it was performed, as to talk about his case with Mr. *Samuel Pye*, a very skilful surgeon, and I believe still living in that city; who had tried in vain, for three years together, to cure the man by physical remedies. I had an opportunity of doing both: and Mr. *Pye*, after dining together, carrying me to the man, I examined and informed myself fully of all particulars, relating as well to his illness as his cure: and found upon the whole, that if it is not to be deemed miraculous, it at least deserved the character, given of it by Dr. *Lane*, of being one of the most wonderful events that has ever happened. There are abundance of instances of the cure of the *king's evil*, by the touch of our *English* princes in former times, mentioned by *Tucker* in his book on that subject: and it is observable, that the author was himself an infidel on that head, till convinced of his mistake by the late learned Mr. *Anstis*, garter king of arms, who furnished him with those proofs out of the *English* records, which attest the facts, and are printed in that treatise. But I am apt to think, there never was an instance, in which the distemper had prevailed to an higher degree, or the surprizing cure of it was known to such infinite multitudes of people, as in the case of *Christopher Lovel*. Dr. *Plot*, in his *Natural history of Oxfordshire*, c. 127, says, "that a piece of gold "of *Edward the confessor*, with two small holes "through it, like the pieces given after the touch "to be hung about the neck, were found in *St.* "*Gile's Field*, in the suburbs of *Oxford*."

[1] *Selden's Titles of honours*, p. 1. c. 3.

[2] *Pepin* fut le premier de nos soverains, qui ajouta à son installation la ceremonie de son *Sacre*, pour adoucir aux yeux du peuple, ce qu'une entreprise aussi violente pouvoit avoir d'injuste et d'odieux: peutêtre même pour rendre sa personne plus respectable par ces ceremonies religieuses, et la mettre à couvert, sous le manteau de la religion, des attentats auxquels sont exposez la plupart des usurpateurs. *Origine de la Grandeur de la Cour de Rome*, par l'Abbé Vertot, p. 27.

[3] *P. Daniel Hist. de France*, *A. D.* 751, 754

due

due only to rightful princes, would otherwiſe ſcarce be paid to an ill acquired dignity. Ethelwolf

This rite was firſt introduced into *England* upon a like uſurpation after the death of *Ethelred*, king of the *Northumbrians*; who was ſlain in an inſurrection of his ſubjects on *April* 16, *A. D.* 796. *Eardulf*, mounting the throne without any pretenſions of hereditary right, thought it politick to follow *Pepin's* example: and was on [1] *May* 26. following, anointed king at *York* by archbiſhop *Eanbald*, aſſiſted by *Ethelbert*, *Highbald*, and *Badewulf*, biſhops of *Hexam*, *Landiſfarne* and *Whitherne*. It doth not appear that this precedent was followed by any other *Saxon* prince during the heptarchy; for writers in after-ages, being too apt to employ terms, uſed in their own days, and relative to modern practice, when treating of tranſactions much more ancient, though ſome of them ſpeak of *Egferth* the ſon of *Offa* as anointed king in his father's life-time [2], they ſeem to mean no more, than that this prince, was in a General council of the *Mercian* nobility, deſigned or declared by *Offa* to be his ſucceſſor, and received their aſſurances of fidelity. Rightful kings are not fond of following the example of uſurpers [3], without an evident neceſſity: nor was the rite of unction uſed in the inauguration of any of our *Engliſh* princes, till *Alfred* received it at *Rome*, where the Emperor *Charles the Great* had been about fifty four years before anointed with great ſolemnity. It was afterwards conſtantly uſed in *England*: upon *Ethelwolf's* return thither, *Edmund* was conſecrated king with that rite by *Humbert* [4] biſhop of *Helmham*, at *Bures* upon the river *Stoure*, which parts *Suffolk* and *Eſſex*; ſo was *Alfred* [5] himſelf at *Wincheſter*, after *Ethered's* death, when he mounted the throne of the *Weſt-Saxons*; and according to the agreeing teſtimony of our hiſtorians, all the ſucceeding monarchs of *England* were anointed in the ſame manner. The great reputation of *Charlemagne* recommended his example to the imitation of all the princes of *Europe*: and as that emperor had, in a voyage he made to *Italy* in *A. D.* 780 [6], taken his two younger ſons, *Pepin* and *Charles*, along with him, the former three years, the latter but two years old, and got them anointed kings by the Pope, the one of *Lombardie*, the other of *Aquitaine* on *April* 15. following, when he was keeping the feaſt of *Eaſter* at *Rome*, this precedent ſeems to have engaged *Ethelwolf* to take the like ſtep in regard to *Alfred*.

IV. Another effect of *Ethelwolf's* devotion, and perhaps of his people's, was the famous grant made to the clergy of *England* in a general council of the kings, prelates, and nobility of *Mercia*, and the *Eaſt-Angles*, as well as of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and other countries immediately ſubject to this king; all writers agreeing, that it was made in order to avert the divine judgments which they felt in the ravages of the *Danes*, and to atone for the ſins of the nation. It is generally ſuppoſed, that the tythes of all the hydes and lands in *Ethelwolf's* demeſnes or kingdom were, by this grant, veſted in the clergy; the tenth part of the lands (as Mr. *Selden* [7] maintains) denoting the tenth part of all the profits growing thereon: but it is very certain, that what is uſually underſtood by the word tythes, had been enjoyed long before by the *Engliſh* clergy, and in all appearance from the very time that each *Saxon* nation embraced the *Chriſtian* religion. It hath been already obſerved, that when the *Saxons*, become *Chriſtians*, ſubdued any part of the territories of the *Britains*, their kings gave to their own clergy ſuch The king's grants to the clergy.

[1] *Sim. Dun. De geſt. reg. Aan.* 796. *Chr. Sax.* [2] *Malmeſ.* l. ii. c. 4. [3] *Ailred Rieval Vit. E. Conf.* [4] *Aſſer. Menev.* [5] *Chron. de regib. Ang. MS. Com. Arundel.* [6] *Eginhurt Annal. Berlin.* [7] *Hiſt. of Tythes*, c. 8.

Ethelwolf possessions had belonged to the *British*: and it may reasonably be presumed, that they took the same method in their own country, when Paganism was abolished; and assigned them likewise possessions, revenues, and rights which had belonged to the heathen priests, for the maintenance of their families, and the exercise of a religion much more expensive in its sacrifices, than the *Christian*. The apostolical precept directing in general, that such as preached the gospel, should live by the gospel, was supposed, in a religion of greater perfection than the *Jewish*, to convey an obligation of offering to God, and contributing, at least in the same proportion as the *Jews* did, to the maintenance and support of the clergy. Hence in all the canons of the church [1] and laws of the *Saxon* kings, antecedent to this grant, for inforcing or regulating the payment of tythes, their ordinances are still supported by passages quoted from the *Jewish* law, and requiring tythes to be paid by all persons, not only out of the fruits of their land and gardens, but out of all acquisitions and gains, whether in war, trade, labour, or other business; in a word, out of every thing that a man possessed; as well out of his personal, as his real estate. It appears likewise from *Bede's* letter to archbishop *Egbert*, that before parishes were settled all over the diocese of *York*, all the people, even in the remotest and most mountainous parts of it, where tythes could not well be gathered in kind, and where they had no opportunities of divine service, still made regular payments to the bishop for his support and that of his clergy.

Sir *Henry Spelman* [2] thinks, that the tenth acre all over *England* was by this grant conveyed to the clergy, and that this was the original of their *Glebe-lands*; though these were afterwards augmented by the munificence of patrons: nor is it any objection to this notion, that the glebe of the parochial clergy doth not at present amount to the tenth part of the land in their several parishes; because the terms of the grant allow the proprietors of lands to bestow the tenth acre, either to monasteries and nunneries, or to the parish churches, as they pleased. It is likely that these last received some improvement on this occasion: but it hath been shewed already, that such glebe was annexed generally to churches, from the first institution of parishes, and from the time of archbishop *Theodore*. The differences which appear in our old historians with regard as well to the *time* of this grant, whether made before *Ethelwolf's* setting out for *Rome*, or after his return thence, or to the *extent* of it; whether including only the *West-Saxons*, or comprehending likewise the rest of *England*, are naturally enough accounted for by the two charters, signed on this occasion, and containing grants of a like nature; which led different writers, as they had the one or the other in their view, to vary as well in relation to the time of their passing, as in their account of the contents. The first of these charters published by *Dugdale* [3] and *Malmesbury* [4], and dated on *Easter* day, *A. D.* 854. *Indict.* 2. at *Ethelwolf's* palace at *Winton*, contains a grant of the tenth part of the lands in his kingdom to the church for ever, free from all secular services: and being passed at an ordinary court or council held at one of the great festivals, when he was only attended by the nobility of the countries immediately subject to him, seems to relate only to the realm of the *West-Saxons*, as the date shews it to have been made before he began his *Italian* voyage. The latter charter, which appears in *Ingulf* [5] and other writers, was passed after that prince's

[1] See *Excerpt. Egbert. archiep. Ebor. in Conc. M. Brit.* t. i. p. 102. canon v. p. 103. c. 24, 25. Canon 101, 102, & *ib.* p. 149. *in Actis Synod. Calcyth. A. D.* 785. c. 17.

[2] *Concil. M. Brit.* t. i. p. 185.

[3] *Monast. Angl.* t. i. p. 100.

[4] *Vit. Aldhelmi in Angl. Sacr.* t. ii. p. 26.

[5] P. 862.

return, in an assembly of all the states of *Mercia* and the *East-Angles*, as well as of the *West-Saxons*, on *November* 3, *A. D.* 855: and was then offered in a solemn manner upon the great altar of St. *Peter's* church at *Winchester*, in the presence, and with the subscriptions, of *Burrhed* king of *Mercia*, *Edmund* king of the *East-Angles*, and of all the bishops, abbots, dukes, counts, and nobility of all *England*. This act of parliament, as it may be justly termed, obliged all orders of men, who enjoyed any landed estate of inheritance, to give at least a tenth part of it, and of all their goods, to the clergy[1], as well secular as regular, or to the poor, free from all services: and that the clergy might not be interrupted in the duties of their function, and in their prayers for the publick welfare, it exempts all the possessions which they held at that time, from all fines, royal aids, and taxes whatever; particularly from all military expeditions and the charges as well of making and repairing bridges, as of guarding and fortifying castles, which had been always, either in express terms, or by common intendment of law, understood to be excepted in all grants of privileges and immunities made in former reigns to churches. That this exemption of the clergy, and their possessions, was contained in the grant, is unanimously asserted by our historians. Bishops used before to serve frequently in their own persons, and to contribute always towards the charges of wars: but were now discharged from those and all other secular burdens. How far the former part of the charter took effect, as to the tenth of the lands of private men, who were left at their liberty to choose the persons, to whom they would grant it, doth not appear; but this latter part took place immediately, as Mr. *Selden*[2] observes: "every proprietor of land, was "from this time to be rated in all subsidies and taxes, according only to nine "parts of his land and profits, and the profits of the tenth, being due to the "church, were both in his and their hands discharged from all payments and "taxes whatsoever." ETHELWOLF

V. ETHELWOLF, soon after his return home, became involved in new troubles; which he had little reason to expect, and were the more grievous because they arose from his own family. As he passed in his way from *Rome* through *France*, he had married *Judith*, daughter to *Charles the bald*; which seems to have given offence to the children of his first marriage, who either did not like their *step-mother*, or were alarmed at some ceremonies, such as anointing her with oil, and putting a crown upon her head; ceremonies not yet adopted into the *English* ceremonial, but used by *Hincmar* archbishop of *Reims*[3] at her marriage. It happened also unfortunately that *Athelstan*, the eldest of his sons, died about this time; for he subscribed, as king of *Kent*, his father's charter to the abbey of *Malmesbury*[4] in *A. D.* 854, if not the confirmation of it in *A. D.* 855. *Ethelbald* by that accident became the eldest of *Ethelwolf's* surviving sons; and whether he imagined from the ceremonies abovementioned, there was some design formed for leaving the crown to *Judith's* children, or was put upon it by *Ealstan*, the warlike bishop of *Sherburn*, *Eanulf* earl of *Somerset*, and other factious noblemen that[5] engaged in his quarrel, would not be content with the dominions assigned to his late brother, but insisted on being put into immediate possession of the kingdom of the *West-Saxons*. The young prince, who was headstrong, obstinate, and perverse in his nature, made no difficulty of embarking in an unnatural war against his own father, and the greatest part of the *English* nobility who sided with His second marriage.

[1] Sive famulis & famulabus Dei, Deo servientibus, sive laicis miseris. *Malmesbury* in reciting this charter. (*De gestis regum*, l. ii. c. 2.) leaves out the word *miseris*, as *Rudborne* also does in *Hist. Major. Winton.* l. iii. c. 2.

[2] *Ib.* c. 8.

[3] *Hincmari opera*, t. i. p. 751.

[4] *Malmesb. Vita S. Aldhelm. in Angl. Sacr.* t. ii. p. 27.

[5] *Asser. in Vita Alfredi.*

him:

Ethelwolf him: and this muſt have followed, had not the goodneſs of *Ethelwolf* interpoſed, to prevent the calamities of his country, by a voluntary quitting of all the weſtern provinces of his kingdom to *Ethelbald*. This having quieted the young prince's jealouſy, or ſatisfied the views of his counſellors, he ſaw without repining *Judith* honoured with the title of queen according to the cuſtom of foreign nations, and ſitting by the king in his royal throne; a ſight unuſual and odious to the *Engliſh*, ſince the time of *Brightric's* wife *Eadburga*.

Ethelwolf lived about two years after his return from *Rome*[1]: and dying in *A. D.* 857, divided his private patrimony between all his children, and his kingdoms between the two eldeſt ſons; *Ethelbald* retaining the ancient inheritance of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and *Ethelbert* enjoying the realms lately conquered of *Kent*, *Suſſex*, and *Eſſex*. It doth not appear, what appanages he aſſigned to the two youngeſt; though ſome they undoubtedly had, according to the *Saxon* cuſtom, perhaps given in his life-time; or that his favourite *Alfred*, was provided for, any otherwiſe than by a ſhare of that patrimony, and the hopes of ſucceeding to the whole monarchy, in caſe he ſurvived his brothers; it being provided by *Ethelwolf's* diſpoſition, ſuited to the circumſtances of the times, for the better defence of the kingdom againſt the *Danes*, and confirmed in a general council of the *Weſt-Saxon* nobility held at *Langdene*[2], that after *Ethelbald's* death, they ſhould all ſucceed to it in their order. *Ethelbald* began his reign with the inceſtuous act of marrying his father's widow[3], and governed for ſome time in a very arbitrary manner[4]; but being at laſt reclaimed by the remonſtrances of *Swithun* biſhop of *Wincheſter*, he put away *Judith*; who continued however in *England* till his death, *A. D.* 860, and being afterwards ſent home, was taken at ſea by *Baldwin*, ſtiled *Foreſter* of *Flanders*; till eſpouſing his fair priſoner, he changed his title into that of Count, upon the marriage being ratified by her father's conſent.

Ethelbert Ethelbert, who ſucceeded, adding the realm of the *Weſt-Saxons* to his former dominions, conducted himſelf with great mildneſs towards his ſubjects, and with as much vigour againſt the *Danes*, during the five or ſix years of his reign[5]: and dying in *A. D.* 866. left the kingdom to his next brother *Æthered*.

Æthered. This prince kept to himſelf not only the hereditary kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons*, but likewiſe the conquered provinces, which uſed to be aſſigned in a father's life-time to an eldeſt ſon, to train him up for the exerciſe of an independent government, and ſerved afterwards for an appanage to a younger brother; notwithſtanding the demand made of them, at the time he aſſumed the crown, by *Alfred*, now ſeventeen years old, in the preſence of all the *Engliſh* nobility. This demand was grounded on an agreement[6] made between the two princes themſelves, and atteſted by thoſe noblemen, that *Æthered*, upon his acceſſion to the crown, ſhould give *Alfred* a competent ſhare, as well of his hereditary dominions, as of thoſe he ſhould acquire by the aſſiſtance of his brother and his people; but when that event happened, *Æthered* was unwilling to perform his promiſe; and having the power in his hands, abſolutely refuſed to execute the ſtipulation, or give up any part of the territories he had long poſſeſſed. This produced a new compromiſe; by which *Æthered* engaged to leave at his death "the entire kingdom

[1] *Aſſer. Ib.* [2] *Alfredi Teſtam. Ib.*

[3] It is very probable that *Ethelwolf* never bedbed *Judith*. Her father *Charles* the *bald* was born *June* 13, *A. D.* 823, and married *Ermantrude* on *Dec.* 14. *A. D.* 842, by whom he had four ſons and three daughters, mentioned by hiſtorians, beſides others who died in their infancy. Their eldeſt ſon *Louis* was born in *Nov. A. D.* 843, and if *Judith* was the next child (which doth not appear) ſhe could not be eleven years old, when married to *Ethelwolf*, and might perhaps be ſtill younger.

[4] *Rudborne in Hiſt. Major. in Winton.* l. iii. c. 2. [5] *Malmeſb.* l. ii. c. 3. *Chron. Sax. A. D.* 866. [6] *Alfredi Teſtam.*

"to

"to none but *Alfred*, and in the mean time to allow him a ſhare of ſuch lands "and territories as ſhould be conquered by their joint forces; that their ſons "ſhould ſucceed one after another in their order; and whoever ſhould be the "ſurviver, was to give the other's children all the lands of which their father had "been put in poſſeſſion by *Ethelwolf*, and all ſuch as he ſhould acquire by con-"queſt." This compromiſe was confirmed in a general council of all the princes and nobility of the *Weſt-Saxons*, held at *Swinburne*: and the two brothers acted on all occaſions with a perfect concert; which was very neceſſary to enable them to make head againſt the common enemy, who invaded their territories with more numerous and formidable forces, than ever before. ETHERED.

THE reaſon why the *Danes* came in ſuch multitudes hath been already mentioned; for the ſtory of *Lodbroke's* being driven by a ſtorm in a ſmall boat to the coaſt of *Norfolk*, and St. *Edmund's* faulconer being, for the murder committed on him, put into the ſame boat, and carried by the waves to *Denmark*, ſeems to be one of thoſe romantic and fabulous relations, with which in thoſe days they uſually interlarded the legends of murdered princes. The [1] *Danes* indeed landed in the kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles* [2]: but do not appear to have had any ſpleen againſt them; their chief deſign being upon the *Northumbrian* territories. With this view they ſoon made peace with the former people; and having paſſed a quiet winter among them, quitted their country in the ſpring: when being ſupplied by them with horſes for their northern expedition, they marched, without ſtopping by the way, directly into *Yorkſhire*, which they ſubdued, as is above related. Two years [3] after, they moved ſouthward: and advanced to *Nottingham*, where they took up their winter quarters; threatning *Mercia* with an invaſion. *Burrhed*, to oppoſe them, applied for ſuccours to *Æthered* and *Alfred*; who marching with an army of *Weſt-Saxons* to his aſſiſtance, found the *Danes* had fortified themſelves in the place, which was not eaſily to be forced. This, after a few ſkirmiſhes of parties, drew on a treaty; which ended in a peace with the *Mercians*: and the *Pagans* returned to their quarters in *Yorkſhire*. It was only in *A. D.* 870 [4], that paſſing through *Lincolnſhire*, they deſtroyed *Bardney*, *Peterborough*, *Ely*, and all the monaſteries that lay in their way, whoſe riches and plate tempted their avarice: and falling upon the territories of the *Eaſt-Angles*, ſlew king *Edmund*, after defeating his forces in a battle near *Thetford*, and ſubdued the whole country.

THEY had brought along with them an infinite number of women and children, to plant the parts where they propoſed to ſettle: and being encouraged by the facility of their conqueſts, advanced the year following into the country of the *Weſt-Saxons* [5]; the onely power able to oppoſe them, and prevent their making a conqueſt of all *England*. *Æthered* expected, on this occaſion, the like ſupplies from the *Mercians*, as he had given them two years before in their diſtreſs: but, whether they were afraid of provoking the *Danes*, or were glad of an opportunity to throw off the *Weſt-Saxon* yoke, they refuſed them, as well as the *Northumbrians*; both diſclaiming their vaſſalage [6], and ſetting up for independent governments, which proved, within two years, the utter ruin of *Mercia*; the whole country being ſubdued by the *Danes*, and *Burrhed*, in defect of any other protection after ſuch a behaviour, being forced to fly into foreign parts for refuge. *Reading*, ſeated at the confluence of the *Thames* and *Kennet*, appeared to the *Pagans* a proper place for their head-quarters: and they fortified it by drawing intrenchments and ramparts between the two rivers. From hence they made incurſions into the adjoining parts of *Berks* and *Hants*; which gave occaſion to ſeveral battles fought with various

[1] *Chr. Sax. A D.* 866. [2] *Aſſer. Vita Alfredi. Chr. Sax. A. D.* 866. [3] *Ib. A. D.* 868.
[4] *Ib. A. D.* 870. *Chron. Petriburg.* [5] *Ib. Chr. Sax. A. D.* 871. [6] *Malmeſb.* l. ii. c. 3.

ETHERED. ſucceſs. The moſt conſiderable of theſe was that of *Aſhdown*[1], an hilly tract of country, over-looking *the vale of the white horſe*, which ſeems to have taken its denomination from a monument in the figure of an horſe, cut on the ſloping ſide of the chalky down, in memory of the great victory there gained by the bravery and conduct of *Alfred* (to which ſome add, the efficacy of *Æthered's* prayers) over the *Danes*; one of whoſe principal kings, with five of their earls, or chief generals, and many thouſands of their common ſoldiers, fell in the battle. The broken remains of the *Pagan* army fled to their *corps* at *Reading:* and making excurſions thence, about a fortnight after, were attacked by the two royal brothers near *Baſing* in *Hampſhire*, but with ſome diſadvantage in the action. There was another, about two months after, fought with a greater number of forces on both ſides, the *Danes* having received conſiderable recruits, and advanced to *Merantun*, probably *Merden* in *Wiltſhire*, which proved alike unfortunate to the *Engliſh*; for though they broke both the wings of the *Pagan* army, yet purſuing in diſorder, the enemy rallied and remained maſter of the field. In this engagement *Æthered* received a wound, which proved mortal: and dying after *Eaſter*, left the crown to his brother, who was ſoon after anointed king at *Wincheſter*[2].

ALFRED. VI. ALFRED, beloved and eſteemed by all the world, was ſoon ſettled in the throne, and allowed the *Danes* no liberty to ravage the country. Within a month after *Æthered's* death, he[3] fought them with a much inferior body of forces at *Wilton:* and attacked them every where with ſo much vigour, that they loſt nine of their principal Generals, and an infinite number of their common men, in eight pitched battles, which were fought in this ſingle year; beſides many thouſands ſlain in the engagements of leſſer parties, which happened continually. The *Pagans* finding ſo warm a reception in all places, thought it their beſt way to make peace with *Alfred*, and quit his territories: which they did, leaving him quiet for about five years, and employing that time in haraſſing the *Strath-Cluyd Britains*, planting the *Northumbrian* dominions, and ſubduing *Mercia*. At the end of that term, they landed in *Dorſetſhire*[4], and ſeized *Wareham:* but on the king's marching againſt them they ſued for peace, delivered what hoſtages he demanded, and ſware as well upon a bracelet, which was moſt ſacred among them, as upon the relicks, in which he moſt confided, that they would quit the country immediately. *Alfred* found by experience on this occaſion, that oaths and hoſtages were but weak ties upon men, who, devoted to avarice, and minding nothing but rapine, were utter ſtrangers to all honour and conſcience: all the uſe the *Danes* made of the treaty, was to march off by night, and ſurprize *Exeter*; where they fortified themſelves, and paſſed the winter, their numbers encreaſing daily by freſh ſupplies.

His wars with the *Danes*.

ALFRED, conſidering the advantages that the enemy derived from their ſhipping, which enabled them to attack any part they pleaſed of the maritime provinces of his kingdom, to ſurprize the inhabitants, to ſeize towns, and carry off their booty, before the country could get to an head, either for the defence or recovery of their goods, reſolved to fit out a fleet, to encounter them at ſea and prevent their landing. The *Saxons*, ſo well ſkilled in naval affairs at the time of their firſt invaſion of *Britain*, ſeem to have neglected them entirely after they had fixed their ſettlements in the iſland: and *Alfred* was obliged, on this occaſion, to take into his pay ſome *Friſian* captains and ſeamen, with other corſairs, that lived by piracies on the ocean, to man the navy[5], which he fitted out and employed to block up *Exeter* by

A. D. 877. ſea, whilſt he inveſted it by land. A fleet of an hundred and twenty *Daniſh* veſ-

[1] See Mr. *Wiſe's* letter to Dr. *Mead*, about ſome antiquities in *Berkſhire*. [2] *MS. Chron. De regib. Angliæ, in manu com. Arundel, penes J. Anſtis armig.* [3] *Aſſer. ib.* [4] *Ib.* and *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 876. [5] *Aſſer. ib.*

ſels,

ALFRED.

ſels, laden with proviſions and a ſtrong body of forces on board for the ſuccour of the place, was attacked by this new armado, and totally deſtroyed[1]; a loſs which making the beſieged deſpair of relief, obliged them to give freſh hoſtages, and renew their oaths, for a ſpeedy departure out of the country. They accordingly went, in *Auguſt*, into *Mercia*, ſet up *Ceolulf*, a weak man, to govern part of that kingdom under them, and parcelled out the reſt of the provinces among themſelves. The *Danes* were now maſters of all *England* north of the *Thames*, and ſaw nothing capable of rendering their poſſeſſion of it inſecure, or of ſtopping them in the conqueſt of the reſt, but the power of *Alfred:* who having religiouſly kept his treaty with them, and not oppoſed them in the reduction of *Mercia*, had no reaſon to expect an invaſion of his dominions. But they had ſo many different princes, generals, and armies, that a convention with any one of them was of no uſe, whilſt the reſt did not think themſelves obliged to keep any of the ſtipulations. *Guthrun*, otherwiſe called *Gormund*, *Oſkytel*, and *Amund*[2], three *Daniſh* kings lately come over, had been chiefly concerned in the conqueſt of *Mercia*; whilſt *Haldene* divided the *Northumbrian* territories among his followers: they had no enemy now left, but the *Weſt-Saxons*, and theſe it was reſolved to ſubdue with their united forces. *Haldene*[3] ſent one of his brothers on board a fleet to make a deſcent in the weſt, whilſt *Guthrun* fell into the eaſtern part of *Alfred's* territories, after the *Epiphany*, in *January A. D.* 878, ſo ſuddenly, and with ſuch a prodigious number of forces, that he ſeized *Chippenham* in *North-Wiltſhire*, one of the chief towns of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and over-ran the country like a deluge. The *Engliſh* in the adjoining counties, ſurprized and diſmayed at this ſudden invaſion, fled, ſome beyond ſea, others into diſtant parts for refuge; whilſt thoſe that could not get off ſubmitted to the enemy: and the terror was ſo great and univerſal, that it was impracticable for *Alfred* to get any conſiderable body of troops together, whilſt the panick laſted. In this extremity, he retired into the moraſſes of *Somerſet*; often changing his abode[4], but ſtaying moſt in the *Iſle of Athelingey*, or *Athelney*, about five miles from *Taunton:* where he erected a fortreſs for his preſent ſecurity, and paſſed near four months[5] in thoſe parts, very thinly attended, and in great privacy, till he could aſſemble his forces. The *Danes*, finding no enemy to appear before them in the field, became perfectly ſecure; and quitting the ſtrong camp, which they had at firſt fortified according to the rules of their military diſcipline, roved about the country, plundering far and near, without the leaſt apprehenſion of danger.

It happened about this time, that *Hubba*, brother to *Haldene* and *Inguar*, having landed with a body of troops at the mouth of the *Taw*, near *Barnſtable*, in the north of *Devonſhire*, and beſieged the fortreſs of *Kinwith*[6], was routed and ſlain with twelve hundred of his men by *Odun*, earl of that county: and the famous ſtandard of the *Danes*, on which the figure of a *raven flying* was wrought by the general's three ſiſters, and which, by the ſuperſtitious notions

[1] In the editions of *Aſſerius*, there is mention made of another ſea-fight; but Mr. *Wiſe* has obſerved, that one of the relations was taken from ſome other copy, and inſerted in the *Cotton* MS. agreeable to a note there found: for the number of the *Daniſh* fleet is the ſame in both actions, and though places ſeemingly different are aſſigned to each, yet I am perſuaded, they mean one and the ſame place; for, as I have obſerved already, the *G* and the *S* may be eaſily miſtaken for one another, ſo may the *e* and the *c*, and every body uſed to old MSS. knows very well, there is no diſtinguiſhing the *n*, *u*, and *i*, when put together, as in the two words—*Gnaueuuic* and *Suanauine*, but by the ſenſe, which help fails in the names of places. I take the name of the place of this ſea-engagement to be now called *Suanavic* (as in the *Saxon chronicle*) or *Sanewick*, near *Peverell* point on the coaſt of *Dorſetſhire*; a place that deſerves to be famous for the firſt conſiderable naval victory of the *Engliſh*.

[2] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 875. [3] *Ib. A. D.* 878.

[4] *Aſſer. Vita Alfredi. Chr. Sax. A. D.* 878.

[5] *Eaſter-day* fell this year on *March* 23, and *Witſunday* on *May* 11, when the battle of *Ethandune* was fought.

[6] *Aſſer. ib.* See *Camden* in *Devon.*

Alfred. entertained of it, uſed to inſpire them with a confidence of victory, was taken in the action. This ſucceſs raiſing the ſpirits of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and *Alfred* being apprized of the negligence and ſecurity of the *Danes*, he took proper meaſures for ſurprizing them: and appointed in the week before *Whitſuntide*, a rendezvous for the *Wilts*, *Hants*, and *Somerſet* forces at *Brixton*, in the firſt of thoſe counties, and in the eaſtern part of the foreſt of *Selwood*. He marched thence with as much privacy as poſſible to *Ægcley*; and on the third morning came up at *Ethandune*[1] with the[2] enemy; who being ſcattered and in diſorder, were eaſily routed. *Alfred* had taken care to get between them and their ſtrong encampment; ſo that their retreat thither being intercepted, a terrible ſlaughter enſued, and the remainder of the *Danes*, flying to a weaker camp in the neighbourhood, were immediately inveſted. This place not being ſupplied with proviſions for a ſiege, the *Danes* were, in a fortnight's time, forced to ſubmit to the conqueror's mercy, on ſuch conditions as he pleaſed to preſcribe, and to deliver what hoſtages he thought fit to demand for their performance of the articles. In all former treaties, hoſtages had been mutually given[3]: but now *Alfred* gave none on his part, and having received thoſe of the *Pagans*, obliged them to promiſe ſolemnly upon oath, either to quit the country, or to turn *Chriſtians*, and be content with ſuch lands as he ſhould aſſign them to inhabite and cultivate. Such as rejected this laſt condition, went with *Haſting*, one of their chief generals, to *Flanders*, where they exerciſed their uſual cruelties and depredations[4]. *Gothrun*, who ſeems to be the onely *Daniſh* king left (*Oſkytel* and *Amund*, his fellow-adventurers, having probably been ſlain) came in a little time, with thirty of his principal nobility, and a great number of his officers, to *Alfred's* court at *Aller* in *Somerſetſhire*: and was there baptized; the king himſelf being his godfather. After a ſtay of twelve days, during which they were nobly entertained and received large preſents, *Gothrun* and his train returned to their army; which retiring into *Mercia*, paſſed ſome time at *Cirenceſter*, and from thence marched into the kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles*; *Alfred* having allotted it, with the adjoining county of *Eſſex*, for their habitation, and *Gothrun* being to hold it under him as a *feudatary*.

[1] *Vita S. Neoti* in *Leland's Itin.* t. iv. p. 127. *Spelman's Vit. Ælfredi*, p. 33.

[2] This place is generally ſuppoſed to be *Hedington* in *Wilts*, and the fortifications, ſtill viſible on *Bratton* hill two miles diſtant, are conceived to favour this notion; though no body can point out a place, that hath any reſemblance to *Ægcley* or *Acley*. But the camp on *Bratton* hill is not *Daniſh*, and was probably fortified in the wars carried on for near two centuries, on the borders of *Wilts* and *Somerſet*, between the *Saxons* and *Britains*. The great foreſt of *Selwood* took up all that tract of country, which was conſequently very unfit for the *Daniſh* depredations: and the reſt of *Wilts* was then ſo covered with woods, that we read of few engagements there in the *Saxon* times, except about *Wilton*. But *Berks* was a plentiful country, well inhabited; and thus became the ſcene of abundance of battles, and a proper temptation for the *Danes* in their queſt of plunder. It was into the laſt country, that I imagine they fell, and encamped at *Ethandune*, a place mentioned in *Alfred's* will, and bequeathed to *Alſwith* with *Wantoge* and *Lamborne*; all the three manors lying near one another in the ſame country, if *Ethandune* be the place now ſpelt *Yattendun*. *E* is ſtill by the country people pronounced like *Ye*: ſo for *Edward*, they ſay, *Yethard*: and was in *Leland's* time wrote in the beginning of words agreeable to that pronunciation. The name ſhews it to be ſeated on an eminence, on which armies in thoſe days generally encamped, and on all theſe accounts I take *Yattendun* to be the place in queſtion. It was not conſiſtent with common ſenſe for *Alfred* to appoint the rendezvous of a people ſcarce recovered from their fright at a place within four leagues of the enemy, for *Brixton* is no farther diſtant from *Heddington*; nor can it be reconciled to his deſign of ſurprizing the *Danes*, whoſe parties roving over the country, could not well help meeting ſome of *Alfred's* marching to the rendezvous: and thoſe two places are too near one another to agree to the accounts of *Alfred's* march, who on the third day of it reached *Ethandune*. Theſe reaſons convince me, that this prince, having aſſembled his forces at *Brixton*, marched over the *Wiltſhire downs*, the foreſt of *Savernac* interpoſing between him and the enemy, till he came to one of the *Oakeley's* lying in the ſkirts of *Hampſhire*, about two leagues from *King's Clere*; which laſt place lyes on the edge of *Berks*, and is about the ſame diſtance from *Yattendun*, where the *Danes* were ſurprized and routed. One of their camps was probable on the top of an hill, called *Grimſ-bury* caſtle, where the round trenches ſtill viſible ſeem to be the remains of a *Daniſh* fortification.

[3] *Aſſer.* [4] *Malmeſb.* l. ii. c. 4. *Ingulf.*

ALFRED.

VII. WHETHER it was owing to a tenderneſs for the lives of their hoſtages, to their admiration and dread of *Alfred*, or to any influence of the *Chriſtian* religion, which their chiefs had embraced, and their followers heard daily preached, the *Danes* obſerved this, better than they had done any of their former treaties. They divided the country aſſigned them by lot, and each ſeeking to work for improving his ſhare, they built themſelves houſes, cultivated the ground, and being weaned from their roving and plundering humour, began to reliſh a quiet ſettled manner of life, and to provide for the ſubſiſtence of their families in a way of honeſt induſtry; which contributed much to their obſervance of a treaty, that debarred them equally from making depredations themſelves, and from aſſiſting any of their countrymen, who ſhould attempt to commit them in *Alfred's* dominions. This prince derived great advantages from it in other reſpects; having ſecured to himſelf the quiet poſſeſſion of all *Mercia*, by parting with a country ſcarce worth the keeping, being waſted in every quarter, and inhabited by a turbulent and ſeditious people, given to rapine, impatient of government, and continually breaking out into inſurrections, whilſt under the immediate rule of the *Weſt-Saxon* princes. He married his daughter *Ethelfleda* to *Ethelred*, a nobleman of great qualities and abilities, and of as great authority among the *Mercians*, whom he put under their care: and theſe princes admirably ſeconded his endeavours for improving and fortifying the country, for eſtabliſhing order, and for encouraging virtue and induſtry among the people. The *Danes* were now made denizens of *England*, and *Alfred* gave *Gothrun* a [1] ſhort code of laws for the government of his ſubjects: which ſeem chiefly deſigned for the propagation of the goſpel among them; a point he had much at heart, and naturally tending to civilize a barbarous nation. Such were the proviſions made, as well for obſerving the faſts and feſtivals of the church; for maintaining its poſſeſſions and privileges; for the payment of tythes and other dues of the clergy; as for preventing inceſtuous marriages, and aboliſhing all kinds of ſorcery and divination; crimes to which the *Danes* were exceedingly addicted. The fixing of the bounds of the kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles*, the not allowing any perſons to rove about the country without expreſs leave and letters dimiſſory; or any goods to be bought and ſold, without proper vouchers to atteſt the ſeller's lawful poſſeſſion of them, were calculated to put a ſtop to that rapine, to which the *Eaſt-Angles*, as well as the *Danes*, had been too much accuſtomed. Theſe regulations had ſo good an effect, that though it was impracticable to hinder ſome diſorderly perſons from joining the parties of pirates that occaſionally infeſted the coaſts of *England*; yet none of theſe parties were ever ſuffered to land in the country of the *Eaſt-Angles*, nor did theſe laſt ever join them in a body, till after the death of *Gothrun*.

He makes peace with them, and gains *Mercia*.

VII. ALFRED was now poſſeſſed of a greater extent of territory in *Britain* than had ever been enjoyed by any of his predeceſſors; every potentate within the iſland courted his friendſhip, or deſired his protection. The princes of *South-Wales* had ſubmitted to him long before [2]: and *Anarawd*, the eldeſt ſon of *Roderic the Great*, and prince of *North-Wales*, waited upon him about this time with the tender of his homage; profeſſing to hold his principality of him on the ſame terms of ſubjection and obedience, as *Ethelred* did *Mercia*. The *Northumbrians* too, being by the death of *Haldene* left without an head, deſired to receive a king from his hands: and he put over them *Gurthred* [3], of a *Daniſh* race, but a *Saxon* by birth, and a *Chriſtian*; whoſe benefactions to the church of *Durham* he con-

A. D. 882.

His care in improving his realm.

[1] *Lambard's Archaionom.* p. 36, 40. [2] *Aſſer.* [3] *Sim. Dun.*

Alfred. firmed; ſuch grants of vaſſals not being valid without the conſent of the ſovereign. *Alfred* having no enemy to diſturb the quiet of his reign, employed himſelf in cultivating the arts of peace, and in repairing the miſchiefs which the ravages of the *Danes* had done in his country. Thoſe pirates had burnt or demoliſhed all publick buildings, churches, and monaſteries wherever they came: and it is almoſt incredible, what a number of theſe he rebuilt, beſides the new ones of *Hyde*, *Athelney*, and *Shaftſbury*, which he founded. All the great towns and cities in the kingdom had ſuffered in the like manner, and were in a miſerable condition; ſcarce fit either for defence or habitation. Theſe he repaired, adorned them with noble ſtructures of ſquared ſtone, and ſtrengthened them with good fortifications. *London* in particular roſe by his munificence out of the ruins and deſolation in which the *Danes* had left it; and being ſoon repeopled by his encouragement, and the good government of *Ethelred*, earl of *Mercia*, to whoſe ſpecial care the king had recommended it, it flouriſhed in a ſhort time to ſuch a degree, that in a few years after his death, when *Danegeld* was eſtabliſhed, it paid ten thouſand five hundred pounds for its ſhare, out of the eighty-two thouſand pounds aſſeſſed upon all *England*[1]. It was now fortified too well to dread the inſults of the *Danes*; who had made it of late years their chief ſtation, and found it a very convenient one for their purpoſes, as lying far within land, yet ſeated upon a navigable river. It was probably the like advantages of its ſituation, which determined *Alfred* to fix it for the place of the ordinary aſſemblies of the eſtates of his realms; which he appointed to be there held twice a year; thereby declaring it to be the metropolis of *England*.

In encouraging learning. IX. For the carrying on of theſe works, it was neceſſary to ſend for workmen from abroad, and the king gave ſuch encouragement to artificers and perſons of ſkill in all arts and ſciences, in order to the inſtruction and employment of his ſubjects, that there was a vaſt reſort hither from all the neighbouring parts of the continent, of the beſt maſters in their ſeveral profeſſions and buſineſs; who all received ample rewards from his royal bounty. There is nothing which he ſeems to have had more at heart, than the reſtoring of learning, which was reduced to a low ebb in this nation: where it had flouriſhed not long before in ſo eminent a degree, that *Alcuin*[2] adviſed the Emperor *Charles the Great* to ſend over ſome of the *French* youth to *York*, as the fitteſt place for their education and improvement in knowledge. But the *Danes* had deſtroyed the monaſteries, the univerſities of thoſe days, maſſacred the *religious*, and burnt their libraries; ſo that the materials for ſtudy, and maſters for inſtruction being both wanting, things were brought to ſuch a paſs, that, as *Alfred* complains in the preface to his tranſlation of *Gregory's Paſtorals*, "there were few on this ſide *Humber* able either to tranſlate a piece of *Latin*, "or underſtand the liturgy in the *Engliſh* language." To repair theſe defects, the king ſent for what learned men his own dominions afforded, to train up the young nobility and others about his court, where, according to the general cuſtom of *Europe* in thoſe days, they received their education; to tranſlate, as he did himſelf[3], uſeful and pious books for the inſtruction of the people; to compoſe, after his own and biſhop *Aldhelm's* example, leſſons of morality and religion, in verſe, proverbs, and parables, for an help to the memory of thoſe among whom they were diſ-

[1] *Spelman's Vita Alfredi*, p. 128.
[2] *Malmeſb.* l. i. c. 3.
[3] *Ailredus Rievall* (*De genealogia regum Anglorum*) ſays, there was a collection of this king's parables extant in his time, very edifying as well as pleaſant and entertaining; and there was probably one alſo of his proverbs and rhythmical compoſitions, as may be inferred from an imitation of it by the author of a bad poem in the *Cotton* library, ſome verſes of which are publiſhed in *Alfred's* life by *Spelman*, p. 94.

perſed; and to cooperate in all other proper meaſures to remove the ignorance of his ſubjects. *Plegmund*, *Wulfſig*, *Werefrid*, *Dunwulf*, and *Aſſerius Menevenſis*, the writer of his life, who all filled the firſt dignities of the church, *Athelſtan*, *Werwulf*, and the famous St. *Neot* are mentioned as being of this number: but theſe being not ſufficient for the revival of learning all over the nation, *Alfred* employed his credit abroad for getting over a further ſupply of men of learning, as well as books, from *France* and other foreign countries. ALFRED.

THE moſt diſtinguiſhed of thoſe foreign profeſſors, that came hither upon his invitation, were *Grimbald*, and *John Scotus Erigena*, who had lately wrote a treatiſe againſt the *corporal* preſence in the euchariſt. *Alfred* made uſe of theſe and their companions to erect a ſeminary for propagating learning in *England* to ſucceeding ages. The place he pitched upon for it was *Oxford*, pleaſantly and conveniently ſeated at the confluence of the *Thames* and *Charwell*, in a fruitful ſoil and healthy air, ſecure from any inſults of the *Danes*, by its diſtance as well from the ſea, as from their territories in *England*, and yet not above ten miles from his own court at *Wantage*, and in the centre of all his dominions. The *Britiſh* coins found there, and the *Roman* roads leading thither, ſhew it to have been a town of note in their times: and the ſame advantages of ſituation, in an age when ſcarce any other part of *Britain* was ſecure from the ravages of the *Picts*, *Iriſh-Scots*, and *Saxons*, might very well recommend it to St. *Germain*, for the ſeat of one of thoſe ſchools or ſeminaries, which he inſtituted not only in *Wales*, but in ſeveral other parts of this iſland. It was ſo much the faſhion in thoſe times for perſons deſirous to be inſtructed in religion and learning, to travel from one ſeminary to another, and to viſit eminent men in different countries (as we ſee in all the lives of the *Britiſh* ſaints in the fifth and ſixth centuries) that there is nothing at all unlikely in what, *Camden's* copy of *Aſſer* ſays, was undeniably proved by the teſtimony of ancient annals, that *Gildas*[1], *Kentigern*, and *Melkin* (who lived whilſt it was in the hands of the *Britains*) had made it for ſome time the place of their ſtudies; as *Nennius* alſo did, after the *Saxons* had been converted to *Chriſtianity*, and *Ina* had ſettled a good correſpondence betwen them and the *Britains*. The advocates for an imaginary antiquity generally betray their cauſe by advancing, in their eagerneſs to find a colour for their pretenſions, ſome facts inconſiſtent with the hiſtory or circumſtances of ancient times, generally too dark, for the inventers of fabulous relations, to avoid miſtakes when they treat thereof: yet nothing of this kind appears in what (*Aſſer* ſays) was proved, as well as advanced, by the old maſters ſettled at *Oxford* before the arrival of *Grimbald* and *Scotus*; with whom, out of a fondneſs for their former practice, they quarrelled about the new method, which they introduced, of inſtruction. It is generally agreed that theſe two learned divines did teach at *Oxford*: and it is as certain, that they did retire thence; the one to *Alfred's* new monaſtery at *Winchеſter*; the other, to thoſe of *Athelney* and *Malmeſbury*, where they were ſtill employed in the inſtruction of youth; a ſeceſſion, which gives no little countenance to the relation of the diſpute which appears in *Aſſer*. If[2] *Alfred* is ſtyled by ſome writers the *founder* of that univerſity, of which others repreſent him only as the *reſtorer*, this is no objection to there having been before at *Oxford*

[1] That *Gildas* ſtudied at *Ichen*, i. e. *Oxford* (called in *Britiſh Ryd-ichen*) is aſſerted by the author of his life, publiſhed from an ancient manuſcript in *Biblioth. Floriac.* See *Selden's* not. in *Polyolbion*, p. 1837.

[2] I take no notice of the difficulties ſtarted by ſome people, on account of *Oxford's* being thought to lye in the diviſion of *Mercia*, becauſe they are evidently founded upon miſtakes or uncertainties. For *Oxford* and *Glouceſter* ſhires never made any part of the *Mercian* territories till *A. D.* 775, when they were reduced by *Offa*, and continued but forty-eight years under their dominion, *i. e.* till *A. D.* 823, when they were reconquered by *Egbert*. It is very reaſonable to think, that from this recovery of theſe counties, they were reunited to the kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons*, who had firſt peopled them; and I have not obſerved any paſſage in our old hiſtorians that claſhes with this notion.

ſchools

Alfred. ſchools formed on the plan of thoſe of St. *Germain*, *Dubricius*, and *Iltut*, or ſet up by particular maſters, without any ſtipend or emolument from the publick. This king probably followed *Charle-Magne's* example, in ſettling ſuch ſtipends upon profeſſors; but to make ſome improvement of that Emperor's plan, he was undoubtedly the firſt that provided for their pupils; founding three halls (or colleges, ſuch as they generally have in foreign parts) one for each of the ſciences of grammar, philoſophy, and theology, with a maintenance for twenty-ſix ſcholars in each hall, and rules or ſtatutes for the conduct of the ſtudents, and regulation of their hours of prayer and ſtudy[1]. It was the incorporation of theſe three halls into one college, which procured it the name of *univerſity*; a term, at this time, firſt invented to expreſs ſuch a body corporate: and nothing of this kind having been known before in *Europe*, *Alfred*, who thus provided for the eternal duration of his ſeminary, might juſtly, though there were ſchools in the place before, be deemed the founder of that body corporate, which is called the *univerſity*. As this conſiſted for a long time, like that of *Dublin*, only of one college, thence called *univerſity college*, of which *Alfred* was, in all ages, deemed the *founder* (for which reaſon it hath of late been judicially determined, after a ſolemn hearing, that the crown is the viſitor of it) and as his inſtitution ſoon put an end to the ſchools of private tutors, which had ſubſiſted before without the advantages of this wiſe king's regulation and benefactions, it is no wonder, that he ſhould acquire the title of founder of the univerſity of *Oxford*.

In managing his revenue.

X. To ſupport theſe expences, it behoved him to be a good œconomiſt of his revenue; which he divided into two moieties[2]: and theſe he ſubdivided, the one into three, the other into four parts. Out of the former moiety, which was appropriated to ſecular uſes, he applied one part, to maintain not only his guards and army, but alſo the officers and ſervants of his court and houſhold, of which he had three ſets, which attended each a month throughout the year in their ſeveral courſes. The other two parts were employed, one to pay the innumerable company of workmen, which he had got from different nations, to carry on his buildings; the other in preſents to the prodigious number of ſtrangers, which reſorted to his court from foreign countries. The ſecond moiety, he dedicated to God, and diſtributed one fourth of it to the poor of all nations, that flocked to him; another to the convents of his own foundation; the third to the ſchool, or univerſity, which he had founded for the education of the young nobility of *England*; and the laſt was generally given to the monaſteries in the *Weſt-Saxon* and *Mercian* territories, ſubject immediately to his own government, but in ſome years, it was diſpoſed of, in their ſeveral turns, to foreign monaſteries lying in *Wales*, *Cornwall*, *France*, *Bretagne*, the country of the *Northumbrians*, and ſometimes alſo to thoſe of *Ireland*. Regularity and œconomy are generally uniform: and *Alfred* was the ſame good manager of his time, that he was of his revenue. Of the twenty-four hours of the day, notwithſtanding the piles, which plagued him in a terrible manner from the twentieth to the forty-fifth year of his age, he aſſigned only eight to the care of his health, to be ſpent in ſleep, meals, and exerciſe: and he employed the other ſixteen, one half in writing, reading, and prayer, the other in diſpatching the affairs of his kingdom. He was ſo exact in keeping to theſe proportions and allotments of his time, that he meaſured them by tapers of an equal ſize; which were always kept burning before the ſhrines of relicks, that were carried along with him wherever he travelled: and to prevent their being affected by the wind, or other accidents, he invented horn lanterns, that he might be ſure of their conſuming in an equal degree.

[1] *Spelman's Vit. Alfredi*, p. 107, 148, &c. [2] *Aſſer.*

ALFRED.

In providing for the defence of his kingdom.

XI. Alfred's zeal for religion and the encouragement of learning, did not abate any thing of his care for the defence of his kingdom; he provided for it in the midſt of the peace which his realms enjoyed, by the wiſeſt expedients that human prudence and his admirable genius could ſuggeſt. He had obſerved, that the *Engliſh*, in their impatience of being plundered, and eagerneſs for fighting the enemy in the open field, had ſo much neglected garriſons and fortifications, that there was ſcarce a fortreſs in all the country, where they could rendezvous till all their forces came up, or put their perſons and goods with ſafety[1]. To remedy this defect, which the people ſaw and lamented, yet could not be prevailed on (as *Aſſer* ſays) by any perſuaſions or orders to do any thing towards redreſſing (though the king had directed the proper places where forts ſhould be erected) till they actually felt the calamities ariſing from their neglect; he erected abundance of caſtles on the ſea coaſts, and on the banks of large rivers, to obſtruct the *Danes* in their ſudden deſcents and incurſions. The number of theſe is not certainly known, but it is computed, that he built fifty caſtles of this kind, in different parts of the dominions under his immediate care; the like precaution being, either after his example, or by his directions, taken by *Ethelred* and *Ethelfleda* in *Mercia*. The *Danes* were old ſoldiers, trained and exerciſed continually in war, and had the ſame advantage over the haſty and unexperienced levies of the *Engliſh*, as a body of regular troops hath over an undiſciplined militia. To put his own forces upon a level with the enemy, and to do it with as little inconvenience as was poſſible to his ſubjects, whoſe eaſe he conſulted in all his meaſures; *Alfred* divided all the military part of them, that were grown up and fit for ſervice, into two corps[2]; one of which was kept in conſtant duty in garriſon, whilſt the other ſtaid at home to mind their country affairs, and were exerciſed only on feſtival days, but relieving one another by turns; ſo that all, by this alternate practice of diſcipline, becoming handy in the uſe of their arms, and expert in all warlike exerciſes and operations, they heard the news of the approach of an enemy, without terror, and fought him with aſſurance of ſucceſs. For the ſpeedier drawing together the part of his forces which remained at home, he appointed governors or lord-lieutenants in each province, diſtinguiſhing the particular bounds thereof, within which, upon the firing of beacons (which ſeems to have been his inſtitution) or upon other ſignals and notice, all this part of his militia were, without further orders, to march immediately to the place appointed for a rendezvous on ſuch occaſions. There the governor was ready to head and lead them to that tract of coaſt or country, which he had it in his charge to defend: and every perſon, in all parts, knowing his particular duty, and the diſtrict wherein he was to act, an army of experienced ſoldiers was aſſembled with wonderful expedition, ſufficient to make head againſt the *Danes*, wherever they landed.

It is much to be lamented, that none of our hiſtorians have given us a detail of the particular regulations under which *Alfred* put this *militia*, nor of the rules which (*Malmeſbury*[3] tells us) he laid down for their military diſcipline; we might elſe probably have thought proper to revive them, and have found, by experience, ſuch a corps much fitter to defend an iſland, as well as leſs expenſive and burdenſome to the nation, than a ſtanding army. This great king, great in his mind, in his talents, and in all his actions, apprehended no danger, and found no inconvenience, in having all his ſubjects armed and verſed in military diſcipline: he loved his country and its liberties; he deſired, with an heart truly *Engliſh*, to have *all his*

[1] *Spelman's Vit. Alfredi*, p. 129. [2] *Ib.* p. 43, 108. [3] L. ii. c. 4. Leges quibus ſui militari diſciplinæ aſſueſcerent.

Alfred. *people* (to uſe the ſtrong expreſſion of his laſt will) *as free as their own thoughts*, and exerted his excellent capacity for putting them in a proper way of defending their liberties. He had, in the manner above related, aſſigned every one his poſt, for the ſecurity of the country; but yet, to be ſtill better provided againſt any ſurprize, in a time of continual alarms, he kept a ſelect body of *Weſt-Saxons* and *Old Britains* about his perſon, always ready to march with him to any place, where his own preſence became neceſſary; though this was rarely the caſe, after he had eſtabliſhed the regulations above-mentioned; the good effects thereof will ſoon appear. It was perhaps to encourage a martial ſpirit in his people, that he revived the ancient cuſtom of delivering arms to young gentlemen, when grown up to be fit for ſervice in war; which was done with great ſolemnity, and univerſally practiſed (as *Tacitus* ſays) among the *German* nations. There is no doubt but the *Saxons* uſed it as well as others, whilſt they continued in their original country: but there is not in any one of our hiſtorians the leaſt trace of this practice among them after their ſettlement in *Britain*, till the time of this king; whoſe knighting his grandſon *Athelſtan* with the ceremonies of putting on him a ſcarlet veſt, and girding him with a belt ſet with gems, to which a *Saxon* ſword was pendant, is mentioned by *Malmeſbury* [1], and quoted by him from a much ancienter writer. It was probably the Emperor *Charle-Magne's* knighting his ſon *Louis*, by putting a ſword about him, in *A. D.* 791, at *Reneſburg* [2], and the ſame *Louis* doing the like honour, and with the ſame ceremony, to his ſon *Charles the Bald* in *A. D.* 837, which put *Alfred* in mind of reviving that ancient inſtitution in *England*.

This prince had a genius, that made him maſter of every ſubject, to which he applied his thoughts: of this we have a remarkable inſtance in the management of his navy; which he improved not ſo much by the ſkill of his *Friſian* ſeamen, as by his own obſervations and ingenuity. It was the object of his particular care; and he went on board it himſelf to ſee every thing ſettled to his mind, and to conſider what military engines might be of uſe in a ſea-fight; which he provided accordingly. Cannon was not then invented, and there was little benefit to be drawn from the working of ſhips; in a time when there was no fighting at a diſtance, nor before they grappled, that the ſeamen might engage hand to hand, and on firm ground, as in the land ſervice; ſo that all depended on the bravery of the combatants, and on the height and ſtrength of the veſſels. *Alfred* had from the firſt contrived his ſhipping, ſo as to be ſuperior in theſe reſpects to that of the *Danes*; and having beaten them in every engagement in the open ſea, they durſt not attempt to make a deſcent on his dominions unleſs by ſtealth, and on parts where his fleet was not ſtationed: but they had ſtill ſome lighter veſſels, which under the conduct of *Sigeferth* [3], a *Northumbrian* chieftain, exerciſed piracy; and having done a good deal of miſchief, eſcaped by the ſwiftneſs of their ſailing. The king hereupon invented a new kind of ſhip of the nature of a galley, longer, larger, and ſteadier than the *Daniſh* veſſels, as well as higher, at leaſt at the ſtern and on the foredeck; whence his men could lance their javelins, as from the higher ground, with greater force upon the enemy, and yet, by the advantage of their oars, of which they had generally ſixty, able notwithſtanding their ſize to come up at any time [4], whenever they had depth of water, with the rovers. Theſe galleys, in a ſhort time, took twenty of their privateers: and all of the crews, that were found on board, being either put to the ſword, or hanged, as enemies to mankind, the pirates, finding nothing but deſtruction where they expected profit, ſoon quitted their profeſſion, and left *Alfred* entire maſter of the ſea, without a rival to diſpute with him that empire, which the *Engliſh* have ever ſince aſſerted in the *channel*.

[1] L. ii. c. 6. [2] *Vit. Lud. Pii.* [3] *Vit. Alfred.* p. 13, 110. [4] *Chr. Sax.* p. 98.

He

He had a fleet of an hundred and twenty of theſe ſhips of war: and it may not be improper here to obſerve, that he took a like care of the trading veſſels of his ſubjects; which were reformed by his directions, ſo as to be much better ſailors, as well as more commodious for commerce. This he encouraged to ſuch a degree, that *Aſſer* celebrates the wealth that abounded in his realm; and gems, ſpices, with other oriental goods, were imported hither from the *Eaſt-Indies*[1]. It was with jewels brought from thence, that the crown was adorned which he uſed to wear on ſolemn occaſions (as his ſucceſſors afterwards did at the great feſtivals, when they ſate in their court of barons) and which (though perhaps altered ſomewhat in its faſhion ſince his time) is reputed to be that kept among the *regalia* in *Weſtminſter Abbey*. ALFRED.

XII. ENGLAND had been free for ſome years from any invaſion of the *Danes*; when at the latter end of *A. D.* 893[2], a fleet of two hundred and fifty ſail brought an army of them from *France* to the coaſt of *Kent*; where landing near *Rye*, they ſeized the fort of *Apuldore*: and *Haſting*, with another body, coming up the *Thames*, landed and fortified *Milton* in the ſame county. This expedition was probably undertaken upon an invitation from the people of the *Eaſt-Angles*; who, though they had taken an oath of fidelity to *Alfred*, after the death of their king *Gothurn*[3], which happened in *A. D.* 890, were not yet ſo generally reconciled to a quiet life, but that great numbers of them longed to return to their former cuſtom of depredations, and were ready to join with any invader. There was another accident which favoured the *Danes* in this attempt; for *Guthred*, king of the *Northumbrians*[4], dying not long after their landing, their countrymen in thoſe parts were ready to give them all the aſſiſtance in their power. Theſe ſuccours did not balance the diſadvantages they felt from *Alfred's* late regulations; they found a very different face of affairs, in the country, from what they had ever obſerved before: no general terror ſpread upon their arrival among the people, and communicated by them to the ſoldiery, but bodies of well diſciplined men, every where in arms, to attack them, whenever an opportunity offered. They could not ſend out a party to plunder, but it was cut off; ſo that they were forced to immure themſelves within their camps all the time of their ſtay; without daring to make any incurſions about the country. Thus they paſſed the winter: and in the ſpring, being ſtill more ſtreightened in both their camps by *Alfred's* advancing againſt them in perſon at the head of his army, thoſe of *Apuldore* made an haſty march to get to the *Thames*; where their ſhips, which they had probably ſent after their landing to the ports of the *Eaſt-Angles* for ſecurity, were to meet and waft them over into *Eſſex*. The king was too vigilant to let them execute their ſcheme without oppoſition: and having advice of their march early enough to intercept their way at *Farnham* near *Ailesford*, defeated them there, and took all their baggage. Such as eſcaped from the battle, got to their ſhips; and being carried up the *Colne*, fortified themſelves at *Brickelſey* in *Eſſex*: as *Haſting*, having quitted *Milton*, did alſo at *Beamflete*, near the *Iſle of Canvey* in the ſame county. New invaſion of the *Danes*.

THE *Northumbrians*[5], in the mean time, had fitted out a fleet of an hundred and forty ſhips: and to make a diverſion in favour of the *Danes*, had landed in *Devonſhire*, and inveſted *Exeter*. The king, upon advice thereof, leaving his guards at *London*, and diſmiſſing the corps he had commanded, whoſe ſix months of ſervice was expired, haſtened to put himſelf at the head of the freſh corps, which was now to enter upon duty; and marched to raiſe the ſiege. The *Danes*, on his

[1] *Malmeſb. De pontif.* l. ii. *Vit. Alfred.* p. 158. [2] *Chr. Sax.* 893. [3] *Ib. A. D.* 890.
[4] *Sim. Dunelm. Hiſt. Eccl. Dun.* c. 29. [5] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 894. *Flor. Wig.*

ALFRED. approach, retired to their ſhips: and having made a fruitleſs attempt upon *Chicheſter*, joined *Haſting* at *Beamflete*; who thus reinforced, ventured, whilſt *Alfred* was as yet at a diſtance, to make an incurſion into the borders of *Mercia*. The king's troops at *London*, taking advantage of the *Daniſh* general's abſence, attacked *Beamflete*; and carrying the place by ſtorm, made his wife and two ſons priſoners; whom *Alfred* afterwards, with a magnanimity that is a reproach to later times, ſent back to him with a meſſage, *That he did not make war upon women and Chriſtians*; the two children having been baptized. *Haſting*, upon this diſaſter, fortified *Shobury*, in the *Hundreds of Eſſex*, and nearer the mouth of the *Thames* than *Beamflete*: but not caring to wait there for *Alfred's* return from the *Weſt*, marched with his forces along the *Thames*, till he drew near the *Severne*; and then along this laſt named river, till he got to *Buttington* in *Shropſhire*; in hopes perhaps of being joined by the *Welſh-Britains*. The king's generals did not allow him time to be reinforced: but blocking up the place immediately, reduced the *Danes* to ſuch extremity, that they were forced to eat their horſes, and ſome of them died of famine. Neceſſity and deſpair put them upon forcing their way through the *Engliſh* that beleaguered them, and though they were defeated with great ſlaughter in the attempt, yet ſome of them got off and eſcaped by flight to the *Eaſt-Angles*. There they raiſed a freſh body of forces: and being reinforced alſo by the *Northumbrians*, made another puſh to get into *Wales*; marching night and day through *Mercia*, till they reached *Cheſter*, with ſuch expedition, that the king's army, though they cut off ſome ſtragglers, could not come up with them, till they had intrenched themſelves in the place, which was then without inhabitants. It was not the time of year for a ſiege: and the *Engliſh*, contenting themſelves with driving away the cattle, and carrying off all the proviſions in the neighbourhood, left them there to paſs the winter.

THE *Danes* made a ſhift with ſome preys, that they took in *Wales*[1], to ſubſiſt, though with difficulty, during that ſeaſon: but not daring either to wait the aſſembling of the *Engliſh* army, or to attempt a paſſage through *Mercia*, retired early in the following ſpring into the *Northumbrian* territories, and from thence got back at laſt to the country of the *Eaſt-Angles*; there they ſeem to have remained quiet for ſome time, being ſtrongly intrenched in the *Iſle of Merſey*: but advancing at the latter end of the year towards the borders of *Mercia*, they took poſt at *Hertford* on the *Ley*, which was the boundary of that kingdom on the ſide of the *Eaſt-Angles*. In this place they erected two forts, one on each ſide of the river, for the ſecurity of their ſhips, which they had drawn up the ſtream: and maintained them the next year[2] againſt an unſucceſsful attack of the *Londoners*. But *Alfred* coming up with his army, and viewing the nature of the ground and the ſituation of their camps, which were not tenable without the defence of the river and the ſupply of its water, found out an eaſy way of diſlodging them, by turning the courſe of the ſtream; which left their ſhips a ground on a ſudden. The *Pagans* hereupon quitting their forts and ſhips, which became a prey to the *Londoners*, fled in all haſte towards the *Severne*: and fortified themſelves at *Quatbridge*, now probably *Bridgenorth*, being purſued thither by *Alfred*. Thus hunted, diſtreſſed, diſheartened, they reſolved to quit *England*: and retiring into the country of the *Northumbrians*, got ſhipping among their friends, and went back to *Normandie*, poor, neceſſitous, and exceedingly leſſened in their numbers, after paſſing three years in this iſland, without having taken one fortified town, or made one ſucceſsful incurſion. *Alfred*, after their departure, found no difficulty in reducing the *Eaſt-Angles* and the *Northumbrians*; whom he would no longer indulge with a ſub-

[1] *Ib. A. D.* 895. [2] *A. D.* 896.

ordinate

ordinate king of their own: and became thereby the firſt monarch of *England*, that had all the different provinces of the heptarchy under his immediate ſubjection. This allowed him to put in execution the ſchemes he had formed for the common good of his people, to eſtabliſh the beſt order and the wiſeſt *police*, that perhaps human prudence ever invented, throughout all his dominions. ALFRED.

XIII. IT is very reaſonable to think, that when he ſettled the order beforementioned for oppoſing the invaſions of the *Danes;* and aſſigned all his officers their reſpective poſts, he fixed likewiſe the ſeveral diſtricts wherein they were to act: and made a partition of the provinces of which the *Weſt-Saxon* and *Mercian* kingdoms, both under his immediate ſubjection, were compoſed. This he now compleated, extending it over his new conqueſts; and divided all *England*, as *Ingulf*[1] and other writers agree, into counties, *hundreds*, and *tythings*. Some mention[2] another ſubdiviſion of counties into three portions, called thence, *trithings* (corruptly *ridings) lathes*, and *rapes*, conſiſting of ſeveral hundreds: but this doth not appear to have taken place generally, and there are no traces of it, except in ſome maritime counties, which were made larger than others for the better oppoſing of the deſcents of the enemy: and however convenient ſuch a ſubdiviſion might be on that account, it doth not ſeem to have been of much uſe in the point of civil judicature, or at leaſt it did not long ſubſiſt. No ancient writer hath given us a liſt of the names of theſe counties, which hath occaſioned a difference in the account of their number, whether thirty-two[3], thirty-five[4], or thirty-eight[5], as firſt ſettled: but whatever the number originally was, they are now, by the addition of *Durham* (then the property of the church and ſubject to the biſhop of the ſee) and of *Cornwall*, not fully reduced at that time, ſwelled up to forty; excluſive of *Wales*, which had, by its own kings, been lately divided into three provinces, and probably much earlier, into *cantrefs*, or *hundreds*. Some are apt to imagine, that though *Alfred* was undoubtedly the author of the ſubdiviſions into *hundreds* and *tythings*, yet counties were ancienter than his time; and ground their conjecture upon a law[6] of king *Ina*, by which an alderman, who let a robber eſcape out of his cuſtody, was to be puniſhed with the loſs of his *ſhire*, and on the word *alderman's* being by later writers rendered in *Latin*, *comes*. The *Engliſh* term for that office is *earl*, derived from the *Daniſh*, *Jarl*; as the chieftains of *clans*, whether they governed their territories by a natural independent authority, or were reduced to pay homage to ſome more powerful prince, were uſually ſtyled in *Norway* and other parts of *Scandinavia*. In *England*, the term *alderman* was only a title of office, into which a perſon was put for the government of a diſtrict aſſigned him, in civil and military affairs: but his diſtrict was greater or leſs, according to the king's favour and opinion of his capacity; and he was removeable at his majeſty's pleaſure. Such diſtricts, for the exerciſe of either the royal authority by an alderman, or for that of ſome particular lord, were called[7] ſhires: and thus we find the name of *Hexham-*

He divides *England* into counties, &c.

[1] P. 870. [2] *Spelman's Vit. Alfredi*, p. 77.
[3] *Chron. Meilros.* [4] *Hunt.*
[5] *Bibl. Cotton. Fauſtina*, E. 5. [6] *L.* 36.
[7] It is very certain, that many of thoſe ſhires were much leſs than counties: ſuch as *Hallamſhire*, *Richmondſhire*, *Selwoodſhire*, and *Triconſhire*, which laſt is mentioned in *Alfred's* will, and is ſuppoſed to lye in *Somerſetſhire*, though perhaps it might be the north-eaſt part of *Cornwall*, running from *Stratton*, on the borders of *Devon*, to *Wardbridge*, in the *Hundred of Trig*, which might, as being a new conqueſt, require a particular diſpoſition of it to his eldeſt ſon *Edward*, who ſucceeded him in the kingdom. For, that *Alfred* had ſubdued a great part of *Cornwall*, appears from what *Aſſer* relates of his being cured of a ſickneſs, whilſt he was at his prayers in the church of *St. Guerir*, near *Leſkard*, and from a biſhop's ſee being ſoon after his death, in *A. D.* 905, erected at *Bodmin*. Thus *Ethelred*, father-in-law to *Alfred*, was *comes Ganiorum* (*Angl. S.* i. 207.) who inhabited a tract of country about *Gainſborough* in *Lincolnſhire*. In the battle of *Elleſcroft*, near *York*, *A. D.* 867, no fewer than eight *Northumbrian comites* were killed by the *Danes*; and yet, in all probability, there were a great many more either not preſent or not ſlain in that battle; and theſe eight are more than the counties of which the kingdom of *Northumberland* then conſiſted.

ALFRED. *ſhire* given to the ſouth-weſt part of *Northumberland*, belonging in property to the church of *Hexham*, and ſubject to its juriſdiction, without any interfering of the king's alderman. But theſe were very different as well in their extent, as in the continual variation of that extent, from the counties; the bounds whereof were firſt ſettled by *Alfred*, to continue the ſame invariably through ſucceeding ages. It is very likely that he made this diviſion, after he had taken a ſurvey of all the manors and hydes throughout his dominions; which ſerving for a *notitia* of his kingdom was drawn up in a book called the *Roll of Winton*, from its being lodged in the archives of that place, where the *Weſt-Saxon* kings uſually reſided: and being perhaps better inſtructed thereby in the lands belonging to the ſeveral proprietors mentioned in it, than in the ſituation of particular places, or elſe paying a greater regard to the former conſideration, allotted to ſome counties, in which the chief ſeat of a nobleman and the bulk of his lands lay, ſeveral hamlets, which, by their poſition, ſeem fitter to have been annexed to others, with which they lye intermixed, and in ſome caſes ſurrounded.

His police and regulations for adminiſtering juſtice.

XIV. THE diviſion of counties into hundreds [1] and tythings, ſerved for introducing the new method of juſtice and police eſtabliſhed by *Alfred*. The nobility in *England* had hitherto adminiſtered juſtice among their vaſſals and tenants within their own territories; as their anceſtors in the days of [2] *Tacitus* had done in *Germany*; the biſhops, monaſteries, and collegiate churches did the ſame upon their lands [3], and they were anſwerable for the bringing of their vaſſals and ſervants to the judgment of the law, or for paying the fines affixed to their crimes; in caſe they abſconded from juſtice, and their effects were not ſufficient to anſwer the penalty. All other freeholders and *ingenui* anſwered in like manner for their ſlaves; and their cauſes were cognizable before the biſhop of the dioceſe and alderman of the ſhire, who ſat together in the ſame court: the one judging in eccleſiaſtical, the other in civil caſes; but notwithſtanding this regulation, an infinite number of rapines and diſorders were daily committed. To prevent theſe, *Alfred* inſtituted [4] tythings, ſo called, becauſe ten freeholders with their families were formed into a diſtinct body, and were all pledges to the king for the good behaviour of one another (as each [5] of them was for that of his reſpective family and lodgers, in caſe they ſtaid above two nights in his houſe) and obliged, in caſe of any breach of the peace or other crime, to have the offender forthcoming; or if he fled, to purge themſelves, as in no wiſe conſenting to his guilt or flight, or elſe to [6] pay his forfeiture. Every free perſon was in the nature of an outlaw, if he did not enter himſelf in one of theſe tythings; nor could he remove to any other place, or be there received, without a certificate from his own tything; if he was admitted, without ſuch a teſtimonial, to dwell in any town, it was finable at the king's mercy. One of the ten freeholders preſided over the other nine, being termed the *tythingman*, *headborgh*, or *borſholder* [7]; and called them together to take cognizance of ſmaller matters and diſputes among neighbours in the ſame tything; but in cauſes of greater weight, and regarding perſons in different tythings, the preſidents, or *borſholders* of the ten neareſt tythings, choſen from among themſelves, met to decide it; being aſſiſted in judgment by a perſon learned in the law, termed a *dean*, and appointed by the king's council. The ordinary courts of the hundred were

[1] They were called alſo *Friborgs*, from *Bork*, or *Borgh*, in *Daniſh*, a *pledge*, and *Friborgh*, becauſe they were all *freemen*; whence the word *neighbour*, i. e. a *pledge near at hand*.

[2] *De mor. Germ.* [3] *LL. S. Edw.* 21.

[4] Theſe were in ſome counties called *Wapentacks*, from the form of receiving the dean, or preſident appointed by the king, who erecting his lance (or weapon) all the tything men *touched* it with theirs. The *Danes* gave the name of *Waarbretach* to thoſe of a country, who went into the field together, and ſerved under the ſame commanders: *Vit. Alfredi*, p. 74.

[5] *LL. S. Edw.* 27. [6] *LL.* 20. [7] *LL.* 32.

held

held once a [1] month for determining appeals from the deciſions of particular *friborghs*, and other matters ſubject to their cognizance; and to theſe the *hundreder*, ſix days before they were held, ſummoned all the *friborghs* within the hundred: and twelve of the moſt conſiderable and judicious freeholders were ſworn with him [2] to judge uprightly in all cauſes that came before them, to condemn no innocent perſon, nor acquit any that were guilty; their ſentence being generally ſtyled the judgment of the [3] *country*. Once a year (and if neceſſary, twice) there was held an extraordinary aſſembly of the *hundred*, called a *view of frankpledge*, or *court leet*, to which all perſons (except the nobility and clergy) of twelve [4] years of age, whether freeholders, or other free inhabitants, or ſtrangers, were obliged to come, to ſhew in what *friborgh* they were entered, and to take an oath of fealty to the king: and there a ſtrict inqueſt was made into all neglects of that kind; into the number and conduct of the members of the ſeveral tythings [5]; into all breaches of the peace, murders, miſdemeanors, *treaſure trove*, wrecks; into every thing contrary to good manners; into all acts detrimental to the king, or in fraud of his revenue; as well as into grievances, which the ſubject ſuffered from his officers [6]. There was always a *juſtice*, ſkilled both in divine and human laws, appointed by the king in theſe *leets*, who was to take care of the rights of the crown, particularly of his revenue, a conſiderable part of which aroſe from the forfeitures incurred by the breach of laws, and to give his judgment in the deciſion of cauſes. There were likewiſe two courts, of the whole county, called the *ſheriffs turns*, held twice a year, after *Eaſter* and *Michaelmas*; in which were determined ſome weightier matters, exempt from the cognizance of inferior judicatures, and cauſes between perſons living in different hundreds. They examined likewiſe into what had been done in the lower courts; heard appeals from their deciſions; and revoked them, if erroneous. In theſe county courts, the biſhop and earl, or their deputies, termed *vicedomini* or *vidames*, to whom they delegated their authority on occaſion, had always preſided and determined all matters: but now a *ſheriff*, conſtantly reſident to take care of his county, was appointed with an independent power; and without any commiſſion from either of them, ordinarily exerciſed his preſidial authority. It only remains to be obſerved, that an appeal lay from theſe county courts to the king, who ſat in perſon to hear cauſes; and that the ſame method of *frankpledges* or *friborghs* which was eſtabliſhed in the country, was obſerved likewiſe in *burroughs*; where [7] a court, or *burghmote*, was held thrice a year for determining all cauſes between the inhabitants. Such was the order and method of the *police* and judicature eſtabliſhed by *Alfred* throughout his dominions. ALFRED.

THERE certainly never was a more effectual courſe taken for the preventing and puniſhing of all murders, robberies, breaches of the peace, and all crimes whatever, than was provided for by this inſtitution of *frankpledges*; which made every liegeman in the kingdom a ſurety for his neighbour's conduct, and intereſted him in the proſecution of the guilty. A man had little temptation to commit a crime, when all his neighbours were, for their own ſakes, obliged to find him out, and he was ſure of being diſcovered and puniſhed. He could not wander to another country, and practiſe any iniquity there; becauſe he could not be lodged and entertained without a certificate frnm the headburrough of his own tything [8]; for if he was of none, he was obliged to enter into the ſervice of ſome maſter, who would anſwer for him, or if he was of ſo ill a character that no body would take him for a ſervant, he had nothing to do, but to quit the realm, ſince if he did not

[1] *LL. Edw. Sen.* c. 11. *LL. H.* i. c. 7, 8. *LL. Ethelfredi*, c. 4. in *Brompton*, p. 896.
[2] *Fœdus Alfredi & Guthurn*, c. 3. *LL. Athelſtan.* c. 11. [3] *LL.* viii. *H.* i. [4] *LL. Canut.* 19.
[5] *Vit. Alfredi*, p. 74. [6] *LL. H.* i. c. 8.
[7] *LL. Edgar.* c. 5. *LL. Canut.* c. 17.
[8] *LL. Athelſtan.* c. 2.

produce

Alfred. produce his *pledges* on demand, he [1] was put to death, and buried in a profane place, like a publick robber. Theſe regulations had ſuch a wonderful effect, that in a ſhort time there was no ſuch thing as a robbery, breach of the peace, publick offence, or private injury to be heard of; every body, even maidens unaccompanied, travelled the roads without danger of any inſult [2], and the king, for an experiment, cauſing bracelets of gold to be hung up in the high-ways, no body durſt offer to touch them, or even take up the purſe of a private man, if he had dropt it on the road, and ſuffered it to lye there for a month unſought. A good deal of this however muſt be aſcribed to *Alfred's* [3] vigilance; who took care to ſee his laws put in execution, and examined with great ſtrictneſs into the conduct of all his miniſters and judges; calling them to account for all their deciſions, puniſhing them ſeverely if they had perverted juſtice out of favour, hatred, or avarice; and removing them, if they erred out of mere ignorance. The old book, entituled the *Mirrour of juſtices*, reviſed in the time of *Edward* I, by *Andrew Horne*, recites many inſtances of this ſeverity.

The order, ſettled in the ſeveral judicatures which he erected, was of infinite benefit and ſatisfaction to his people. They were before continually complaining of the oppreſſion and unjuſt deciſions of the earls [4] and their deputies; who had their own intereſt more at heart than the publick good: and having no friend but the king, no opinion of the rectitude of any one's judgment but his, they never acquieſced in any ſentence, till they had applied to him for redreſs; ſo that too much of his time was taken up in hearing cauſes, till he removed the occaſions of ſuch appeals by the above-mentioned regulations. Finding abundance of complaints to ariſe from the ignorance of the earls and his other miniſters, who were generally illiterate, he expreſſed his amazement that any had the impudence to take upon them truſts and offices which they were not qualified to diſcharge: and obliged them all either to apply themſelves to learning and the acquiring of that knowledge which was neceſſary to fit them for their poſts, or elſe to quit their dignities and officers. The earls were before abſolute maſters of their counties, having all the civil as well as military power in their hands; which enabled them to diſturb the peace of the kingdom, and to raiſe inſurrections that put the crown in danger: but the caſe was much altered by the civil juriſdictions being exerciſed ordinarily by a ſheriff; who had no dependance on them, and having a co-ordinate power with them, ſaved them the trouble of attending to any thing but the *militia* [5]; of which they retained indeed the principal command, but had no power to appoint or remove the inferior officers. The people in general found their chief grievances redreſſed: and received great eaſe, by having juſtice adminiſtered at their own homes by judges of the neighbourhood, fully acquainted with the true ſtate of cauſes, and in not being forced to have recourſe to the king's court upon every occaſion. For the better inſtruction and direction of thoſe judges, he made a collection of ſuch judgments and reports as he thought moſt equitable; which (as appears from *Horne* [6]) was extant in the time of *Edward* I, and made uſe of in the courts of law at *Weſtminſter*; nor was its authority there laid aſide, even in the time of *Edward* IV, as *Harding* atteſts in his *Chronicle* [7].

His laws. XV. There is ſome reaſon to think that *Alfred* drew up a compleat body of laws, which, with the advice of his council, he publiſhed to form the minds and

[1] *LL. Ethelredi*, c. 5. [2] *Spelman, Vit. Alfredi*, p. 82. *Ingulf.* [3] *Aſſer. De geſt. Alfredi.*
[4] *Aſſer. ib.* [5] *Vita Alfredi*, p. 120, 121. [6] *Mirroir des juſtices*, c. 2. § 13.
[7] F. 111.

manners of his people [1]: It was collected, as well out of the laws of God and nations, as from the conſtitutions of former *Saxon* kings, and the cuſtoms obſerved among the various nations that inhabited *Britain*; which might poſſibly give occaſion to the name of *common law*, when it came to be obſerved by them all in common, now united under his dominion; or at leaſt the general rules and maxims, laid down therein, might ſerve for a foundation to what is at this day uſually underſtood by that term. But this hath undergone the ſame fate as his *book of reports*; there being no copy of either extant, and all that is left of his laws, being a fragment of ſome, which he made in the beginning of his reign, when he was king only of the *Weſt-Saxons:* whereas the others were probably eſtabliſhed *A. D.* 887 [2], when having repeopled *London*, he appointed it for the place of holding the ordinary aſſemblies of the *great council* of the nation. It appears from the preface to them, that he had reviſed all the *Weſt-Saxon*, *Kentiſh*, and *Mercian* laws; had rejected many, and adopted all that he and his council had thought fit to be obſerved. This looks as if he propoſed theſe laſt, for a compleat body of laws to his ſubjects: yet nothing that deſerves ſuch a title, hath as yet been diſcovered; though ſome particular laws, omitted in *Whelock's* collection, are mentioned by hiſtorians [3], and *Lambard* was once in hopes of diſcovering others. Moſt of thoſe which are preſerved, relate to breaches of the peace and the injuries of private perſons to one another; and the fines and ſatisfactions for each offence are proportioned, as well to the meaſure of the injury, as to the rank of the perſon injured, and fixed in ſo particular a manner, that it was out of the power of the judges, either to moderate or enhance them; *Alfred* probably thinking it dangerous to entruſt them with a diſcretionary power in ſuch caſes. He obſerves that the *Saxon* princes, out of a *Chriſtian* clemency, had affixed only pecuniary penalties to crimes, except in the caſe of a vaſſal's betraying or deſerting his lord, which was a capital offence: and there are very few crimes, which he thought fit, upon the firſt offence [4], to puniſh otherwiſe; ſuch as ſacrilege, the ſpreading of falſe rumors, and the rape of a ſervant maid by a fellow ſervant; which perhaps, becauſe they were more frequently perpetrated than others, were guarded againſt by the ſeverer [5] penalties of amputation of the hand in the firſt, cutting out the tongue in the ſecond; and caſtration in the third inſtance. The deſigning or making an attempt on the king's life was puniſhed with death, and the forfeiture of all the goods of the traytor. The penalty was the ſame on a vaſſal guilty of the like offence againſt his lord; whoſe rights and authority over his dependants ſuch care was taken to preſerve, that in the very law which preſſes a ſtrict obſervance of oaths, it is declared, that if any of them were compelled on any occaſion to take an unjuſt oath to his prejudice, it was [6] much rather to be broken than kept. There is ſtill another law deſerving notice and relating to entails, by which a perſon poſſeſſed of *Bookland*, or an eſtate of inheritance, derived from his anceſtors and paſſing by deed or writing, was diſabled from alienating it or diſinheriting the heir, if it appeared either by written or living teſtimony, that the original donor intended it ſhould continue in the *family*. All the reſt relate to criminal matters: and it is very plain from the whole tenour of them, that they were enacted before *Alfred* had ſettled the above-mentioned regulations for the *police* and government of his kingdom.

ALFRED.

THESE regulations ſeem to me to have been made, when the kingdom of *Mercia* was added to the *Weſt-Saxon* dominions, ſoon after his treaty with *Guthrun*, and at the ſame time with his military conſtitutions, and that they con-

[1] *Chron. J. Wellingford.* [2] *Chron. Petriburg. A. D.* 887. [3] *LL. Aluredi.*
[4] *Preface to his Laws. LL.* vi. 28. 25. [5] *LL.* iv. [6] *LL.* i.

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ASSER takes notice of the great difficulties which *Alfred* met with in the meaſures he took for the adminiſtration of juſtice, ariſing as well from the negligence and ſelfiſhneſs of the nobility, as from the want of knowledge and learning in all that were employed under him in any office. To remedy this defect, he obliged them all to apply themſelves to the ſtudy of thoſe points of knowledge, which were neceſſary to qualify them for their poſts: and to provide a ſucceſſion of able men to fill them, he paſſed a law (which is quoted by *Spelman* [1] from *Ailred* of *Rieval*) "enjoining all freeholders, whoſe eſtates amounted to two hydes of "land or more, to ſend their children to ſchool, till they were ſixteen years old, "to be bred up in a way of learning." But as knowledge is not acquired, nor doth learning become general in an inſtant, when *Alfred* erected ſuch a prodigious number of judicatures, as were formed on the dividing of his kingdoms into counties, hundreds, and tythings, it was abſolutely neceſſary for him, not only to ſettle the forms of writs (if any were uſed at that time) and to ſelect a number of approved judgments and reports, but alſo to put into writing the principal rules or maxims of the common law, and communicate them to the ſheriffs, coroners, or juſtices, and other officers that ſat in thoſe judicatures; with proper inſtructions for applying them in all caſes. This was done in the *Dome-boc* or *Liber judicialis*, as it is called by king *Edward* the *Elder* (the ſon and immediate ſucceſſor of this *Alfred* who compoſed it) in the *Preface* to his laws, "where-"in he enjoins all his reeves and miniſters that had any charge in the ſtate, to "judge equitably according to the directions of that book, to which they were "to adhere ſtrictly in all caſes." The ſame book fixed the fines or amercements to be laid upon offenders; as appears from the eighth law of the ſame prince: which leaves room to preſume, that it contained a compleat body of laws; becauſe in the *Saxon* times, there are very few inſtances to be given of laws, the breach whereof was not puniſhed by pecuniary penalties. It ſeems likewiſe to have contained an abridgment of the *Common law*, *i. e.* of ſuch uſages and cuſtoms as had been obſerved in all ages among the *Engliſh*, without being enjoined by any particular ſtatutes, or committed to writing, till *Alfred's* time, but varying in different places, and according to the different conditions of perſons. This diverſity was removed by *Alfred's* ſelecting out of them ſuch as he judged moſt equitable and beneficial to his people, and digeſting them into a body of *common law*, to be obſerved uniformly by all his ſubjects. This *Horne* [2] looked upon as extremely beneficial to the nation; and therefore among other advantages and conveniencies which he repreſents of this prince's regulations, he obſerves, that "the ſheriffs of counties, and the bai-"liffs of hundreds, aſſembling the freeholders of their reſpective bailiwicks, "made ſuch deciſions and judgments as could not poſſibly be given or received "before, *till the uſages of the realm were put in writing, and eſtabliſhed for cer-"tain and invariable.*" They were firſt fixed and reduced to writing by *Alfred*,

[1] *Vita Alfredi*, p. 64. [2] *Mirroir des juſtices*, c. 1. § 3.

for the inſtruction of thoſe judges in county and hundred courts of his erection; and thence the treatiſe called the *Mirrour of juſtices*, ſeems to have been extracted. The very title it bears inſinuates that it was a *manual* or *directory*[1], ſerving as a guide for *juſtices* in their judgments: and it was probably drawn up by the king's council learned in the common law, to prevent thoſe erroneous and contradicting deciſions, which in an illiterate age, and by an infinite number of different and unexperienced juſtices, muſt, without ſuch a common and uniform rule, have been daily given; and inſtead of promoting the order propoſed, would have produced a ſtrange confuſion, and been the cauſe of a general uneaſineſs. ALFRED.

THE ſubſtance of this treatiſe is undoubtedly much ancienter than the time of *Horne*; the judges, whoſe opinions or deciſions are quoted in it, appear almoſt all of them by their names, to be *Saxons*, and conſequently older than the conqueſt. The ſame may be obſerved of thoſe corrupt ones, upon whom *Alfred* is ſaid to have inflicted the *lex talionis* for their arbitrary and illegal judgments, to ſhew, as in a *mirrour*, what others were to expect in the like caſes. The author, whoſe name it bears, only added to it ſome ſtrictures of his own, ſome alterations made by *Henry* I, and ſucceeding kings, the opinions of later judges in certain caſes, and (what ſeems to be the chief deſign of his reviſion) the abuſes or deviations introduced ſince the time of compoſing that *treatiſe*. It is much to be lamented, that the *Dome-book* of *Alfred*, ſo much reſpected in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, to the time of *Edward* IV, hath been ſince loſt: it would have ſupplied us with a particular detail of thoſe fixed, certain, and undiſputed maxims of the *common law*, which that wiſe prince thought fit, by enjoining them expreſsly, to have obſerved invariably; but which, through the want thereof, are too much left in the diſcretionary power of judges, who, in the multitude of jarring decrees, which are to be ſeen in our modern reports, can never want a precedent or colour, whenever out of favour, ſpleen, intereſt, or corruption, they have an inclination to deviate from them in their deciſions. It might be of uſe to prevent the occaſions of law-ſuits, to remove the uncertainty of their event, and to leſſen the tediouſneſs, the expences, the inconveniences, and the exceſſive number of proceſſes in the courts at *Weſtminſter*, by contributing to revive the judicatures of the counties and hundreds, with authority to determine all cauſes ariſing within their diſtricts, or of a certain value, according to the rate at which money now paſſes, proportioned to what it bore at the time of their firſt inſtitution. For in all ſtates, there will be in time ſome deviations from their original conſtitution, creeping in inſenſibly: and when they have gone a great length, it will become neceſſary (as *Machiavel* obſerves) to have recourſe to thoſe firſt principles, upon which the government was founded.

XVI. THERE are ſome other inſtitutions aſcribed to[2] *Alfred*; which, if not originally introduced by him, do at leaſt derive from him the regularity, with which they were afterwards continued and practiſed. He was probably the moſt knowing, the wiſeſt, and the moſt indefatigable man in his kingdom: yet he never cared either to ſit in judgment, or to tranſact any momentous affair of government, without having the advice, and hearing the ſentiments of others, of whoſe ſkill and judgment he had a good opinion[3]. Hence it was, that he not only provided for the *great councils* of the nation to be held twice a year at *London*; but aſ- Some of his inſtitutions.

[1] Among the reſt of *Alfred's* works, *Bale* mentions a book wrote *Contra iniquos judices*: another entitled, *Acta Magiſtratuum*: a third, *Viſi-Saxonum Leges*: a fourth, which was a *Collection* out of the *Laws of the Greeks, Britains, Saxons*, and *Danes*: and *Leland*, *De ſcriptoribus Angl.* c. 115. p. 150. ſays, he ſaw a book of his *De legibus* at *Chriſt-Church* in *Hampſhire*.

[2] *Vita Alfredi*, p. 115, 116.

[3] *Mirroir des juſtices*, c. 1. § 3.

ſembled

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ſembled his biſhops and nobility regularly at the three great feſtivals, which were more particularly appointed, wherever the king kept his court for the hearing, as well of original cauſes, either of the great *thanes*, or of heinous crimes reſerved to his cognizance, as of appeals from inferior judicatures and for the remedying of all oppreſſion. To aſſiſt him at all other times, he formed out of the biſhops, abbots, clergy, and nobility, who, by reaſon of their offices, were conſtantly attending about his perſon, a ſelect body [1] of wiſe councillors, ſince known by the name of the *privy council*. Another of theſe inſtitutions, was the method of *trial by juries of twelve men* [2], of the ſame rank and condition with the perſon accuſed, and taken from the *neighbourhood* of the place where the crime was committed, the circumſtances whereof they might be preſumed to know, as well as the character of the witneſſes, by whom it was to be proved. *Tacitus* obſerves, with regard to all the *German* nations in his time [3], that the *prince*, *chieftain*, or lord of a territory among them, when he ſat in judgment, had always an hundred co-aſſeſſors with him, choſen out of the *ingenui*, or freeholders of the country: and this cuſtom prevailed undoubtedly among the *Saxons*, as it did likewiſe among all the northern nations, till ſucceeding times gave occaſion to ſome alterations [4]. Thus among the *Danes*, the number of theſe aſſeſſors was reſtrained to twelve, in the time of *Regner Lodebrog*, and the ſame number is ſtill kept up in *Sweden*. When it was firſt thus reduced in *England*, doth not appear from any paſſage in our old hiſtorians: but that this was the eſtabliſhed number in *Alfred's* time, may be inferred, as well from his hanging *Cadwine* for ſentencing a man to that kind of death without the aſſent of all the twelve jurors [5], upon whom he had put himſelf to be tried (three of them diſſenting from the reſt, and being removed to make way for three others that concurred in the ſentence) as from the laws which he gave to *Gothurn*. It is very probable, however, that he was the firſt author of extending to *civil* cauſes this way of trial; which had been perhaps uſed before in *criminal* caſes; and that the moſt conſiderable *thanes* in a county, attended at firſt at theſe trials, till finding in time, that little came before them in judgment worthy of their trouble and attention, they grew negligent in attending, and left the care of this part of judicature to the ordinary *freeholders*.

We ſee in the hiſtory of this reign a remarkable proof, that it is a prince's own fault, if he is not well ſerved; and that it is no ill rule to judge of his deſigns by the meaſures of his miniſters: for a great and good prince will always have able and upright miniſters, and will either find or make them fit for his purpoſes. When *Alfred* came to the throne, there was (as *Aſſer* repreſents the caſe) ſcarce a man in employment, that was either duly qualified for it, or was not corrupt in the exerciſe of his office; but by his inſtructions and ſtrict examination into their talents and conduct, by his continual attention to the affairs of government, and the adminiſtration of juſtice, he formed them, in a ſhort time, to his mind, and fitted them to co-operate with him in the great work of preventing rapine, violence, and oppreſſion, of correcting diſorders among a people habituated thereto, of eſtabliſhing the quiet, re-animating the virtue of the nation, and putting it in a flouriſhing condition.

His death and children.

XVII. This excellent prince, after a [6] reign of twenty-nine years and an half, died on *October* 26, *A. D.* 900 [7], and was interred at *Wincheſter*, firſt in the old, and

[1] *Aſſer.* p. 70. [2] *Vita Alfredi*, p. 72.
[3] *De mor. Germ.* [4] *Saxo Grammat.* l. ix.
[5] *Mirroir des juſtices*, c. 5. § 1. § 107. c. 3. See alſo *LL. Athelſtan.* c. 11. & *Senatus conſult. de monticolis Walliæ*, c. 3. *Ib. Edw. Conf. pref.*
[6] *Aſſerii Annal. Vit. Alfredi*, p. 169.
[7] The *Saxon chronicle* and *Florence* of *Worceſter* place his death a year before, but as they agree he reigned but twenty-nine years and an half, and that he began his reign *A. D.* 871, which *Aſſer* alſo atteſts, whoſe authority in that point is unexceptionable (though the inſcription on *Ethelred's* tomb ſays he died *April* 23, *A. D.* 872. See *Camden Derſet*) there is no doubt but he died *A. D.* 900.

afterwards in the new, monaſtery of his own foundation; from whence, about A. D. 1520, his bones, with thoſe of ſeveral other *Saxon* and *Engliſh* kings, being put into lead coffins, inſcribed with the name of each, were removed, by biſhop *Fox*, to the cathedral. There they reſted in peace, till *December* 14, *A. D.* 1642; when the parliamentarian rebels, and hypocritical pretenders to greater purity of religion, than others, mingled all their aſhes together, riddled and threw them into the air; an act of deſecration too ſhocking to be paralleled among the moſt brutal barbarians. *Alfred* had, by his wife *Ethelſwitha*, three ſons and as many daughters; of[1] the former *Edmund* the eldeſt was crowned in his father's life-time, and died before him; *Edward* the ſecond ſucceeded him; and *Ethelward* the youngeſt was bred at *Oxford*, made a wonderful proficiency in learning, and dying *October* 16, *A. D.* 922, left two ſons named *Elwin* and *Ethelwin*, who were, in *Athelſtan's* reign, ſlain in an engagement with *Anlaf*. Of his daughters, *Elfleda* the eldeſt, was (as hath been already obſerved) married to *Ethelred*, earl of *Mercia*; *Athelgeova* turning nun, was made abbeſs of *Shaftſbury*; and *Alfritha*, or *Athelſwitha*, the youngeſt, being married to *Baldwin*, earl of *Flanders*, had by him two ſons, *Arnulf*, from whom the counts of that country, and *Adulf*, from whom the counts of *Boulogne*, deſcended.

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XVIII. ALFRED was a prince of whom it is difficult to ſpeak with juſtice: for his due elogium muſt ſeem exaggerated, and the leaſt detraction from it, would be an injury to his character. There met in him all the qualities, which contribute to form a great man; great parts, great application, great courage, and a great mind; whatever way we turn our reflections, we find him every where admirable, and his genius ſo univerſal, that he excelled in every ſubject, ſcience, and buſineſs, which engaged his attention. [2] "If we conſider his regular exerciſes of religion, one "would think he had never been out of a cloiſter; if his wars, that he had lived "no where but in a camp; if his learning and writings, that he had paſſed all "his time in an univerſity; if his regulations for the good of his people, and the "ſecurity of his kingdom, that he made the laws the ſtudy of his life, and that "the arts of government had been the only ſubject of his reflections." Religion ſeems to be what he had moſt at heart: yet his zeal for it never ſeduced him to ſacrifice any of the rights of his crown to papal uſurpations, nor led him either to ſtoop to actions unbecoming his dignity, or to neglect any other duty which he owed to himſelf or his people. Surrounded when he came to the crown (which he was rather to win by his ſword, than inherit from his father's diſpoſition) by infinite ſhoals of enemies, continually recruited by freſh numbers of men, whoſe ſole delight and buſineſs was war and plunder, he had perpetual occaſions of exerting his military ſkill and perſonal bravery. *Malmeſbury* ſays, he was preſent in fifty-ſix battles againſt the *Danes*, either by ſea or land; many of which, when on the point of being loſt, he reſtored by his perſonal valour: and being never daunted with a foil (for he never ſuffered any conſiderable defeat) he was ready the next moment for a new action, or rather more eager for it, though withal more circumſpect than before. When he had fortified his coaſts and frontiers, and formed a regular militia to his mind, he took his meaſures ſo well, that he was never baffled in any of his enterprizes. Learning was, in his time, a ſure way to preferment; an encouragement without which it can never flouriſh, and which indeed it can never want, but under weak and bad princes, who have no concern for the public welfare: the love of it was his favourite paſſion; it was the conſtant ſubject of his converſation with the learned men, whom he kept about his court, and

His character.

[1] *Hiſtor. major. Winton.* [2] *Teſtimonia de Alfredo R. ad finem Vitæ.*

Alfred. talked with at his meals and hours of relaxation from buſineſs. This is certainly the agreeableſt and the eaſieſt method of acquiring knowledge, and which is in the power of every prince (indeed of every man of quality and fortune) to take in any age of his life; and yet we find him imitated by very few, beſides *Francis* I of *France*, of whom it is obſerved by *M. de Thou*, that he took the ſame method, and having a clear head and excellent judgment of his own, by talking with learned men on the ſubjects of their reſpective ſtudies, which he cauſed them to debate before him, he became maſter to a ſurprizing degree of all points of learning. Muſic, grammar, rhetoric, philoſophy, architecture, mathematics, hiſtory, and poetry are ſciences, or matters of knowledge and genius, in which *Alfred* [1] is particularly celebrated for excelling: and of this, his many works [2] ſtill preſerved afford an ample teſtimony. His fortitude and activity were extraordinary; he ſaw and examined into every thing himſelf; his care and vigilance extended every where, and to all matters; and ſuch was his prudence in reſolving on meaſures, as well as his conſtancy and firmneſs in purſuing them, that he never failed of carrying his point in view; being equally admirable at the head of an army or council, in the field or cabinet. Thus he made religion and learning flouriſh throughout his kingdom, as much in a time of war and alarms, as they could have done in any other reign in the midſt of peace: and eſtabliſhed ſuch wiſe regulations for the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, and ſecuring the liberties of his ſubjects, as muſt have continued thoſe bleſſings to lateſt poſterity; if people were not ſenſeleſs, mean, or corrupt enough, either to ſubmit tamely to any violence uſed in the breach thereof, or by conſenting to a deviation from them on particular occaſions, to create unhappy precedents for ſetting them aſide for ever. In his private life he was the moſt valuable and amiable man of his country; he [3] had a fine perſon, a calm but lively aſpect, graceful mien, and eaſy deportment; he was of an even and chearful temper, agreeable in converſation, and affable to all, knowing well how to condeſcend to people without ſinking below his dignity, and to gain their affections without leſſening their reſpect. He was temperate in his diet, moderate in all his deſires, charitable and good to all the world, beneficent, generous, magnificent on all fitting occaſions, and when to all this, and what hath been ſaid before in the account of his actions, we add, that he poſſeſſed theſe virtues, without a ſingle vice to ſully them, *Alfred's* will appear the moſt perfect character that is known in hiſtory: yet this is no more than his due, and what hath deſervedly procured him among foreign writers, as well as our own, the glorious appellation of *Alfred the Great*.

Edward I. Edward, ſurnamed *the Elder*, as being the firſt king of *England* of that name, ſucceeded his father; inferior to him in [4] learning and other talents, but his equal in military ſkill; by which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the whole courſe of his reign, and with ſo good ſucceſs, that he was never worſted in any one battle, where he fought in perſon. The death of *Alfred*, who was both loved and feared, gave the *Danes*, ſettled in the *Eaſt-Angles* and the *Northumbrian* territories, ſome hopes of being able to throw off the *Engliſh* yoke, and to renew their uſual depredations: it was what they had always wiſhed, and a favourable opportunity was now offered them to make the attempt. *Ethelwald*, couſin-german to *Edward*, in the ſecond year of his reign, ſet up a claim to the crown: [5] and ſeizing *Winburne* and *Chriſt Church*, raiſed an inſurrection, which the king marched immediately with a potent army to ſuppreſs. When *Edward* was advanced to *Badbury* [6], within two miles of *Winburne*, *Ethelwald* quitting the place by night, fled to *Normandie*: and paſſing from thence into *Northumberland*, was received by the *Danes* of that

[1] *Aſſer De geſtis Alfredi.* [2] *Spelman. Vit. Alfred.* p. 166. [3] *Aſſer. Men.* [4] *Malmeſb.* l. ii. c. 5.
[6] *Brompton.* p. 832. *Flor. Wig.* and *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 901. [6] *Camden* in *Dorſet.*

country for their king, as he was the year following by thoſe of *Eſſex*. He ſtill did not think himſelf ſtrong enough to contend with *Edward*[1]: and going beyond ſea to procure further ſuccours, returned the next year with a body of forces; which encouraged the *Eaſt-Angles* to declare in his favour. In the year 905 aſſembling an army, he made an incurſion into *Oxford* and *Glouceſter* ſhires, paſſed the *Thames* at *Cricklade*, and waſted the adjoining parts of *Wilts*: but retired before *Edward* could come up with his forces. The king purſuing the enemy to the borders of the *Eaſt-Angles*, waſted all the country between the *Ouſe*, the *North-Fenns* and *Bury*, without meeting any force to oppoſe him in the field: but not caring to advance further into an hoſtile country, retired with the main body of his troops; the *Kentiſhmen* only ſtaying behind for the ſake of plunder. The *Danes* ſeizing the opportunity of cutting off this party, attacked them near *Bury*[2]: but they met with ſo obſtinate a reſiſtance, that though they remained maſters of the field, they bought that ſmall advantage very dear by the death of *Ethelwald*, of their king *Eonrick*, and of ſeveral of their chief generals. This deſtroying their hopes of raiſing any commotion among the *Weſt-Saxons*, they thought fit not long after to ſue for peace[3]: and an accommodation being made at *Ickford* in *Bucks*, it was for ſome time obſerved by the *Eaſt-Angles*. EDWARD I.

THE *Northumbrians* however did not ceaſe to be troubleſome: and were conſtantly joined by the *Danes*, whom *Alfred*, content with preſerving the peace of his dominions, had ſuffered to live in the towns of *Derby*, *Nottingham*, *Leiceſter*, *Lincoln*, and *Stamford*, and who were, from the number of thoſe places, called the *Fif-burgers*. Nothing however paſſed more conſiderable than ſuch ravages, as uſually happen in unſettled times upon the borders of different countries: which were carried on, notwithſtanding the late treaty[4], till *A. D.* 911: when *Edward*, incenſed at their incurſions, fitted out a fleet to infeſt their coaſts; and they, ſuppoſing that the greateſt part of his forces would be put on board it, invaded his territories with a ſtronger body of troops than ordinary, thinking they might waſte them without any danger. They were attacked however in their return home by the *Weſt-Saxons* and *Mercians*, at *Tetenhale*[5] in *Staffordſhire*: and being defeated, with the ſlaughter of two of their kings, many of their principal commanders, and ſeveral thouſands of their men, the whole booty was recovered. The *Northumbrians* ſeem to have continued quiet for ſome years after this diſaſter: and *Elfleda*, counteſs of *Mercia*, thought it a proper time to fortify *Cheſter*, *Eddeſbury*, and *Runckhorn* in *Cheſhire*; *Cherbury* and *Bridgenorth* in *Shropſhire*; *Weddeſborough* and *Tamworth* in *Staffordſhire*, and *Warwick*, to ſecure thoſe parts againſt their future incurſions. Another quarter of that country ſtill lay open to the *Fif-burgers*; who falling ſuddenly into *Oxfordſhire*[6], routed a ſmall body of *Engliſh* got together at *Hokenorton* to oppoſe them: and returning home with a booty, their good fortune tempted another party of their countrymen to advance, in hopes of the like ſucceſs, as far as *Leighton* in *Bedfordſhire*, on the edge of *Bucks*, where they were all cut in pieces. Theſe incurſions ſeem to have been the occaſion of *Edward's* fortifying *Buckingam*, *Towceſter*, and *Bedford*; upon which earl *Thurketill* ſubmitted, with the *Danes* under his command, and went with ſuch as would follow him into *France*. The king was ſoon after obliged to provide in the ſame manner for the ſecurity of the *Weſt-Saxon* coaſts on the *Briſtol channel*[7]; which were infeſted by a fleet of rovers from *Normandie* and *Bretagne*; who met with ſo warm a reception, that they were routed in every place where they attempted to make a deſcent.

EDWARD had found by experience, that there was no truſting to the ſubmiſſion of the *Danes*; and thought it neceſſary to put a ſtop to their inroads, by building for-

[1] *Flor. Wig. A. D.* 904. [2] *Paroch. Antiq.* p. 39. *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 905. [3] *Ib. A. D.* 907. [4] *Chr. Sxa.* 911. [5] *Camb. Staffordſhire.* [6] *Flor. Wig. A. D.* 914. *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 917. [7] *Ib. A. D.* 916 and 918.

treſſes

Edward I. treſſes on their frontiers: and to ſecure their ſubjection after they had ſubmitted, by erecting others within their country. This plan he had purſued in order to reduce *Eſſex*, the bulwark of the country of the *Eaſt-Angles* [1], by the fortifications he had made at *Maldon*, *Witham*, *Hertford*, and *Wiggemere*; which I take to be *Waymere* caſtle in a ſmall iſland by *Biſhop's Stortford*. Theſe the *Eaſt-Angles*, aſſiſted by the *Mercian Danes*, and ſome ſuccours from beyond ſea, attempted in vain to take, in *A. D.* 921, their efforts ſerving only to haſten their ruin: for being routed in two battles near *Bedford* and *Temsford*, they loſt this laſt place; which they had fortified, as the beſt ſituated, and moſt defenſible of any of their frontier. This was followed by the ſubmiſſion of earl *Thurferth* and the *Northamptonſhire Danes*, by the taking and fortifying of *Huntingdon* and *Colcheſter*; by the ſurrender of the *Daniſh* army at *Cambridge*, and by the reduction of the whole country of the *Eaſt-Angles*; all which was the work onely of one campaign. *Edward* having ſecured all behind him, advanced the next ſpring to *Stamford* [2]: which ſurrendered readily, and was fortified, as the importance of the place deſerved. There he heard of the deceaſe of his ſiſter *Elfleda:* who died on *June* 13, and had a little before her death, taken *Derby* and *Leiceſter* from the *Danes*. Upon this event, he took the government of *Mercia* into his own hands, advanced to *Nottingham*, fortified the place, and having reduced the county, marched into the *Peake* of *Derby*; where he erected a fort at *Bakewell:* and all in thoſe parts, both *Danes* and *Engliſh*, having ſworn allegiance to him, he moved ſtill more weſtward to receive the ſubmiſſion of three princes of *North-Wales* [3]. He provided for the ſecurity of theſe provinces, and for his further progreſs, by erecting, the year following, a fortreſs at *Thelwell* on the *Merſey*, and another at *Mancheſter:* and having thus ſecured all that he had already ſubdued, advanced northward, to reduce the reſt of *England*; in which he does not ſeem to have found much difficulty. *Edward's* view was not ſo much to make haſty conqueſts, which are often loſt in as ſhort a time, and with the ſame eaſe as they are gained, as to render them ſure and laſting: and he took his meaſures for this end with ſo much caution and prudence, that the fame of his exploits, and the terror of his arms, flying before him, *Sidric* and *Reinald*, kings of the *Northumbrian Danes*, who were at war with one another, and the prince of the *Cumbrian* and *Strath-Cluyd Britains*, with all their chieftains in *Galloway*, ſubmitted to his empire [4]. The *Scots* too inhabiting the northern parts of what had formerly been the *Northumbrian* territories, were glad to purchaſe peace by the like ſubjection; their king conſenting to hold thoſe dominions in vaſſalage of the crown of *England*. The ſettling of his conqueſts took up the reſt of *Edward's* reign till his death; the time of which is variouſly reported by hiſtorians; but it ſeems plainly to have happened about *Auguſt* 17, *A. D.* 927, to which the indiction xv, the ſureſt chronological mark of any, mentioned by *Florence* of *Worceſter*, exactly agrees [5]. By *Egwynnea*, his firſt wife, of a noble family, he had two ſons, *Alfred*, who died before him, and *Athelſtan*, and a daughter named *Edgytha* [6]: by his ſecond wife *Elfleda*, daughter of earl *Elfhelm*, he had *Ethelwald*, who died about the ſame time with his father, and *Edwin*, the time and manner of whoſe death are uncertain. He had alſo ſix daughters by her; two of which lived always in celibacy, though only one of them turned nun: the other four were married to *Charles the Simple*, and *Hugh Capet*, kings of *France*, the emperor *Otho* I, and a duke, whoſe territories lay near the *Alpes*. By *Edgiva*, his third wife, he had

[1] *Brompton*, p. 834. *Higden Polychr. Chr. Sax. A. D.* 921.
[2] *Ib. A. D.* 922. [3] *Ib. A. D.* 923.
[4] *Ib. A. D.* 924. *Brompton*, p. 835.
[5] *Angl. Sacr.* tom. ii. p. 80, 90. *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 941. *Malmeſb.* l. ii. c. 5.
[6] *Hiſt. Major. Winton.* l. iii. c. 7.

Edmund

Edmund and *Edred*, who afterwards reigned, and two daughters; the eldeſt a nun, the younger married to *Louis*, prince of *Guienne*.

ATHELSTAN, the eldeſt of *Edward's* ſurviving ſons, ſucceeded him in the throne, a juſt, wiſe, and great prince; graceful in his perſon, affable in his carriage, generous in his ſentiments, exceeding beneficent, charitable, and religious [1]. Ever victorious in war, he was ſtill fond of peace, out of tenderneſs to his ſubjects, whoſe good he conſulted in the whole courſe of his government, and whoſe commerce he particularly encouraged. *Spelman* [2] mentions a law or privilege of his, by which a *merchant who had made three voyages into the ſtreights* (the chief ſeat of commerce in that age) *on his own account, and not as a factor for another, ſhould be put upon the foot of a thane*, or raiſed to the condition of a gentleman; a privilege of great uſe in thoſe days, when it was a received maxim among all the *German* nations, that the being concerned in traffick derogated from gentility. *Athelſtan*, to keep the mutinous *Northumbrians* quiet, indulged them in a prince with the title of king: and diſpoſing of his ſiſter *Edgytha* in marriage to *Sihtric*, a *Daniſh* chieftain [3], gave him with her all the country (called formerly *Bernicia)* from the *Tees* northward to *Edenburgh*. But *Sihtric* not living above a year, *Adulf* endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of his territories, and ſeized *Bamburgh*, the chief city of the kingdom: whence he was ſoon driven by *Athelſtan*, and the whole country reduced under the dominion of this prince; who kept it from that time under his immediate government, not thinking proper to confide it to any ſubordinate king, after the people had made ſo ill an uſe of his late indulgence. This was reſented by *Gothfred*, ſon of *Sihtric*; who aſſuming his father's title without the king's leave, ſeized ſeveral forts, driving out the *Engliſh* garriſons, and refuſed to pay the uſual tribute: but on *Athelſtan's* advancing againſt him, he fled into *Scotland*, and having made ſoon after a vain attempt upon *York*, retired to his ſhips, and paſſed the reſt of his days at ſea, in the practice of piracy. *Conſtantine* was at this time king of *Scotland:* he had given refuge to the fugitive rebel, and had ſuffered him to get off, when demanded by *Athelſtan:* who irritated at this proceeding, entered the country with an army, which the *Scots* not being able to oppoſe, were ſoon forced to ſubmit. It was on this occaſion, that *Athelſtan*, being preſſed to deprive *Conſtantine* of his kingdom, for breaking the faith he had given a few years before to *Edward*, made the anſwer celebrated by ſeveral of our hiſtorians, *That it is much more glorious to make a king, then be one:* and not only reſtored him his crown, but ſtood godfather to his ſon, and ſhewed him other marks of friendſhip. This generous treatment did not engage the *Scottiſh* king to a grateful return; he continued ſtill in the ſame hoſtile mind [4]: and having aſſiſted *Anlaf*, another of *Sihtric's* ſons, to raiſe freſh troubles in *Northumberland*, provoked *Athelſtan* to invade his dominions again both by ſea and land, waſting the inward parts with his army up to the *Forth*, and all the coaſt, by means of his fleet, as far as *Cathneſs*, ſo that *Conſtantine* was obliged to ſue for peace, and give his ſon for an hoſtage. ATHELSTAN

OWEN, king of the *Cumbrian Britains*, had joined *Conſtantine* in this attempt upon the quiet of *Athelſtan's* dominions, and had his territories over-run in the ſame manner; but their ill ſucceſs did not hinder them both, four years after, from bringing all their forces into the field to ſupport *Anlaf* king of the iſles [5], who came from *Ireland* with a prodigious army of *Danes* in a fleet of ſix hundred and fifteen ſhips, to invade the north of *England*. *Athelſtan* ſuffering them to en-

[1] *Malmeſb.* l. ii. c. 6. [2] *Concil.* p. 406. [3] *Malmeſb. ib. Chron. Joh. Wallingford.* [4] *Flor. Wig. Chr. Sax. A. D.* 934. *Sim. Dun. De geſtis regum*, and *Hiſt. Dunelm.* [5] *Ib. A. D.* 938. *Ingulf. Hicke's Theſaur. ling. Saxon.* t. i. p. 181. *Sim. Dun. Hiſt. Eccl. Dunelm.* l. ii. c. 18.

Athelstan

ter farther than they ought in prudence into his dominions, met them at *Weondune*, near *Brunſbury* in *Northumberland:* and in a battle, which laſted from morning till night, routed them with a greater ſlaughter of their troops, than was ever known before in this country; five *Daniſh* kings, with ſeven of their generals, falling among the ſlain, and *Conſtantine*, *Owen*, and *Anlaf*, with a very ſmall train of followers, eſcaping to their ſhips with difficulty. *Ingulf* aſcribes this glorious victory chiefly to the incomparable valour of chancellor *Turketul*, at the head of a ſmall corps of the *London* militia; whom he dignifies with the title of *heroes*, and repreſents as the firſt of the *Engliſh*, that pierced the ranks of the enemy, and broke the battalions of the *Scotch Highlanders*. *Malmeſbury* relates an adventure, which happened the day before this battle, and which hath in it ſomething extraordinary.

Anlaf, conſidering that the action expected was likely to be deciſive of his fate, reſolved to diſcover the ſituation of the *Engliſh* camp, and the condition of their army before he engaged: and diſguiſing himſelf like a minſtrel, went into it as far as the king's tent; where he played upon his harp, with ſo much ſkill, that he was eaſily admitted. The king was at dinner with his chief officers, who were all agreeably entertained with the muſic: but the repaſt being over, the muſician was diſmiſſed with an handſome reward; which diſdaining to carry off, he buried in the ground. A ſoldier, who had formerly ſerved under him, obſerving this action, was confirmed by it in his ſuſpicion, that the diſguiſed harper was *Anlaf:* and gave notice of it to *Athelſtan*; who blamed the man for not diſcovering it ſooner, that he might have ſeized his enemy. The ſoldier alledged, that when he was in *Anlaf's* ſervice, he had ſworn to be true to him, and if he had betrayed his old maſter on that occaſion, the king would have had reaſon to ſuſpect him as capable of the like treachery now he was engaged in his ſervice, and had taken an oath to his majeſty; but adviſed him to take care of his ſafety, by removing his tent to another quarter. *Athelſtan* commended the man for his fidelity, and followed his advice: the place left vacant by the removal of the tents, was taken up by a biſhop and his train, who arrived in the evening with a body of forces; whoſe coming up the king had waited, before he would venture an engagement. *Anlaf*, in the middle of the night, broke ſuddenly into the camp: and making directly to the place where he had obſerved the king's tent, ſlew the biſhop and all his followers; which giving a general alarm, he was ſoon obliged to retire. The event of the battle the next day ſhewed him his miſtake: and *Athelſtan*, being victorious, found, during the reſt of his reign, no diſturbance in his *Northumbrian* territories. All other parts of *England* ſeem to have enjoyed a conſtant tranquillity all his time; the *Welſh* being confined beyond the *Wye*, and the prince of *North-Wales* paying him a yearly tribute (as ſome writers [1] ſay) of twenty pounds in gold, three hundred pounds in ſilver, and twenty-five thouſand head of cattle, or rather of an hundred marks, as is ſaid in *Howell Dha's* laws; which ſeems the better authority. The *weſtern Britains* had hitherto dwelt along with the *Engliſh* in *Exeter:* but *Athelſtan* reſolving to fortify the place with a wall and bulwarks of ſtone, thought fit to remove them beyond the river *Tamar*, which parts *Devonſhire* from *Cornwall*. It was probably his great reputation and the goodneſs of his adminiſtration, which brought this laſt county under his ſubjection; for it doth not appear that he uſed any force in ſubduing it: yet he was the firſt *Engliſh* monarch that was maſter of all *Cornwall*; and a very good proof of his being ſo, may be drawn from his founding a collegiate church at *St. Burien's* [2], near the *Land's End*, upon his return from receiving the ſubmiſſion of the *Iſles of Scilly*. This great king, happy in the love of his ſubjects, and in the friendſhip of all the neighbouring princes of *Europe*, who

[1] *Malmeſb. ib.* [2] *Camd.* in *Cornwall.*

ſent him very valuable preſents, as teſtimonies of their eſteem, died full of glory without iſſue, on *October* 27[1], *A. D.* 941, at *Glouceſter*, and was buried at *Malmeſbury*.

EDMUND. EDMUND ſucceeded his brother *Athelſtan:* and following his example in taking meaſures for ſecuring the quiet of his realm, removed the *Danes* out of the towns of *Derby*, *Nottingham*, *Leiceſter*, *Lincoln*, and *Stamford*[2], which they had hitherto inhabited equally with the *Engliſh*. It was a proper precaution to prevent the flame from ſpreading into the heart of his dominions, which had broke out among the *Northumbrians*. This turbulent people, no longer reſtrained by their dread of *Athelſtan*, had taken up arms: and ſent for *Anlaf* and *Reinald* from *Ireland* to their aſſiſtance. *Edmund* marching againſt them, they ſued for peace: and offering to become *Chriſtians*, he adopted the latter of thoſe *Daniſh* princes for his ſon at the rite of confirmation, and ſtood godfather to the former at his baptiſm. This converſion was inſincere, being deſigned only to avoid the preſent danger, and get time to increaſe their forces; as ſoon appeared, by their making incurſions into other parts of his dominions[3]. *Edmund* marching without loſs of time to oppoſe their progreſs, ſoon drove them out of the *Northumbrian* territories: and having ſpent a year in providing for the ſecurity of the country, fell the year following upon the *Strath-Cluyd Britains*, who had aſſiſted the *Danes* on all occaſions. *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* ſays, that he put out the eyes of the two ſons of *Dunmail*, king of that people: but this writer is too fond of fables to deſerve credit in ſuch relations, when other hiſtorians are ſilent. They all however agree, that *Edmund* waſted all *Galloway:* and having entirely reduced *Cumberland*, gave it to *Malcolm*, king of *Scotland*, to be held in fealty of the crown of *England*, on condition of guarding the *Northumbrian* territories by ſea and land from the enemy's invaſions. *Edmund*, who governed nobly for the time he reigned, died on *May* 26, *A. D.* 946, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, leaving two ſons, both too young to take upon them the government: and was buried at *Glaſtenbury*. The manner of his death is variouſly related[4]: but *Malmeſbury* imputes it to an odd accident. He was keeping the feſtival of St. *Auguſtine*, the converter of the *Kentiſh Saxons*, at *Puckle-Church* in *Glouceſterſhire*, and ſitting at dinner with his nobility, obſerved among them, at one of the tables in the hall, *Leod* (a notorious thief whom he had ſome years before baniſhed for robbery) quarrelling with the ſteward of his houſhold, who probably would have obliged him to withdraw. The king was naturally paſſionate; and being provoked at the intollerable inſolence of the fellow, roſe from table, ſeized him by the hair, and threw him upon the ground: but whilſt he was holding him down, *Leod* drew a dagger, and thruſt it with all his force into the king's breaſt, who expired immediately. The company, in their fury, fell upon the murderer: and cut him pieces; but not without being ſeveral of them wounded.

EDRED. EDMUND was ſucceeded by his brother *Edred*[5]; who took great care of the education of his children, and was too much given to devotion to be fond of a crown, which the neceſſity of the times obliged him to take, and to exert an activity not natural to a perſon that loved to be always at his prayers, and was as abſolutely governed by the famous *Dunſtan*, abbot of *Glaſtenbury*, as the ſimpleſt monk of his convent. The *Northumbrians*, rebelled according to their cuſtom at the ac-

[1] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 941. *Angl. Sacr.* t. ii. p. 80. *Oſborn. Vit. Odonis*, *Angl. Sacr.* xi. 82. *Chron. J. Wallingford. Sim. Dunelm.*
[2] *Malmeſb.* l. ii. c. 7. *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 942.
[3] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 944.
[4] *Powel's Hiſt. of Wales*, p. 58. *Brompton*, p. 858.
[5] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 946. *Malmeſb.* l. ii. c. 7. *Brompton*, p. 862.

ceſſion

Edred. ceſſion of a new king: but upon his entering their country with a ſtrong army, they readily ſubmitted; and the *Scots* likewiſe, without any difficulty, renewed their oath of fealty. The former did not long keep what had been extorted from them by the terror of an army: but as ſoon as that force was removed, they ſet up a king of their own; moſt of their nobility being engaged in the revolt, and even *Wulſtan*, archbiſhop of *York*, ſtrongly ſuſpected to be concerned in the conſpiracy [1]. This general defection, in which the whole province ſeemed to be involved (except the city of *York* [2], which *Thurketyl*, reſtorer of the abbey of *Croyland*, by his wiſe remonſtrances kept, as well as the archbiſhop, in their duty) incenſed *Edred* to ſuch a degree, that, contrary to the mildneſs of his nature, he deſtroyed the whole country with fire and ſword; which forced another ſubmiſſion and new oaths of allegiance from the remaining inhabitants, who ſaw themſelves in danger of periſhing by famine. They were not quiet above two years; [3] when a plentiful harveſt having recruited their ſpirits, they either invited *Anlaf* out of *Ireland*, or joined him when he landed, with a conſiderable body of forces in *Northumberland*: but inconſtant, as well as violent, in all their meaſures, they turned him out about three years after, and ſet up *Yric*, the ſon of *Harold*. In two [4] years more they drove out this uſurper: and *Edred* reduced them again into ſubjection; being thereby enabled to leave his nephew *Edwy*, the eldeſt ſon of *Edmund*, all his father's dominions, which he took poſſeſſion of upon his uncle's death [5], on *November* 23, *A. D.* 955.

Edwy. This prince, whoſe father, had he lived to this time, would not have been more than thirty-three years of age, muſt have been very young, when he aſcended the throne: and this circumſtance probably diſpoſed people to give the eaſier credit to thoſe ſtories, which the monks invented, or at leaſt induſtriouſly ſpread, of his amours and libertine way of living; for which I cannot ſee any juſt foundation. They were the *Puritans* of thoſe days, full of the ſame conceited, arrogant, and furious ſpirit, which dictated the many virulent and abuſive libels that flowed from the pens of thoſe ſo called in this country in the two laſt centuries. Valuing themſelves on the perfection of St. *Benedict's* rule, and the purity of their profeſſion, they pretended to a ſuperior ſanctity than others could poſſibly attain, and looking on the reſt of the world with contempt, imagined they had a licence to aſperſe whom they pleaſed in the moſt indecent and abuſive manner; ſuch eſpecially as would not eſpouſe their intereſts. *Edwy* was one of theſe; he would not turn out the ſecular canons to place them in monaſteries; this was the true motive of all their complaints of his government, of all their rage againſt his perſon, and of all the calumnies, with which they have loaded his memory. Theſe calumnies are indeed too general to deſerve the leaſt regard; being not ſupported by any fact, except in one inſtance, which is founded purely upon *Oſbern's legend* of the lives [6] of St. *Odo* and St. *Dunſtan*, from whence all other writers, that mention the ſtory, have borrowed it; with ſuch ſmall variations ſometimes, as tales receive in being repeated. It muſt be obſerved, that neither the *Saxon* nor *Peterborough Chro-*

[1] *Malmeſb. ib.* [2] *Ingulf. A. D.* 947.
[3] *Flor. Wig. Chr. Sax. A. D.* 949. *Brompton*, p. 862. [4] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 952, 954.
[5] *A. D.* 955.
[6] Theſe lives are printed in *Anglia Sacra*, t. ii. from p. 78, to p. 121. The ſecond part of the latter's life, Mr. *Wharton* thought too full of falſhoods and abſurdities to publiſh; and whoever reads what is printed, will ſee little reaſon to believe any thing in them upon the credit of an author, who certainly forged himſelf ſome of his ſtories, and abuſes every where all the ſecular clergy, throwing falſe aſperſions on ſome of the beſt *biſhops* of the time. Mr. *Wharton* has corrected ſeveral of his errors, refuted ſome of his palpable *lies* (for ſo he ſtyles them) and expoſed the falſhood of ſome of his calumnies: and if it was not too mean and diſagreeable a taſk to examine each pretended fact, I am of opinion there is not a ſingle relation in both the legends, but might be refuted either in its ſubſtance or circumſtances.

nicles,

nicles, nor *Simeon Dunelmenſis*, nor *Florence* of *Worceſter*, nor *Huntingdon*, nor *Hoveden* make the leaſt mention either of this particular ſtory, or of *Edwy's* amours in general; which indeed ſeem a little inconſiſtent with the violent paſſion, thoſe who charge him with incontinency complain, he had for *Ælgiva*, or *Edelgiva*, whoſe name ſhews her to be of the royal, or at leaſt of a very noble, family. The king had married this young lady [1], who was exceedingly handſome; and was infinitely fond of her; but the monks took exceptions to this marriage, becauſe the parties were related in the third or fourth (for what hath been already ſaid of *Alfred's* and *Edward's* children, ſhews that the relation could not be nearer) or perhaps in a remoter degree, but ſtill ſuch as was prohibited by the canons. A papal diſpenſation could in thoſe days hallow any thing; but without it ſuch marriages were cenſured not only as unlawful, but null: and conſequently the huſband paſſed for a wencher, as the wife did for a concubine or harlot. That this was the caſe, appears from the very invectives of thoſe, who are moſt injurious to *Edwy's* character; repreſenting their cohabitation as contrary to the *law of the church*, *the law of God*, and (becauſe they were ſo near a kin) the *law of nature*. This was the foundation of the only fact, which is alledged to blacken that prince; and which is thus related by *Malmeſbury* [2]: who had *Oſbern's* legend before him when he wrote; though he ſaw reaſon to deviate from it in ſome particulars of the relation. "The king had married a lady very nearly related to him, againſt the advice of "his councellors [3], or biſhops; and on the day of his coronation, when all his no- "bility were about him, diſcourſing about ſtate affairs of great conſequence to "the kingdom, he got up after dinner (probably to avoid hard drinking, which "*Walling ford* [4], in relating this ſtory, ſays, was too much the practice of the "*Engliſh* at ſuch entertainments) and went away to the queen's apartment. The "nobility ſeeming to reſent this as an indecorum, and the archbiſhop exclaiming "bitterly againſt it, *Dunſtan* went after *Edwy* to fetch him back: and breaking "abruptly into the room, found him playing at ramps with his wife and her mo- "ther. The abbot uſed no ceremony with the king, but ſeizing him by the arm, "dragged him away to the company: and archbiſhop *Odo*, by obliging *Edwy* to "divorce his wife, made him his eternal enemy." This is all that *Malmeſbury* hath thought fit to ſay of this affair in his hiſtory; though in another [5] place he confirms the ſubſtance of what *Oſbern* relates of the treatment, which the queen received from *Odo*; who ordered a party of ſoldiers to fetch her from the palace; and having in contempt of the laws, which allowed no ſuch corporal puniſhment to be inflicted on any but ſlaves, diſfigured her face, and ſeared it with an hot iron, that ſhe might no longer charm the king with her beauty, tranſported her into *Ireland*, to remain there for ever in exile. She ſtaid there only till the ſcars were effaced: and then returning with a face as beautiful as before, he employed his followers to ſeize, and hamſtring her; and at laſt put her to death at *Glouceſter* [6]. *Malmesbury*, though he ſays nothing of *Ireland*, nor of her death, owns, ſhe was baniſhed firſt, and hamſtringed afterwards; adding, that the archbiſhop likewiſe excommunicated the king; which certainly muſt be after the coronation; for he would never have anointed an excommunicate perſon. This circumſtance helps to confirm what *Simeon* of *Durham* [7] ſays of the time, when *Odo* pronounced the ſentence of divorce between *Edwy* and *Ælgiva*; placing it in *A. D.* 958, a little before that archbiſhop's death, and two years after the rebellion of the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians*; the king's affairs being at that time in ſo ill a ſituation, that he was forced to ſubmit to the ſentence. This is the true ſtate of a fact; which being

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[1] *Hiſt. Rameſienſ.* c. 7. [2] L. ii. c. 7. [3] *Sapientum.* [4] *Viginti Scriptores*, t. i. p. 542.
[5] *De geſtis pont.* l. i. p. 201. [6] *Anglia Sacr.* t. ii. p. 106. [7] *De geſtis regum*, *A. D.* 958.

Edwy. cooked up by artful misrepresentations, false suggestions, and general declamations, hath been perverted to countenance the clamours raised against *Edwy* by monkish writers; in order to divert the reader from attending to the insolence of *Dunstan*, the brutality of *Odo*, and the treasonable practices, in which both were concerned.

Character of archbishop *Odo* and St. *Dunstan*.

XIX. Odo[1] was the son of a *Danish* nobleman, that came over with *Inguar* and *Hubba*; and taking in his infancy an inclination either to learning or *Christianity*, ran away from his parents; and was brought up by duke *Athelm*, one of the principal noblemen of *England*, perhaps the same that is mentioned in *Alfred's* will: who had him baptized, and taught *Greek* and *Latin*, made him acquainted with the great men about court, and carried him along with him in a journey, which he took to *Rome*. *Athelstan* made him bishop of *Sherbourn*: and being translated by *Edmund* to the see of *Canterbury*, he would not be inthroned, till he had got the abbot of *Fleury*, to come over from *France*, and give him the *Benedictine* habit; there being no convent of that order then in *England*[2]. The religious societies, passing under the name of monasteries, consisted of secular clergy; living together under certain rules of their own making, frequenting divine service daily in their churches, instructing youth in learning to prepare them for holy orders, and enjoying all the privileges of the clergy; with a liberty of marrying, as is now practised in cathedral churches. This was universally the case, till the reformation introduced by *Dunstan* and *Edgar*; whose zeal for the monkish institution stuck at no violence, till they had filled the monasteries with men of such an uncommon *perfection*, that (to use the words of the abbot of [3] *Croyland*) they *knew nothing at all of religion, besides continence and obedience*. The monks however were in great vogue and in all the *odour of sanctity* abroad: and this reputation, with a certain appearance of simplicity and austerity, set off with the pompous pretences to a purer and more meritorious institution, recommending them to chancellor *Turketul* and other great men in *England*, *Odo* espoused their cause with all the warmth that his natural temper inspired, and supported it by all the measures that the haughtiness of his spirit suggested, and his great power in the church and state could enable him to pursue. *Dunstan* was born in *Somersetshire* of noble parents, from whom he inherited a large estate[4]; and was bred to learning in the seminary of *Glastenbury*. In his youth, he travelled abroad; where he seems to have contracted a fondness for the monkish discipline: and on his return home was introduced by his friends to court, where he recommended himself to the great men by his parts, learning, address, and skill in music. But he was much better qualified to insinuate himself into the good graces of people, than he was to keep their favour; for whether it was out of an haughty, busy, intermeddling temper, or the impertinence, saucineſs, and arrogance of his behaviour, he soon created himself abundance of enemies. He seems to have been regular in the general tenor of his living; and had he been as free from the vices of that diabolical spirit, which (according to *Osbern's* ridiculous relations) haunted him all his life, as he was from the human frailties of incontinence and luxury, he would have been an useful man in his country: but he had too much of that spiritual pride, which, if employed for the service of the *monks*, will get a man easily exalted to a saint; though it dips him in the sins of sedition and rebellion, and reduces a kingdom to be a scene of blood, confusion, and desolation.

Dunstan having been recommended to *Edmund*, was for some time his chaplain, and had an employment about court; perhaps in the chancery or almonry:

[1] *Vit. S. Odonis.* [2] *Anglia Sacr.* t. ii. p. 91. [3] *Ingulf.* p. 879. [4] *Vita Dunstani.*

but was baniſhed it for ſome offence. The credit however and inſtances of *Turketul*[1] (to whom he was ſecretary) who filled the poſt of chancellor from the latter end of *Edward's* reign, during thoſe of *Athelſtan*, *Edmund*, and *Edred*, being couſin german and firſt miniſter to theſe three brothers, prevailed to have him reſtored to the king's favour and made abbot of *Glaſtenbury*; being the firſt of the *Engliſh* nation, who (as *Bridferth* ſays in his life) enjoyed that [2] title: There he kept up the *Benedictine* rule; turned the ſecular canons out of their freeholds, in an illegal and arbitrary manner; and employed the poſſeſſions of that rich monaſtery to ſupport the monks he introduced, whoſe chief merit was their ſwearing to him a blind obedience. What enabled him to do this, was his great credit with *Edred* the prince then reigning; who being given up to devotion, placed an implicite confidence in him; ſubmitting to him, as well the management of his exchequer, as the direction of his conſcience, *Dunſtan* being both his treaſurer and confeſſor. This power determined with *Edred's* life; he had no credit with *Edwy*; who (as *Wallingford* ſays) ſuſpected him of having embezzeled his father's treaſure, and who certainly had married againſt his advice: and by the fondneſs he ſhewed for his wife, was fallen under another influence, which could not but be unfriendly to ſuch as had oppoſed the marriage. *Dunſtan* could not brook this change in his ſituation; and was ready to embark in any meaſures, to break the match, and recover his former power. This provoked him, when every body elſe had refuſed, to execute *Odo's* orders for fetching the king back to the feaſt, with the unparalleled inſolence above related; an inſult, which no prince upon earth could ever bear, and which well deſerved to be puniſhed, as it was, by the exile of *Dunſtan* into *Flanders*; the only way in a manner then known of dealing with a privileged eccleſiaſtick, and of guarding againſt a turbulent abbot. The king had ſeen all the reſpect, due to his perſon, violated in the face of all the world: and when ſubjects have once loſt all reverence for their prince, they ſoon break out into open rebellion. He had ſeen to what horrible extremities *Odo* was capable of proceeding: and had reaſon to expect that after the indignities he had ſuffered himſelf, and the ſentence of baniſhment, arbitrarily pronounced and cruelly executed, againſt his queen, the next ſtep the archbiſhop would take, might be to turn him out of his kingdom. He ſaw a great number of his nobility conſenting to thoſe indignities, and either concurring, or at leaſt acquieſcing, as well in that ſentence as in the felonious treatment of his conſort: and *Odo* thus ſupported was too powerful to be attacked by a prince ſcarce out of his minority; ſo that the ſtorm fell upon *Dunſtan*; who being young, active, vigorous, and enterprizing, was a fit inſtrument for the old archbiſhop to employ in forming a conſpiracy, and concerting meaſures for dethroning *Edwy*.

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DUNSTAN'S exile did not hinder the conſpiracy from taking effect; the *Mercians* and the *Northumbrians*[3] rebelled and ſet up *Edwy's* younger brother *Edgar*, a boy about thirteen years old, for their king: who immediately recalled *Dunſtan*, and put himſelf under his direction. The monkiſh writers, by way of apology for this ſtep, alledge, that *Edwy* had turned all the monks out of their monaſteries; and make very tragical complaints on that head, without the leaſt foundation; there being no monks at that time in *England*[4]; except a few gathered by *Turketul* and *Ethelwolf* in the monaſteries of *Croyland* and *Abington*, which they were then forming, and in *Glaſtenbury*, where *Dunſtan* had enriched them with the ſpoils of the ſecular canons. Nor doth it appear, that *Edwy* had turned any

[1] *Ingulf.* [2] *Anglia Sacr.* t. ii. p. 101. [3] *Chron. Petriburg. Chron. Sax. A. D.* 956. *Flor. Wig. A. D.* 957. [4] *Gervas Cant. Col.* 1645. *Angl. Sacr.* t. ii. p. 105.

monks

Edwy. monks out of thoſe convents: but rebellion and uſurpation are not to be gloſſed over without falſhoods; and one in which they might pretend religion was concerned, ſerved very conveniently to aſcribe the iniquities of their friends to providence. Whatever were the pretences of the rebellion, it involved *England* in a civil war, and in all the calamities attending it for ſome years, at leaſt till *Edgar's* party had maſtered all the country as far ſouth as the *Thames*[1]; being poſſeſſed of the *Eaſt-Angles*, *Mercia*, and *Northumberland*, with the *Lothians* as far as *Edenburgh*. None found their advantage in theſe troubles ſo much as *Dunſtan*; who upon his return home (as *Bridferth* ſays in[2] his life) was ordained a biſhop, without a particular ſee, in the council of *Bradford*. This extraordinary ſtep was taken, in order to give him a ſeat in the council, where many regulations were made in the law and cuſtoms of the kingdom, and his advice proved exceeding uſeful: and *Kinewald* biſhop of *Worceſter* dying ſoon after[3], *Edgar* then named him to that biſhoprick. It was not long before the ſee of *London* fell likewiſe vacant: and this too being given him, he held them both for two years, till he intruded into the ſee of *Canterbury*[4]. The monkiſh writers make no ſcruple to applaud this plurality of biſhopricks[5] in *Dunſtan*, to whoſe ſingular merit they repreſent it as due; though they would have exclaimed againſt it in a *Stigand*, or any other perſon, as ſpiritual bigamy or adultery, as an abominable irregularity and ſcandalous breach of the canons. *Edwy* ſtripped, by an unatural uſurpation, in the name of his younger brother[6], of the greateſt part of his dominions, did not long enjoy the reſt: but died in *A. D.* 959; whether by a natural death, or by treachery, is uncertain. *Huntingdon*, who atteſts the goodneſs of his government, and the happineſs which his ſubjects enjoyed under him, laments it as untimely.

Edgar. Whether it was ſo or not, to the nation, it was certainly very ſeaſonable for *Dunſtan*. *Canterbury* lay in the territories of *Edwy*; who upon *Odo's* deceaſe *A. D.* 958, had made *Elfſin* his ſucceſſor[7]: but this new archbiſhop dying the winter following, as he was paſſing the *Alpes* in his way to *Rome*, *Brightbelm* biſhop of *Welles*[8] was, upon advice of his death, tranſlated to the archbiſhoprick. All *Edwy's* preferments were diſpoſed of to the friends of the ſecular clergy; as *Edgar's* were to the partiſans of the monks: *Brightbelm* was of the former claſs; a pious, humble, good, and valuable man[9]; but too mild to join in any violent meaſures for eſtabliſhing the monks upon the ruin of the ſecular canons. Hence occaſion was taken to charge him with the want of a proper ſpirit for government; and *Edgar's* name (for he was but ſixteen at this time) with the concurring ſentiments of the nobility, were made uſe of to eject *Brightbelm*[10], without any canonical crime being ſo much as objected, and to put *Dunſtan* in poſſeſſion of the church of *Canterbury*. A journey to *Rome*, and the papal compliment of a *pall*, ſerved to gloſs over this intruſion into a full ſee, in open violation of the moſt eſſential rules of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline: but every thing ſacred was to give way to *Dunſtan's* ſuperior merit, and to the neceſſity of his being at the head of the church; in order to execute the ſcheme laid for eſtabliſhing the *Benedictine* rule in all the monaſtical or collegiate communities, and eccleſiaſtical ſeminaries throughout *England*. This prelate had ſo entire an aſcendant over *Edgar*, that the royal authority was exerted as he pleaſed: and having got the king[11] to name *Oſwald*, nephew to *Odo*, and bred a monk in the abbey of *Fleury* in *France*, to the ſee of *Worceſter*, and *Ethelwold*, one of his own training at *Glaſtenbury*, not long

[1] *Chron. J. Wellingford.* p. 107. [2] *Angl. Sacr.* t. ii. [3] *A. D.* 957. [4] *A. D.* 959. [5] *Hiſt. Rameſci.* c. 7. [6] *Flor. Wig. Angl. Sacr.* t. ii. p. 108. [7] *Sim. Dun. De geſtis Reg.* [8] *Angl. Sacr.* t. i. p. 101, 102. [9] *Chron. J. Wellingford. De geſt. Reg. A. D.* 959. [10] *Sim. Dun.* [11] *Ingulf.*

after, to that of *Wincheſter*, he became enabled by their aſſiſtance to make a great progreſs in the work of reforming the monaſteries. The nation was prepared for it, as well by pompous elogiums on the piety of the *monks*, the regularity of their manners, the merit of their celibacy, and the excellency of their diſcipline, as by bitter invectives againſt the ſecular canons, ſpread in all places, in a looſe, general, and declamatory manner, without any apparent foundation, but what aroſe, either from their marriages, or their hoſpitality. Whatever their conduct was, they were turned out of all cathedrals and convents, where thoſe prelates had any influence: and *Benedictine* monks planted in their ſtead. Thus near fifty monaſteries were reformed or repaired in the time of this king; who lent his authority and employed the revenue of his crown on all occaſions of that nature. Theſe all lay in the parts of *England* ſouth of *Trent*; for notwithſtanding *Wilfrid's* endeavours in former days to introduce the *Benedictine* rule in the [1] north, it had made ſo little progreſs there, that before the conqueſt, there was not a monk to be ſeen in all the *Northumbrian* territories. EDGAR.

EDGAR's zeal for the monks ſubjected him to various ſurprizes; he readily ſwallowed all pretences of dreams for the re-edifying of monaſteries that had been deſtroyed by the *Danes:* and never failed to ſacrifice ſome of the crown lands to their endowment. This, though it leſſened the royal revenue, did not yet impair the prerogative; which however he made no ſcruple of giving up in ſome inſtances upon other pretences. For now in all appearance was forged the ſpurious charter to *Peterborough* abbey, ſaid to be confirmed by Pope *Agatho*, and exempting it from epiſcopal as well as civil juriſdiction; it being pretended to be [2] found at this time in the ruins of an old wall; a ſtory which paſſed ſo current with *Edgar*, that he eaſily granted the monks of it the ſame privileges, which they pretended to derive originally from *Wulfhere* king of *Mercia*. This ſerved for a precedent to countenance the like grants of exemption to other monaſteries; with a power of electing their abbot, in prejudice of the right, which the crown had hitherto enjoyed, of appointing ſuperiors to all monaſteries of royal foundation. The charter granted to the old monaſtery at *Wincheſter*, after the canons had been turned out, empowered [3] the monks to chooſe the biſhop of that *ſee:* and confined them, in their choice of the perſon, to one of their own convent; though, if there was none in it duly qualified by his morals and learning for ſuch a dignity, they were in that caſe allowed to elect, not a *canon* (all ſuch being expreſly excluded) but a monk out of ſome other noted monaſtery. In ſome caſes, particularly of the new monaſtery of that place (which was founded by *Alfred*, and known, ſince the conqueſt, by the name of *Hyde)* after expelling the canons, he gave the monks [4] a body of ſtatutes to regulate their conduct.

DISPOSED as the *Engliſh* were, through their natural credulity and fondneſs for novelty, to give into any pretences of a purer inſtitution; ſuch a violent expulſion of the ſecular canons could not, as all the clergy in thoſe days were deſcended of noble families, well be made without raiſing a general clamour, and cauſing ſome diſturbance in the nation. It was perhaps to guard againſt this danger, and to prevent the *Scots* encouraging any commotion, that *Edgar*, in the beginning of his reign, quitted *Edenburgh* [5] to their king *Indulf* [6], and abſtained in the whole courſe of it from making any alterations among the *Northumbrians*, a turbulent people and ever ready on the leaſt occaſion to break out into an inſurrection; though *Oſkitel* and *Oſwald*, archbiſhops of *York*, were great encouragers of the

[1] *Sim. Dun. ib. A. D.* 1074. [2] *Chron. Sax. A. D.* 963. [3] *Rudborne in Hiſt. Major. Winton.* l. iii. c. 12. [4] *Concil. Magn. Brit.* t. i. p. 240. [5] *Camden's Britan. in Lothian.*
[6] *Camden* on the credit of an old MS. fixeth this ceſſion of *Edenburg* to *A. D.* 960.

EDGAR. monkiſh inſtitution. He had at the ſame time aſſembled the nobility of thoſe parts, and in a general council held at *York* [1], had made ſeveral uſeful regulations for the keeping of that province quiet; one of which is particularly mentioned. *Edred* had put all the *Northumbrian* territories under the government of *Oſulf*; but *Edgar* thinking it too much for one man to enjoy in the way of inheritance, leſt he ſhould ſet up an independency, to which that people always aſpired, divided it into two portions, aſſigning *Deira* to *Oſlac*, and all the reſt of the country from the *Tees* to the *Forth*, either to *Oſulf*, or upon his death (which *Wallingford* placeth about this time) to *Eadulf* ſurnamed *Ewetchild*.

LOTHIAN had been in all times expoſed to the incurſions of the *Scots* and *Picts*, and was ſo ſituated, as to be almoſt incapable of defence without great expence and difficulty: it brought in likewiſe very little revenue to the crown, and on all theſe accounts was deemed ſcarce worth the keeping. The *Scots* had been always ready to join the *Danes* againſt the *Engliſh*, till *Edmund* gave *Cumberland* to *Malcolm* I, to be held in the way of fealty and homage, of the crown of *England*, by the heir apparent of *Scotland*; who was not only to defend it at his own expence, but to ſend a body of auxiliaries to the aſſiſtance of the king of *England*, whenever the northern parts of his realm were infeſted by any commotion or invaſion. *Malcolm* had accordingly aſſiſted *Edred* in ſuppreſſing the inſurrection of the *Northumbrians*, which had broke out in this prince's reign: and it had been obſerved, that from that time, the old friendſhip between that people and the *Scots* had been utterly extinguiſhed [2], and the *Danes* had made deſcents on all the maritime parts of *Scotland*, with as much animoſity and fury, as they had ever ſhewn in ravaging *England*. Theſe circumſtances diſpoſed *Edgar* and the *Engliſh* nobility to hearken to a motion of *Kenneth* III; who in a viſit he made to that prince's court, deſired that *Lothian*, which then comprehended all the eaſtern parts of *Scotland* between the *Tweed* and the *Frith* of *Forth*, might be granted to him and his heirs kings [3] of *Scotland*, on the like terms of homage and vaſſalage as *Cumberland*. This was agreed to, after a ſolemn debate in parliament, upon theſe further conditions; that the ancient cuſtoms of the people in thoſe parts ſhould be maintained inviolate, and no alteration made in the language of the country; which was then and hath ever ſince continued to be *Engliſh*. *Kenneth* hereupon did homage to *Edgar* [4]: and was one of thoſe eight [5] princes, who rowed him on the *Dee* near *Cheſter*, whilſt he ſat at the helm to govern the pinnace.

WHILST *Edgar* by theſe meaſures kept well with his neighbours, whoſe dominions lay contiguous to his own, he took care to guard his maritime provinces againſt the inſults of a foreign enemy, by a more numerous fleet, than ever had been known in *England*. He uſed, after *Eaſter*, to go on board it himſelf, and to paſs the ſummer in viſiting the ſeveral quarters of the coaſt; for the guard whereof, each of the three ſquadrons, into which it was divided, was deſtined: and he paſſed the winter and ſpring in making a progreſs through the reſt of his kingdom, to ſee how his officers did their duty, to hear the complaints of his people, and to redreſs their grievances. By theſe means, by a ſtrict adminiſtration of juſtice, by his encouragement of arts and commerce, by acts of compaſſion to the diſtreſſed, and of liberality to all perſons, [6] and by the credit of *Dunſtan*, he enjoyed an uninterrupted peace at home: and his reputation was ſo great abroad, that it drew

[1] *Chron. J. Wallingford. Sim. Dun. De geſt. regum*, p. 208. [2] *Fordun.* l. iv. c. 25.
[3] *Chron. J. Wallingford.*
[4] *Malmeſb.* l. ii. c. 8.
[5] The others were *Malcolm* lord of *Cumberland*, *Macbo* king of *Man* and the *Iſles*, three princes of *Wales*, whoſe annual tribute of money is ſaid to be releaſed for one of wolves; and two toparchs of *Galloway* and *Weſtmoreland*. *Flor. Wig. M. Weſtm.* [6] *Ib.*

over

over from all parts abundance of foreigners, of *Flemings*, *Germans*, and *Danes*; who might perhaps add to the ſplendour of his court, but did little ſervice to the nation, by infecting the *Engliſh* with the vices of their reſpective countries. It was certainly owing, in a great meaſure[1], to that prelate's advice, vigour, and activity, that *Edgar* acted ſo wiſely in his publick conduct; for his private[2] life was ſullied with great vices and enormities, and even his publick conduct at firſt was ſuch, that king *Canute* made no ſcruple to pronounce him a tyrant[3]. He was naturally indolent, devoted to his pleaſures, and ſo abandoned to women, that he did not ſtick at rapes, even of nuns, to gratify his irregular appetite. *Dunſtan* did not fail to make him frequent remonſtrances on the ſubject; and all proving fruitleſs, put him at laſt to ſeven years penance: but the king was ſo continually repeating his offences of this kind, that it was not till the latter end of his reign, that the archbiſhop could find a proper time to crown him; it not being deemed lawful to uſe the rite of unction in the caſe of a prince, ſubject to a canonical cenſure and in a ſtate of penance. He was at laſt anointed on *Whitſunday*, with great ſolemnity, at *Bath*[4]: and died about two years after, in the thirty-third of his age, on *July* 8, *A. D.* 975. EDGAR.

EDGAR was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon *Edward*, born of his firſt wife *Elfleda*, the fair daughter of *Ordmer*, a nobleman of great power and of the firſt quality in the kingdom[5]. He had afterwards, in *A. D.* 964, married[6] *Ælfrida*, daughter of *Ordgar*, duke of *Devon*, and widow of his favourite *Ethelwolf*; by whom he had *Edmund*, who died in his infancy, and *Ethelred*, who lived to reign in the true order of ſucceſſion. This laſt prince was not full ſeven years old, when his father died[7]; yet his mother, an intriguing, artful, ambitious woman, aſpiring to the government of the kingdom in her ſon's name, formed a party among the nobility (who taking advantage of the two late minorities, had greatly enlarged their power) in order to advance him to the throne, by ſupplanting his elder brother. Theſe views and[8] meaſures being oppoſed by moſt of the dukes, already poſſeſſed of as much power as they could expect, were defeated without any diſturbance; chiefly by the unanimity of the prelates, and the firmneſs of *Dunſtan*, who crowned *Edward* at *Kingſton*. Whether *Oſtac* had been engaged in this conſpiracy, or guilty of any other miſdemeanours in his government of *Deira*[9], he was at this time driven out of *England*: and the nation lived in quiet during this king's reign, unmoleſted by any foreign invaſion, and without any inteſtine ſquabble, but what related to the monks and ſecular canons. *Alfere*, duke of *Mercia*, with many of the nobility, ſupported the latter; and endeavoured to reſtore them to the monaſteries, whence they had been expelled: but *Ethelwin*, or *Aylwin*, and *Brithnot*, dukes of the *Eaſt-Angles*, and *Eaſt-Saxons*, with a ſtrong party of the lay lords, and the moſt active of the biſhops, exerting themſelves as ſtrenuouſly in behalf of the former, the matter in diſpute was debated in ſeveral councils held at *Wincheſter*, *Kirtlington*, *Calne*, and *Ambresbury*; where by the king's favour, or on the credit of ſome pretended miracles, which the monks never wanted on any occaſion, a determination was made in their favour. *Edward* had aſſigned *Dorſetſhire* to his ſtepmother for her dower: and being hunting in thoſe parts near *Corf-caſtle*[10], where ſhe reſided with S. EDWARD.

[1] *Eadmer* in *Vit. Dunſtan.* p. 425. [2] *Hoveden*, [3] *Brompton*, col. 909. [4] *Alured. Bever.* l. viii. *Flor. Wig. Angl. Sacr.* t. i. 223.
[5] *Brompton*, p. 865. *Sim. Dun. De geſt. regum.*
[6] *Edgar* had ſtood godfather to her ſon by *Ethelwolf*, which ſpiritual relation made *Dunſtan* inſiſt on a divorce, but the king's paſſion was too ſtrong to conſent to a ſeparation, tho' he ſubmitted to a penance of faſting, and he being a patron of the monks, was allowed to live with her, tho' in *Edwy's* caſe, nothing but a divorce would be admitted. *Brompton*, p. 866. 7.
[7] *Malmeſb.* l. ii. c. 9. [8] *Sim. Dun. De geſt. regum. A. D.* 975. [9] *Chron. Sax. A. D.* 975.
[10] *Malmeſb.* l. ii. c. 9.

S. Edward. her ſon, came unattended from his ſport to make a viſit to his brother. *Elfrida*, delighted to find, what ſhe had long wiſhed, a favourable opportunity of diſpatching him, and ſetting her own ſon upon the throne, received him with great marks of reſpect and tenderneſs: but ordered one of her ſervants to ſtab him, as he was drinking at the gate on horſeback. The king falling, and his foot hanging in the ſtirrup, the horſe ran away with his corpſe: but it being found by the track of the blood, was at firſt buried privately at *Wareham*, and afterwards removed to *Shaftesbury*. Whether *Elfrida* was troubled with any remorſe for this aſſaſſination, or was enjoined by way of penance to commute for her crime, according to the faſhion of the age, ſhe founded two nunneries, the one at *Warewelle*, where her firſt huſband was killed by *Edgar's* order, the other at *Ambresbury*, by way of reparation.

Ethelred. Edward being murdered [1] on *March* 18, *A. D.* 978, *Ethelred* ſucceeded to the crown: and was on the fourteenth of *April* following, being the *Sunday* after *Eaſter*, anointed by the archbiſhops *Dunſtan* and *Oſwald* at *Kingſton*. This prince was tall, handſome, and brave in his perſon; though, not knowing whom to truſt in the whole courſe of his reign, his conduct appeared generally full of a diffidence, which ſeemed to argue a timorouſneſs of nature. He had the misfortune of coming too young to the throne, and of being expoſed to thoſe defects of mind, which the flatteries of the attendants on a young monarch are apt to create, particularly to an habit and love of eaſe and pleaſure, which ſuch as make their court to him never fail to find their advantage in encouraging. This education did not qualify him to ſtruggle with the difficulties he had to encounter; for though the firſt ten years of his reign paſſed without any remarkable diſaſter, beſides the waſting of ſome parts of the *Engliſh* coaſt by ſmall parties of *Daniſh* pirates, he felt ſoon after the fatal effects of the impolitick conduct of his predeceſſors.

State of the kingdom in his time.

XX. In the times of the heptarchy, all the civil and military power of the ſeveral provinces that compoſed it, was veſted in the aldermen or earls; who, by the influence and authority which this gave them in their reſpective diſtricts, were enabled to raiſe great diſturbances in the ſtate. They enjoyed indeed this power only as officers under the crown, and were removeable at pleaſure: but the wiſe *Alfred*, obſerving the inconveniencies which had ariſen from the union of theſe powers, and thinking it too great a truſt to be repoſed in one and the ſame perſon, had taken care to ſeparate them; and whilſt the civil judicature was left to the alderman and ſheriff, appointed a ſpecial governor, ſince termed a lord-lieutenant, to command the forces of a county. The three great princes that ſucceeded him in their order, *Edward*, *Athelſtan*, and *Edmund*, obſerved the ſame policy: and the laſt of theſe, having diſperſed the *Danes*, who living together in the country of the *five burgs* were by their union in a condition to ſet up an independent government, had left no power in any particular chieftain to diſturb the quiet of his reign, and was ſure of the obedience of his ſubjects. But *Edred*, a weak prince, fitter for a cloiſter than a crown, took different meaſures: and when he had ſuppreſſed the inſurrection of the *Northumbrians*, he committed the government of all the provinces, which formerly compoſed that large kingdom, to *Oſulf*; not as a ſimple governor, but with a right of inheritance deſcendible to his children. The *Mercian* and *Engliſh* lords, who engaged in the rebellion againſt *Edwy*, and ſet up *Edgar*, could not well be refuſed the like favour; in a time when the latter ſtood in need of their aſſiſtance to ſupport his uſurpation: and hence we find in the tranſactions of his reign, and in the ſignatures of his charters, mention made of the

[1] *Flor. Wig. Chr. Sax.*

dukes

dukes of *Mercia*, of the *Eaſt* and *South-Saxons*, and of the *Eaſt-Angles*; whereas nothing of that kind appears in former reigns on the like occaſions. ETHELRED.

THIS practice ſeems to have been taken up, in imitation of what had been doing for ſome time in *France*; where the *Carlovinian* kings had introduced it, and were continuing to give away the government of provinces in the ſame hereditary manner, till they had ſtripped the crown of all its power, and erected their vaſſals into ſovereigns: which was ſoon followed by the deſtruction of the whole race of *Charle-Magne*. The term *duke* came now to be applied to ſuch hereditary governors: and beſides thoſe in *England* already mentioned, whoſe power extended over whole kingdoms of the *heptarchy*, there were others created, who had the like power and claim of inheritance in their reſpective counties. Thus was the power of the crown weakened, and the royal authority rendered very precarious, when it was to be exerciſed over perſons; who had only the name of vaſſals, and would obey no orders, but what ſuited their humours, their ambition, or their intereſts. They ſeem to have been much in the ſame ſtate, as the *German* princes are now with regard to the *Emperor*; who own indeed his ſuperior authority, and are obliged to furniſh him troops on certain occaſions, but thoſe troops are ſtill ſubject to their orders; and within their own territories they act as abſolute maſters: ſuch appears to have been the conduct of the *Engliſh* dukes, during the *Daniſh* wars, in the reign of *Ethelred*.

THERE was another innovation; which if not ſo dangerous to the royal authority, was yet more oppreſſive to the nation. We have ſeen already the good effects of the militia formed by *Alfred*, and how admirably it ſerved for the defence of the kingdom, when all his ſubjects were warriors, and every warrior was intereſted in its defence. Later kings had neglected that militia of natives, the natural guard of their country: and had taken into their ſervice [1] a body of mercenary ſoldiers; of foreigners uſed to rapine, and upon whom they could have no dependance in a day of trial; though they were, in the mean time, an heavy burden, and contributed daily to the impoveriſhment of the kingdom. This corps was made up of the *Danes*, who had been turned out of their ſettlements, and finally ſubdued by *Edmund:* they had no inclination, and were ſcarce fit for any thing but war; and our kings had taken a number of them into their pay, to have an army always ready for any ſudden expedition; every houſe that was able to provide for a man, having one quartered upon it, whom the owner was to ſupply with lodging and victuals. Theſe fellows, who had nothing to do, were very [2] curious about their perſons and dreſs; bathed every *Saturday*; changed their cloaths often; affected to be nice in every thing, and ſumptuous in all their entertainments; being the firſt introducers of luxury among the *Engliſh:* and by theſe baits ſucceeded too much in corrupting the virtue of the ladies, to the diſhonour of many noble families, and creating of an infinite deal of ill blood and diſſenſion in the kingdom. Whether this corps of mercenaries was firſt introduced by our kings, among whom *Edgar* was particularly fond of theſe foreigners; it was undoubtedly much encouraged by the hereditary dukes; who having them in their ſervice, made them the chief inſtruments of their oppreſſion of the people; upon whom, whenever they were to levy any ſum for *Danegeld*, they took care to raiſe as much more for the maintenance of their followers; as *Ingulf* complains in ſeveral places on account of ſuch taxes and contributions levied upon his abbey of *Croyland*. Theſe mercenary *Danes* had got into the beſt houſes of the land: and had increaſed by degrees to ſuch numbers, by the time that *Ethelred* came of age, that he durſt not attempt to correct their diſorders; though they were always ready to betray the nation to their countrymen.

[1] *Chron. J. Wallingford.* [2] *Brompton*, col. 877.

Ethelred. The *Danes* invade *England*.

XXI. In theſe circumſtances, when all the *Engliſh* had been, by a long peace, diſuſed to war, and were utterly unexerciſed in arms; when all the military force of the nation was in the hands either of great men, who could not be depended on, or of mercenary ſoldiers, who kept intelligence with the enemy, and might reaſonably be ſuppoſed to be in his intereſt, it would have puzzled a wiſer man than *Ethelred*, to have known what to do, when two *Daniſh* chieftains[1], in *A. D.* 991, landed with a ſtrong body of troops in *Eſſex*. *Brithnot*, duke of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, marching againſt them with an unequal force, was defeated and ſlain near *Maldon*; by which diſaſter all the neighbouring countries lay expoſed to their ravages. In this extremity, *Siricius*, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Ethelwald*, ſon of *Aylwin*, duke of the *Eaſt-Angles*, founder of the abbey of *Ramſey*, and *Alfric*, ſon of *Alfer*, late duke of *Mercia*, who had ſucceeded their fathers in thoſe governments, the territories whereof were, by their ſituation, the likelieſt to ſuffer from the ravages of the *Danes*, adviſed *Ethelred* to make up the matter by treaty, and to purchaſe a peace of them by a ſum of ten thouſand pounds, which was paid accordingly. This diſhonourable way of getting rid of an enemy, making other bodies of *Daniſh* pirates conclude, they ſhould meet with little oppoſition, and be bought off in the ſame manner, they appeared the year following with a conſiderable fleet off the coaſt of the *Eaſt-Angles*; which was full of convenient harbours. The *Engliſh* were prepared to receive them; for *Ethelred* having called a great council, it had been reſolved to aſſemble, from all parts of the kingdom, the beſt of its naval force to rendezvous at *London:* and orders were given to ſurprize or block up the *Danes* in ſome port, if poſſible. This deſign was ſpoiled by putting *Alfric* at the head of the armament; which enabled him to defeat the meaſures of the other commanders, when they were on the point of execution[2]. He had, in *A. D.* 983, on his father's death, ſucceeded to the dukedom of *Mercia:* but did not hold it above three years, before he was expelled the kingdom: he had afterwards, as he was nearly related to the king, been reſtored to favour, and recovered poſſeſſion of his dukedom; but probably ſtill retained ſome animoſity on account of his exile. Whether it was out of this, or ſome other motive, he ſent the enemy intelligence of their danger: and deſerting to them the night before the intended action, made them put to ſea, to avoid an engagement; the conſequence of which would, in all appearance, have been the deſtruction of their whole navy. Their haſty flight allowed only the *London* and *Eaſt-Angle* ſquadrons to come up with the *Danes*; of whom they ſlew however ſome thouſands; though they took only one *Daniſh* ſhip, and that of *Alfric*, who very narrowly eſcaped. *Ethelred*, in his reſentment of this treachery, put out the eyes of the traytor's ſons; yet afterwards receiving him again into his ſervice, gave him an opportunity of repeating his falſhood.

The *Daniſh* expeditions hitherto had been only the enterprizes of private adventurers, but in *A. D.* 993, *Swein*, king of *Denmark*, and *Aulaf* of *Norway*, diſtinguiſhed after his death by the title of St. *Olave*, came up the *Humber* with a royal armament; expecting to make an eaſy conqueſt of the country, or at leaſt to raiſe contributions abundantly ſufficient to defray the charges of the expedition. [3] *Lindſey* firſt felt their fury: but their chief impreſſion was upon *Yorkſhire*; where a great part of the inhabitants being originally *Danes*, they hoped to meet with little oppoſition. Nor were they deceived in their expectations; for an army being drawn together to oppoſe them, the three chief commanders, all of *Daniſh* race, fled as the battle was going to begin; leaving the field to the enemy, and the coun-

[1] *Flor. Wig. Chron. Sax. A. D.* 991. [2] *Ib. A. D.* 983, 986. [3] *Flor. Wig. Chron. Sax. A. D.* 993, 994.

try in deſpair of being ever able to unite in their own common defence. After wintering in thoſe parts, the two kings ſailed the next year to the *Thames*, and inveſted *London:* but being bravely repulſed, with great loſs of their men in all their aſſaults, by the citizens, they raiſed the ſiege, and waſted the adjoining counties of *Eſſex*, *Kent*, *Suſſex*, and *Hants* with fire and ſword. To prevent theſe ravages, it was reſolved in a council, which the king convened of the nobility, to give them ſixteen thouſand pounds, and ſupply them with proviſions, on condition of their abſtaining from plunder. In conſequence of this agreement, they paſſed the winter quietly at *Southampton:* and *Aulaf* making a viſit to *Ethelred*, then keeping his court at *Andover*, was received by him in an honourable manner; and the king ſtood godfather to him at his confirmation. This laying the foundation of a friendſhip between the two princes, *Aulaf* promiſed that he would never invade *England* again: and quitting *Swein* in the ſpring, returned home with his forces; a ſtep, which gave occaſion to that mortal enmity, which this *Daniſh* monarch bore all his life, and his ſon *Canute* after him, to the king of *Norway*. ETHELRED:

SWEIN being forced, againſt his will, to return to *Denmark*, *England* was infeſted only with the landing of a few pirates now and then on the coaſt, till *A. D.* 999; when an army landed ſtrong enough to undertake the ſiege of *Rocheſter*. The nobility, on this occaſion, concurred with *Ethelred* in fitting out a fleet, as well as in raiſing a land-force to oppoſe the enemy; who, alarmed at thoſe preparations, retired to *Normandie*, before they were attacked. This eſcape was owing to the diviſions that reigned among the *Engliſh*, and to the affected delays of thoſe who wiſhed well to the *Danes*, and probably ſhared with them in the plunder of the nation; giving them intelligence on all occaſions; ſtarting difficulties and protracting matters, that the armament ſerved only to create an uſeleſs expence, to oppreſs the people, and to make the enemy retreat for a time, in order to return after it was diſperſed in a year or two, to ravage all the *Weſt* with greater fury than ever. They[1] did this without controul; whilſt the defence of each county was left to its duke or governor, and the people, diſcouraged by a continued ſeries of treacheries, did not care to ſtir to the aſſiſtance of their neighbours; ſo that in defect of relief from any other method, recourſe was at laſt had to the ſhameful one of advancing twenty-four thouſand pounds to the *Danes* to purchaſe their departure.

XXII. ETHELRED finding, by long experience, what little reaſon he had to depend on a nobility, whoſe power rivalled his own, or at leaſt made them independent; and on a body of mercenaries, of the ſame blood and in intelligence with his enemies, reſolved to ſtrengthen himſelf by a foreign alliance; an expedient frequently made uſe of by our kings, but which hath ſeldom done them any ſervice, or been of any benefit to the *Engliſh* nation. He had been, for the firſt thirteen years of his reign, on ill terms with *Richard*, duke of *Normandie*[2]: and though the quarrel had been made up at the *Pope's* inſtance, by the mediation of the archbiſhop of *Treves*, yet there was no cordial friendſhip between them; and after *Richard's* death, his ſon, of the ſame name, allowed the *Danes* the uſe of his ports, which enabled them to make ſudden deſcents upon the coaſts of *England*, and ſerved them as well for a ſecure retreat in caſe of danger, as for marts to diſpoſe of their plunder. It was of great uſe to deprive the enemy of theſe conveniencies: and he perhaps imagined, that the *Danes* being of the ſame blood with the *Normans*, might reſpect ſuch an alliance, and chooſe for the future ſome other country than his, for the ſcene of their depredations. With theſe views, and with ſome expectation of ſuccours on occaſion, he concluded a marriage with the reign- *Ethelred* marries *Emma*.

[1] *Flor. Wig. Chr. Sax. A. D.* 1002. [2] *Malmeſb.* l. ii. c. 10.

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Ethelred. ing duke's ſiſter *Emma*, or *Elgiva* (as the *Engliſh* called her) who came over this year [1] into *England:* but whatever advantages he had reaſon to expect from this match, he ſoon deprived himſelf of them by a ſtep, which not only exaſperated the *Danes* to the laſt degree, but rendered him odious to the *Normans*.

Maſſacre of the *Danes*.

XXIII. The grievances which the people ſuffered from the mercenary ſoldiers of *Daniſh* race, quartered upon them throughout *England*, to be the guardians of thoſe, whoſe mortal enemies they had been, till ſubdued by them, have been already mentioned. Theſe were grating enough in times of peace: but the pride, inſolence, and oppreſſions of thoſe ſoldiers roſe with the war; in which they imagined themſelves abſolutely neceſſary [2] for the prince's ſervice, and the nation's ſafety, to ſuch a degree, that it was no longer to be born; and the king was teazed with continual complaints on the ſubject. It was not in his power to redreſs theſe grievances: nor could he, without the concurrence of the dukes and principal nobility, break a corps of men ſubject to their orders, and which they conſidered as the beſt ſupport of their own power; unleſs by proceeding to ſome violent extremity, which was very dangerous in his circumſtances, and thoſe of the nation. He knew very well they were uſeleſs and oppreſſive to the ſubject; he ſaw that they were of no ſervice to himſelf; that they favoured his enemies; and were always ready to follow the great men, under whoſe immediate command they were, in their defection: and being elated with his late alliance, thought he might now venture on bolder meaſures. It was this alliance, which, as *Wallingford* and others ſay, encouraged him to abandon thoſe mercenaries to the reſentments of the people upon whom they were quartered: who maſſacred them all on St. *Brice's* day, *November* 13, with all that belonged to them; not ſparing even women and children in their fury. The *Saxon Chronicle*, *Florence* of *Worceſter*, *Malmeſbury*, *Huntingdon* and others ſay, this was done by the king's expreſs orders, upon diſcovering that they had formed a conſpiracy to deprive him of his life and crown, and to divide the kingdom with his enemies. Whatever the motive to the maſſacre was, the generality of writers, who mention the time of its being perpetrated, place it on St. *Brice's* day, in *A. D.* 1002: but if *Wallingford* be right in a circumſtance which he relates, and which helps to account for the feiſibleneſs of ſo general an execution, it being done on a *Saturday*, the day on which thoſe *Danes* regularly bathed, and probably whilſt they were bathing, it ſhould rather be placed in the year following, when St. *Brice's* feaſt fell on a *Saturday*.

I would willingly draw a veil over a ſcene of ſo much blood, treachery, and horror, which ſhews what the *Engliſh* are capable of acting; when what foreigners call the *ferocity* of their nature, is worked up into a rage, by a long continued ſeries of the moſt provoking inſults and oppreſſions; could I think it poſſible for our hiſtorians, who lived before the end of the ſame century, to be miſtaken in a fact of ſo much notoriety. There is reaſon however to think, that the maſſacre was not ſo general as is imagined; that it was confined to ſome of thoſe provinces, which had been formerly inhabited by the [3] *Danes*; and that it was not committed in virtue of any royal order, but was the pure effect of a general popular reſentment, concert, and commotion. It did not fall upon any of the piratical natives of *Denmark*; but upon thoſe of *Daniſh* race, who had been for above a century ſettled in *England:* it drew however after it the ſolemn premeditated execution of a *Daniſh*

[1] *A. D.* 1002. [2] *Chron. J. Wallingford.*

[3] *Engliſh* proverbs generally are (not maxims for the conduct of life, like thoſe of the *Spaniards*, but) expreſſions, that ſtruck people at the time they were uſed on particular occaſions, and have been retained, when the occaſion has been forgot; it ſeems therefore not improbable to imagine, that one I have known drop from the mouths of the country people in the *Mercian* counties, *viz. Every pariſh can kill its own fleas*, owed its original to this occaſion.

princeſs; which being attended with the vileſt breach of faith, could not fail of producing terrible conſequences. ETHELRED.

Upon *Olave's* retiring with his forces to *Norway*, *Swein* had made a treaty with *Ethelred*: and had left his ſiſter *Gunhild* an hoſtage for his performance of the conditions. She was married to count *Paling*, and had embraced *Chriſtianity* ſince her being in *England*; where ſhe was in the cuſtody and reſided within the government of *Edric*, ſurnamed *Streona* [1], who, till *Alfric's* death, was earl of *Wiltſhire*, and then made duke of *Mercia*. This man, born for the ruin of his country, and worthy of the execration of all poſterity, was a great favourite with *Ethelred*, who had given him his daughter *Edgitha* [2] in marriage: he was vaſtly rich, proud, cruel, crafty, and inſinuating; knew how to diſſemble his own ſentiments, and fiſh out the ſecrets of others; having a tongue to perſuade, and a head to contrive any miſchief, which his inſatiable avarice put him upon executing. He had made it his buſineſs to betray all the king's counſels to his enemies; when ſent to treat with them of peace, he encouraged them to war; in which, if *Ethelred* had gained any advantage, he diverted him by ſome fetch or other from improving it: and when it became abſolutely neceſſary, made an open defection to them; his ſole view being to get money or plunder, and his whole life a continued ſcene of treachery. It was, in all appearance, by an effect of this treachery, and to provoke *Swein* to another invaſion, that taking advantage of the popular fury againſt the *Danes*, he put her huſband and ſon to death before her eyes, and then beheaded *Gunhild*; who ſuffered with great conſtancy and intrepidity, declaring that the ſhedding of her blood would prove the ruin of the *Engliſh* nation.

XXIV. The event anſwered the fair unhappy lady's apprehenſions. [3] Her brother, enraged at ſuch an act of perfidy and barbarity, came with a great army in the ſpring: and landing in *Devon*, had *Exeter* delivered to him by the treachery of *Hugh* the *Norman*, whom *Emma* had made governor of the place; which elſe would, as late experience had ſhewn, have been bravely defended by the citizens. *Swein* next fell upon *Hants*, in order to penetrate into *Wiltſhire*; and when the forces of thoſe counties were drawn together to oppoſe him, *Alfric*, whom *Ethelred* had made general of the army, notwithſtanding his former treachery, pretended, at the moment a battle was going to begin, that he was taken extremely ill; and the *Engliſh* retired without coming to any engagement. This allowed *Swein* to ravage all *Wiltſhire*, and to burn *Wilton* and *Saliſbury*, the theatre of his ſiſter's murder, without oppoſition: but when he landed the year following in the *Eaſt-Angles* [4], and having burnt *Norwich*, advanced to *Thetford*, he found a different reception from the brave *Ulfketel*, duke of the province. This nobleman haſtily aſſembling a body of troops, much inferior to the enemy in number, attacked them with ſo much reſolution, that though they made a ſhift, after a great loſs of men, to get back to their ſhips, the *Danes* owned they had never been engaged in ſo furious a combat before in *England*. They met with no reſiſtance in other parts: but ſecurely ravaged [5] *Kent*, *Suſſex*, and the *Weſt-Saxon* provinces, till they were themſelves diſtreſſed, as well as the *Engliſh*, by a famine, which overſpread the land; and a ſum of thirty-ſix thouſand pounds purchaſed another temporary departure. *Swein* invades *England*.

Ethelred, to be prepared againſt their return, [6] ordered ſhips to be built all over the kingdom, every three hundred and ten hides of land being to furniſh one; ſo that a greater fleet was now fitted out, than ever had been known in this nation:

[1] *Chron. Sax. A. D.* 1007. [2] *Malmeſb.* l. ii. c. 10. [3] *Hoveden.* p. 429. *Flor. Wig. Chron. Sax. A. D.* 1003. [4] *Ib. A. D.* 1004. *Chron. Petriburg. Ingulf.* [5] *Chron. Sax.* 1006, 1007. [6] *Ib. A. D.* 1008, 1009.

Ethelred. but when it had rendezvous'd at *Sandwich*, this mighty armament came to nothing, through the differences which reigned among the nobility; always more intent upon profecuting their private quarrels, than in providing for the public neceſſities. *Wulfnoth* [1], father to the famous earl *Godwin*, was maliciouſly and falſly accuſed by his uncle *Brightric*, brother to the traytor *Edric*; a proud, inſolent, faithleſs, and ambitious man: and to ſave himſelf from being deſtroyed by the power of his enemies, fled with about twenty ſhips that were manned with his followers. *Brightric* attempting to purſue him with eighty others, his ſquadron was drove a ſhore by a ſtorm, and all the ſhips burnt by *Wulfnoth*. This cauſed ſuch diſſenſions among the nobility, that they returned home: and the fleet, which had been equiped at a vaſt expence, was diſperſed before *Lammas*; when the *Danes* appeared off the coaſt, and landing where they pleaſed, deſtroyed all the country with fire and ſword. *Ethelred* tried to get his forces together: but when he had done ſo, they were always hindered from fighting by *Edric*, whom he had made lieutenant-general of the kingdom. He ſummoned councils: but they either broke up without coming to any reſolution, or if any were taken, it was never executed; ſo that at laſt none of the dukes would raiſe their forces, nor one county aſſiſt another. All parts were harraſſed by the armies either of friends or enemies; and all the kingdom was in this [2] miſerable ſituation, when the dukes with others of the nobility, meeting in a council at *London*, reſolved to give the *Danes* forty-eight thouſand pounds to abſtain from plundering. *Swein* however went on, reducing one county after another, till he was maſter of half the kingdom; and even *London*, which had long defended itſelf gallantly againſt all his attacks, was at laſt forced to ſubmit to the [3] conqueror. *Ethelred*, betrayed by his dukes, deſerted by all, ſeeing little hopes of ſafety in any place, and more apprehenſive of danger from the treachery of his own ſubjects than from the ſtrength of his open enemies, took refuge in the *Iſle of Wight*: and ſent his queen thence, with her two ſons into *Normandie*, to ſee if he might be well received in that country. The reaſon of his doubt aroſe from his own conduct; for being extremely given to wine and women, he had treated *Emma* very indifferently; which ſhe, being a woman of great ſpirit and an haughty temper, could not bear; and thence animoſities had enſued, into which her brother entered. But *Richard* II, duke of *Normandie*, being a prince of great magnanimity, eaſily remitted all his reſentment at his ſiſter's intreaty: and inviting *Ethelred* over, he went, *Rouen* with a full aſſurance of ſafety, and ſome hopes of ſuccours.

And dying, is ſucceeded by *Canute*.

XXV. The king had not been in *Normandie* ſix weeks when *Swein* died [4], on *Feb.* 3, *A. D.* 1014, at *Gaineſborough* in *Lincolnſhire*, after having laid on the *Engliſh* an inſupportable tax (of which the ſhare of the abbey of *Croyland* amounted to two thouſand marks) ſufficient to cure them of any inclination to the *Daniſh* government. *Ethelred* was upon this event recalled, with the appearance of great unanimity; and coming over before the end of Lent, marched into *Lindſey* againſt *Canute*; who avoiding an engagement, and cruelly treating the *Engliſh* hoſtages in his hands, ſailed for *Denmark* [5], to take poſſeſſion of his father's kingdom. He returned however the next year; and made his advantage of the *Engliſh* diſſenſions, which had been again revived upon *Edric* duke of *Mercia*'s aſſaſſinating *Sigeferth* and *Morcar*, two very conſiderable noblemen in the countries beyond *Trent*, at a great council held in *Oxford*. *Ethelred*, rapacious on all occaſions, cauſed the effects of the deceaſed to be confiſcated: and *Sigeferth's* relict, *Algitha*, a lady of

[1] *Flor. Wig. A. D.* 1007. p. 430. [2] *Chron. Petriburg. A. D.* 1012. [3] *Malmeſb. ib.*
[4] *Chron. Sax.* and *Petriburg. A. D.* 1014. [5] *Ib. A. D.* 1015.

great merit and extraordinary beauty, to be carried priſoner to *Malmeſbury*; where his eldeſt ſon prince *Edmund* fell in love with her, and married her without his father's conſent. *Canute* landing at this juncture in the country of the *Weſt-Saxons*, *Edric* levied an army in *Mercia*, and *Edmund* another in the north, to oppoſe his progreſs[1]. *Edric* tried all means to betray or kill the prince: and not being able to effect his purpoſe, retired with his troops, which prevented a battle. The traytor then finding he could no longer act a part of diſſimulation, made an open revolt to *Canute* with forty ſhips: and drew him with his forces the year following into *Mercia*. There *Edmund* propoſed to engage him: but when he had got a body of troops together, they would not fight; unleſs the king was preſent and they were joined by the *Londoners*. When theſe came up, the king diſcovered a conſpiracy for delivering him up to the enemy[2], which obliged him to diſmiſs the army, and return to *London*; whilſt the prince retired to *Uchtred* earl of *Northumberland*, who had married his ſiſter *Elfgiva*. Thither *Canute* purſued his conqueſts: and waſting the country horribly, forced *Uchtred* to a ſubmiſſion; which the *Dane* ſoon abuſed by cauſing him to be murdered and giving his earldom to *Yric*, whom he afterwards baniſhed. *Edmund* had now no place of refuge left in the north: and was forced to retire to *London*[3]; whither he got with great difficulty, but not unſeaſonably; his father dying there ſoon after[4]; on *Monday April* 23, *A. D.* 1016. *Ethelred* had by his firſt wife *Ethelgiva*, an *Engliſh* lady, daughter of earl *Thored*, three ſons, *Edmund*, *Edwin*, and *Athelſtan*: of which the laſt died young; the ſecond was afterwards made away by *Canute's* order; and by his ſecond wife, two other ſons, *Alfred* and *Edward*, whom their mother immediately after his death ſent into *Normandie*.

ETHELRED.

XXVI. The city of *London*, and ſuch of the great men as were there aſſembled at the time of *Ethelred's* death, immediately proclaimed *Edmund*, ſurnamed *Ironſide*, from his hardneſs in bearing the fatigues of war; and he was ſoon after crowned by *Livingus* archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; but the biſhops, abbots, and the greateſt part of the nobility were more inclined to *Canute*, and offered to receive him for their ſovereign. *Edmund*, to put a ſtop to ſo general a defection, advanced into the *Weſt-Saxon* provinces: and by the defeat of a body of *Danes* in *Rogation-week* at *Penne* in *Somerſetſhire*, ſecured them in his obedience. He marched thence after *Midſummer* into *Mercia*: and duke *Edric* having joined his forces with thoſe of *Canute*[5], they met him at *Sceorſtan* on the borders of *Glouceſter* and *Worceſter* ſhires, where a battle enſued. The fate of it ſeemed for a long time doubtful; *Edmund* diſcharging the part of a brave ſoldier, as well as of a wiſe commander, had pierced at laſt ſo far into the enemies ranks, that victory was on the point of declaring for him[6]: when *Edric* erecting on a ſpear the head of one *Oſmer*, very like *Edmund* in the face, and calling out to the *Engliſh* to fly ſince their king was ſlain, they began accordingly to give way; till *Edmund* getting on a riſing ground and pulling off his helmet, ſhewed them that he was living, and brought them on again to the combat, which the *Danes*, by the help of that wile, made a ſhift to protract till the evening. *Canute* not daring to venture an engagement the next day, marched off ſilently in the night, to join the reſt of his forces; which he had left to guard his ſhips and block up *London*. *Edmund* following him thither, raiſed the ſiege: and having routed him near *Brentford*, forced him to retire into *Kent*; where *Canute* made a fruitleſs attempt upon *Rocheſter*, and was defeated again in two ſucceſſive battles at *Otford* and *Ailesford*. The laſt of theſe would have been

EDMUND.

[1] *Huntingdon*, l. vi. *Malmeſb.* l. ii. c. 10. [2] *Flor. Wig. Simon. Dun. De geſtis regum*, *A. D.* 1017. [3] *Flor. Wig. Sim. Dun. De geſt. regum.* [4] *Brompton*, col. 877. *Flor. Wig.* [5] *Hoveden*, p. 488. *Sim. Dum.* [6] *Flor. Wig. Hoveden.* p. 455.

fatal

Edmund. fatal to the *Danes*, but for *Edric*; who in concert with him had made his ſubmiſſion to *Edmund*, and, as his power made him worth gaining, and his relation to the king procured credit to his profeſſions, had been received into favour upon his oath of fidelity. His dignity entitling him to a principal command in the king's army, enabled him likewiſe to put a ſtop to the purſuit; which gained time for the ſhattered remains of the *Daniſh* troops to recover their ſhips, and paſs over the river into *Eſſex*, where they recruited their forces. *Edmund* was not long before he attacked them at *Aſhdown* in that county; and had at firſt the advantage[1]: but *Edric* treacherouſly flying with the wing he commanded, ſtruck ſuch a terror into the reſt, that the *Danes* falling upon the other wing with all their force, made a terrible ſlaughter of the *Engliſh*; ſome prelates, who had come to pray for the king's ſucceſs[2], the brave *Ulfketel*, ſeveral other layal dukes, and the flower of the nobility, being left dead on the field of battle. *Edmund* retired to *Glouceſter*, to raiſe freſh forces: and *Canute* following him thither, the two armies were drawn up facing one another; whilſt the two kings either fought a duel, as ſome writers ſay, or at leaſt whilſt they made an agreement at the inſtances of the *Daniſh* as well as *Engliſh* nobility; by which they agreed to divide the kingdom between them; *Canute* being to keep all the provinces of *Mercia* and *Northumberland* which he already poſſeſſed, and the reſt of *England* remaining to *Edmund*. This prince equally humane, juſt, generous, and intrepid[3], from whom the *Engliſh* hoped to ſee their monarchy reſtored to its former luſtre, did not ſurvive this convention above a month; when he was baſely murdered about the end of *November*, at *Oxford*[4], by the agents of the traytor *Edric*, and was buried at *Glaſtenbury*. His two ſons, *Edwin* and *Edward* were, by the advice of *Edric*, and the orders of *Canute*, willing to ſhift the odium of their murder off himſelf, ſent to the king of the *Suevi*, with a requeſt that he would put them to death: but this prince, moved with compaſſion of their unhappy fate, ſent them to *Solomon* king of *Hungary*, who received them kindly, and *Edwin* dying in his court, he gave his queen's ſiſter *Agatha*, daughter of the emperor *Henry* II, in marriage to *Edward*; who had iſſue by her *Edgar Atheling*, *Chriſtian* a nun, and *Margaret* queen of *Scotland*.

Canute. XXVI. Canute convening all the *Engliſh* nobility at *London*[5], aſked thoſe who were witneſſes to the agreement between him and the deceaſed king, and who had probably been prepared before, what had paſſed in their diſcourſe at that time about the kingdom in caſe of *Edmund's* death, in relation either to his brothers or children. Their reply being, that *Edmund* had recommended no part of the realm to his brothers, but had deſired that his ſons might be under the guardianſhip and protection of *Canute*, this laſt was thereupon ſaluted king: and the prelates, with the reſt of the nobility, took the uſual oath of allegiance. The witneſſes imagined, they ſhould make their court to the new prince by an anſwer, which, though a notorious falſhood, was calculated for his ſervice: but though he was willing to profit by their perjury, he judged wiſely, that thoſe who had been falſe to their natural and rightful ſovereigns, would never be true to a foreigner, who had ſeized the crown; and he put them all to death ſoon after. The arch-traytor *Edric* well deſerved the ſame fate, and did not long ſurvive them; for at[6] the *Chriſtmas* following, having the impudence to upbraid *Canute* openly with the ſervices he had done him, by the treacheries he had been guilty of towards *Ethelred* and *Edmund*;

Canute's manner of government.

[1] *Huntingdon, Hoveden.* c. 72. *Hiſt. Elienſ.* l. ii. c. 13, 21. *Malmeſb.* l. ii. c. 10. *Flor. Wig.* *Chron. J. Wallingford.*

[2] *Hiſt. Ramſey.*

[3] *Rudborne*, l. iii. c. 15.

[4] *Hearne's Pref. to Fordun.* p. 116. *Sim. Dun. De geſt. regum.*

[5] *Flor. Wig.*

[6] *Ingulf. Malmeſb.* l. ii. c. 11. *Sim. Dun. De geſt. regum. Hiſt. Rameſy*, c. 84.

he was, upon this confeſſion, ordered immediately to a traytor's puniſhment, being hanged, and his corpſe thrown into the *Thames*. His three ſons were put to death at the ſame time, with *Norman*, ſon of duke *Leofwine*, *Ethelward*, ſon of duke *Agelmar*, *Brightric*, ſon of *Alfage*, earl of *Devonſhire*, and others of the moſt conſiderable of *Edric's* relations and followers: but as *Canute* had a great eſteem and affection for *Leofric*, brother to *Norman*, he gave him the government which the other had enjoyed. His view in theſe executions was to break the power of the *Engliſh* nobility, upon whoſe fidelity he could not depend, by taking off the chief of them, that might ſerve for leaders to the reſt on occaſion. The ſame end was purſued in his taking away the eſtates [1] of abundance of the *Engliſh*, and giving them to his *Danes*; who, encouraged by the king's favour, took upon themſelves to ſeize what lands they thought fit: it is almoſt incredible, or (as the hiſtorian [2] ſays) no pen is able to deſcribe the miſchiefs they did, by their rapines, under colour of the royal protection. The good old laws, ordinances, and cuſtoms, which had been collected and put in writing by the juſt and wiſe king *Alfred*, *Canute* thought too favourable to liberty for the nation, which had long been happy under them, to enjoy; and made it his buſineſs to ſet them aſide, that he might ſubject every thing to his own arbitrary will and pleaſure. Whether it was to impoveriſh the *Engliſh*, or to reward his *Daniſh* forces, the greateſt part of which he ſent away, retaining only forty ſhips of his fleet [3], he laid a tax of eighty-two thouſand pounds upon the kingdom; of which *London* was aſſeſſed for its ſhare ten thouſand and five hundred pounds; an evident mark of the greatneſs and opulence of that city.

Canute.

Such were the beginnings of *Canute's* government; which ſuiting rather the character of an enemy, than a king, could not fail of raiſing a general diſcontent among the people, and rendered it neceſſary for him to take proper precautions for the ſecurity of his throne againſt any rival that might diſturb his poſſeſſion. He had nothing to fear from *Edmund's* children, who were mere infants, and in a diſtant country: but *Alfred* and *Edward*, ſons of *Ethelred* by *Emma*, now grown up to be about fourteen or fifteen years of age, and ſupported by their uncle *Richard* II, duke of *Normandie*, to whoſe invaſion all that part of *Britain*, in which the *Engliſh* intereſt moſt prevailed, lay open, gave him no ſmall uneaſineſs. *Richard* had, by his embaſſadors, demanded in their behalf the moiety of the kingdom [4], which had belonged to *Edmund:* and he could not find a better way to elude the demand, to make a friend of that duke, and to ingratiate himſelf with the *Engliſh*, than by propoſing a marriage with *Emma*, the widow of *Ethelred*; whom the nation had been long uſed to obey, and expected to find their patroneſs. It was indifferent to *Richard*, whether his nephews by *Canute* or *Ethelred* ſat upon the throne of *England*; he might expect a more uſeful ally in the former, than he had ever found in the latter: and for theſe political reaſons, without any regard to juſtice or decorum, he agreed to the match [5]; and ſending over his ſiſter, ſhe was married at the latter end of *July* to *Canute*. This prince ſeeing a good effect of this meaſure proceeded, in the next year to a more material act of complaiſance to the *Engliſh*, by giving his conſent, in the great council held at *Oxford*, to the re-eſtabliſhment of the laws of the *Saxon* monarchs [6].

XXVIII. Having thus provided for the quiet of the nation, he ventured the year following to paſs over into *Denmark* [7]; where, in an expedition againſt the

He goes to *Denmark*.

[1] *Hiſt. Ramſey*, c. 86, 87. [2] *Chron. J. Wallingford.* [3] *Flor. Wig. Chron. Sax.* and *Petriburg*, *A. D.* 1018. [4] *Chron. J. Wallingford. Malmeſb.* l. ii. c. 11. [5] *Malmeſb.* l. ii. c. 11. *Flor. Wig. Chron. Sax.* and *Petriburg. A. D.* 1017. [6] *Ib. A. D.* 1018. [7] *Malmeſb. ib. Hungtingdon.*

Canute. *Swedes*, *Godwin*, ſtyled ſometimes earl of *Kent*, ſometimes duke of the *Weſt-Saxons*, did him a very acceptable ſervice; falling upon the enemy by night, and routing them without the knowledge of *Canute* himſelf, or any aſſiſtance from the reſt of his army. This indeared the *Engliſh* to him ever after: and put *Godwin* ſo highly in his favour, that he gave him one of his [1] ſiſters, or rather, as *Adam Bremenſis* ſays, [2] *Thyra*, ſiſter of his brother-in-law *Ulf*, in marriage, and thinking [3] he had ſufficiently ſecured his fidelity by this alliance, maintained him in all his power and dignity, at a time when he was reſolved to extinguiſh that exorbitant ducal authority, which had been raiſed in the times of *Edred*, *Edgar*, and *Ethelred*, and had proved the ruin of the *Engliſh* monarchy.

It was upon his return from *Denmark*, that he put this deſign in execution. The neceſſity of his affairs, when he firſt came to the crown, had obliged him to ſubmit to a kind of partition of his dominions; aſſigning the government of *Mercia* to *Edric*, who enjoyed it before, of *Northumberland* to *Yric*, and of the *Eaſt-Angles* to *Turkil*, who, though a *Dane*, and coming over firſt as an enemy, had afterwards with a ſquadron of forty-five ſhips entered into the ſervice of *Ethelred*. He had already got rid of *Edric*, and moſt of his partiſans that were poſſeſſed of any conſiderable power; he now drove *Yric* and *Turkil* out of the kingdom, baniſhed *Ethelward*, an *Engliſh* duke, and left none in any condition to diſpute his orders, or raiſe a diſturbance; beſides his favourites *Godwin* and *Leofric*, the only noblemen that bear the title of duke or earl in the ſignature of his charters. To oblige the nation in general, and to ſhew a remorſe for the blood he had ſhed, he built churches at *Aſhdon*, and all the places where any ſlaughter had been made of the *Engliſh*; founded chantries to pray for their ſouls; repaired various monaſteries, that had ſuffered by the *Danes*; and erected one at *Bury* in honour of St. *Edmund*, a ſaint highly reverenced all over *England*, who had been murdered an hundred and fifty years before, by his anceſtors. By theſe methods he gained the hearts of the *Engliſh*: and being ſecure at home, had leiſure to extend his conqueſts in other parts; particularly in *Norway*, where the mildneſs, juſtice, and piety of king *Olave* were not agreeable to his ſubjects; who thought it an intolerable grievance to be reſtrained from the piracies, to which they had been ever accuſtomed. *Canute* inherited his father's reſentment againſt that excellent prince: and to inſure ſucceſs to the invaſion he meditated, ſent great preſents of money to the principal *Norwegian* lords and heads of clans, to engage them in his intereſt [4]. His bribes were accepted, and aſſurances being given that they would join him on his landing, he ſailed to *Norway*, with a fleet too ſtrong for *Olave* to oppoſe: and the *Norwegians* deſerting their prince, he was forced to take refuge, firſt in *Sweden*, and afterwards in *Ruſſia*. *Olave*, about two years after, made an attempt to recover his crown: but being deſerted by ſome of his forces, and overpowered by numbers, was ſlain in the battle of *Sticklaſtad*.

And to *Rome*. XXIX. Nothing was wanting to eſtabliſh in the minds of the people an opinion of *Canute's* religion, but a journey to *Rome* to obtain a full pardon for all his ſins: and taking it in *A. D.* 1031, he purchaſed of the princes in his way, an exemption from toll for all *Engliſh* merchants and pilgrims, and obtained from the Pope ſome privileges for the *Engliſh* ſchool in that city, with a promiſe of redreſs in the point of thoſe exceſſive ſums, which were exacted from the metropolitans

[1] *Malmeſb.* l. ii. c. 13. [2] *Pontani Hiſt. Danic.* l. v. *A. D.* 1066, 1042. *Adam. Bremenſ.* l. ii. c. 37.

[3] He had by her one ſon, who was drowned in the *Thames*, but had ſix by his ſecond wife *Gytha*, born in the following order: *Swein*, *Harold*, *Toſti*, *Wulnoth*, *Girth*, and *Leofwin*, of which *Wlnoth* was (with *Haquin*, *Swein's* ſon) an hoſtage in *Normandie* for his father's behaviour to king *Edward*, and remained there till after the conqueſt. See *Knigton* col. 2333. *Malmeſb.* &c.

[4] *Flor. Wig. A. D.* 1027, 1028.

of *England* for the pall; and which he had complained of as an intolerable grievance [1]. He returned home by *Denmark*, and in the way wrote, by *Livingus* abbot of *Taviſtoke*, the companion of his travels, a letter [2] to the great men of *England*; ordering all the ſheriffs and officers in his realm, to adminſter juſtice impartially; to prevent all oppreſſion; particularly in the caſe of the poor; and to ſee that all church dues were regularly paid to the clergy. His conduct afterwards was agreeable to the profeſſions in his letter; taking particular care that [3] the laws of the old *Saxon* kings, hitherto neglected, ſhould be inviolably obſerved for the future, and providing, by ſome of his own [4], for the better keeping of the Lord's day, and the regular practice of religion; forbidding markets, fairs, and other ſecular aſſemblies to be held on a *Sunday*; and enjoining all *Chriſtians* to come, at leaſt thrice a year, to receive the euchariſt. CANUTE.

XXX. ENGLAND had hitherto enjoyed a profound peace during this prince's reign: but now *Canute* thought himſelf obliged, in honour, to undertake a warlike expedition on the following occaſion [5]. *Malcolm* II, king of *Scotland*, holding *Cumberland* in vaſſalage of the crown of *England*, had been ordered by *Ethelred*, when *Danegeld* was firſt eſtabliſhed, to levy upon the *Cumbrians* their proportion of that tribute: but he abſolutely refuſed to do ſo, alledging that his people owed tribute to no body beſides the king, and were always ready to fight with their enemies. This anſwer, which came very properly from [6] a brave prince, who beat the *Danes* as oft as they landed on his coaſts, incenſed *Ethelred* to ſuch a degree, that he employed the armament he had been preparing againſt thoſe pirates, in an expedition to *Cumberland*, and waſted the country: but the two kings ſoon came to an agreement, and *Malcolm*, from that time, had neither paid any tribute, nor acknowledged *Canute*, whom he looked upon as an uſurper. *Duncan*, grandſon to *Malcolm*, and heir apparent to the crown of *Scotland*, was properly the perſon who held that county; and had been ſummoned over and over, by *Canute*, to do him homage: but had as often refuſed it; declaring it was not due to him by any right, but only to the *Engliſh* born kings of *England*. *Canute* reſenting this affront, as ſoon as he was returned from his *Roman* pilgrimage, marched with a great army to reduce *Cumberland*: and *Malcolm* met him with another, ready to give him battle. To prevent the effuſion of blood, the prelates and nobility interpoſed: and an accommodation being made, it was agreed, that *Duncan*, and the heirs of future kings of *Scotland*, for the time being, ſhould hold *Cumberland* as freely as any of their predeceſſors, and ſhould pay the uſual homage to *Canute* and his ſucceſſors, kings of *England*. Thus ended the quarrel: and *Canute* paſſing the reſt of his days in peace, died at *Shafteſbury* [7] on *November* 12, *A. D.* 1035; leaving by his firſt wife *Alfwen*, daughter of *Elfhelm*, earl of *Northampton*, two ſons, *Swein* and *Harold*; and by *Emma*, who ſurvived him, a ſon named *Hardicnute*, and a daughter *Gunhild*, married to the emperor *Henry* III. His expedition into *Cumberland*, and death.

XXXI. CANUTE had taken care, before his death, to put his ſons *Hardicnute* and *Swein* in poſſeſſion [8], the one of *Denmark*, and the other of *Norway*: but had made no proviſion for a ſucceſſor in the kingdom of *England*; which neceſſarily occaſioned a diſpute between theſe different races of children. When the *Engliſh* prelates and nobility met upon this occaſion, there appeared three parties in the council; ſome being for *Hardicnute*, as deſcended from a more honourable mother, and born undoubtedly in lawful wedlock; others for *Harold*, as the elder brother, though the HAROLD I.

[1] *Ib. A. D.* 1031. [2] *Malmeſb. ib. Ingulf.* [3] *Malmeſb. ib.* [4] *LL. Canute*, c. 15, 19. [5] *Malmeſb. ib. Fordun. Scot.* l. iv. c. 35, 41. [6] *Flor. Wig. A. D.* 1000. *Hiſt. Ramſei.* c. 94. *Ingulf. Hunt.* [7] *Ib. A. D.* 1035. [8] *Angl. Sacr.* i. 235.

marriage

HAROLD I. marriage of his mother, or his own legitimacy, was queſtioned; and others again for one of the ſons of *Ethelred*, who were then in *Normandie*. Theſe laſt princes had found a true friend in their couſin *Robert*, duke of that province [1]; he had taken their cauſe under his protection, and had fitted out a fleet well provided with forces, in order to make a deſcent, and put them on the throne of *England*: but it had been ſhattered by a ſtorm, and the enterprize miſcarried. He reſolved however to fit out another armament; and *Canute* hearing that the preparations were not laid aſide, was ſo alarmed at them, and diffident of his own cauſe, that he ſent embaſſadors to *Alfred* and *Edward* with offers of half the kingdom of *England*; which were made in a full audience of the *Norman* nobility convened by *Robert* on that occaſion. The effect of theſe offers was deferred by a pilgrimage; which this duke, in a fit of devotion, made to the holy land: and dying in his return at *Nice*, in *Bithynia*, a little before *Canute's* deceaſe, his dominions had fallen into the hands of a child; who ſtood in need himſelf of protection, and *Ethelred's* ſons were left without any ſupport. This was a fatal blow to their cauſe: and the diſpute was ſoon reduced to two candidates; the one of which could aſſiſt his friends with the power of *Denmark*, and the other with that of *Norway*. The *Danes* ſettled in [2] *London*, with the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians*, were for *Harold*; whilſt the reſt of the *Engliſh*, with archbiſhop [3] *Egelnoth*, at their head, in deſpair of carrying their point in favour of *Ethelred's* ſons, appeared full as ſtrenuous for *Hardicnute*, as being born of *Emma*. The diſpute was carried on with ſo much heat, that a civil war was generally expected: but it was at laſt terminated by an agreement, that *London*, with the northern parts of *England* beyond the *Thames*, ſhould belong to *Harold* (whom, notwithſtanding the agreement, *Egelnoth* refuſed to crown) and the counties which lay ſouth of the river, to *Hardicnute*. *Harold*, as ſoon as his father's funeral at *Wincheſter* was over, had taken care to ſeize all his treaſure [4]: and it was probably the influence of this money, which procured him the larger ſhare in the diviſion of the kingdom.

By the agreement made for that purpoſe, it was provided [5] that *Emma* ſhould reſide in *Wincheſter*, with the officers and ſervants of her ſon *Hardicnute*, for the government of the *Weſt-Saxons*; among whom earl *Godwin* had the principal authority: and thither her ſons by *Ethelred* came the year following to viſit [6] her, with about a thouſand ſoldiers in their train, who attended them from *Normandie* [7]. Whether they had any deſign of ſetting up their claim to the crown, their coming is ſaid to have given great offence to the *Engliſh* nobility, [8] eſpecially to earl *Godwin*; who, though he had appeared zealous for them in the council of *London*, might poſſibly apprehend they would, by their intereſt with *Emma*, leſſen his power among the *Weſt-Saxons*; and it could not fail of giving great umbrage to *Harold*, who readily formed a deſign to get rid of *Alfred*, the eldeſt and moſt active of thoſe young princes. It could not well be executed, at leaſt in the dominions of *Hardicnute*, without *Godwin's* aſſiſtance; which renders it very probable, that he had drawn him into his meaſures; and this earl was certainly the inſtrument employed, as well to perſuade *Alfred* to make a viſit to *Harold* upon the invitation ſent him, as to ſeize him and his followers on the road at *Guilford*. *Harold*, ſurnamed *Harefoot*, from his ſpeed [9] and fondneſs for walking, which made him deſpiſe

[1] *Chron. J. Wallingford*, *Guil. Gemetic.* l. vi. c. 12. [2] *Ingulf.* [3] *Emmæ Encomium.*
[4] *Sim. Dun. De geſt. regum*, *A. D.* 1035.
[5] *Chron. Sax.* [6] *Sim. Dun. A. D.* 1036. *Hiſt. Elienſ.* l. ii. c. 37. [7] *Wace*, in his hiſtory of *William the Conqueror*, p. 415, ſays, that *Edward* and *Alfred* ſailed with forty ſhips from *Harfleur* to *Southampton*; but finding the *Engliſh* not inclined to riſe in their favour, *Edward* returned to *Normandie*: and *Alfred* went, in a large veſſel, to *Witſand* (which *Guil. Pictavienſis* calls *Portus Iccius*, whence he paſſed into *Kent* upon an invitation from earl *Godwin*; who joining him with his men, found an opportunity to ſeize the young prince and his followers at *Guilford*. See alſo *Emmæ Encomium*, and *Guil. Pictavienſ.* [8] *Malm.* l. ii. c. 12. [9] *Hoveden*, p. 418. *Brompt.* col. 832. *Sim. Dun. A. D.* 1036. *Chr. Mailros.*

riding,

riding, was wilful, obſtinate, brutal, and cruel; very capable of giving orders for the moſt ſhocking barbarities: but if they had not ſuited *Godwin's* inclinations, he would not have been concerned in their execution; and whoever is charged with orders, though he cannot alter their ſubſtance, hath always a good deal, in the manner of executing them, left to his diſcretion. Whether *Alfred's* refuſal to marry his daughter (as ſome hiſtorians [1] ſuggeſt) perhaps attended with certain expreſſions of contempt, had worked up *Godwin's* pride into a frantick rage, he put ſix hundred of the *Normans* to death with various kinds of torments, and with all the circumſtances of indignity and inhumanity. *Alfred* himſelf was ſent under a guard to *Ely:* and had his eyes put out before he entered the monaſtery [2]; where he languiſhed for a ſhort time, and died miſerably. HAROLD I.

EMMA, on the news of this ſcene of treachery and horror, ſent her ſon *Edward* [3] in all haſte back to *Normandie* for ſafety: and was the year following reduced herſelf to the like condition of an exile. *Hardicnute*, taken up with his affairs in *Denmark*, or perhaps ſuſpecting the frequent and importunate invitations of *Godwin*; and not caring to truſt himſelf in a country made infamous by the blackeſt treaſons againſt the perſons of their kings and the princes of the royal family, had neglected coming over to take poſſeſſion of his ſhare of the kingdom. This giving (as it is ſaid) great offence to the *Engliſh*, *Harold* took advantage of their diſcontent: and ſeized it without any difficulty; no body being capable of making oppoſition, but *Godwin*, who was embarked in his intereſts too far to retreat. *Normandie* was then in ſuch a condition, that *Emma* could not promiſe herſelf a decent ſubſiſtence there: and being obliged to quit *England* in the beginning of winter, ſhe ſailed into *Flanders*; where ſhe was kindly received, and during a ſtay of more than two years, honourably maintained by the noble *Baldwin*, count of that province. There *Hardicnute*, coming to viſit her [4] with a fleet of ſixty ſhips, and ſuch a force on board, as cauſed a ſuſpicion that he deſigned an attempt upon *England*, had advice of the death of *Harold*; which happened on [5] *June* 18, *A. D.* 1040: and the *Daniſh*, as well as *Engliſh* nobility, ſeeing him with ſuch an armament in the neighbourhood, agreed ſo readily in inviting him over to take the crown, that he landed in *England* by *Midſummer*, and was received every where with great acclamations.

XXXII. WHATEVER expectations the *Engliſh* had from this prince, their joy was ſoon damped, by an heavy tax [6] which he laid upon them, for the paying of twelve marks to every maſter of a ſhip, and of eight to every ſeaman in his navy. This amounted to a vaſt ſum; too great for the nation to raiſe, [7] eſpecially at a time when corn was exceſſive dear, and there was evident danger of a famine: ſo that though it was, in a manner, familiar to them, by being uſed to pay it in the times of *Harold* and *Canute*, it became the ſubject of a general complaint and uneaſineſs among the people. Two of his officers, employed in collecting it, were murdered in a tumult at *Worceſter*; an outrage which he puniſhed ſeverely, by ſending an army to ravage the county, and burn the city. His reſentment at the cruelty uſed to his brother *Alfred* was ſuch, that he ordered *Harold's* corpſe to be dug out of the grave, the head to be cut off, and the body thrown into the *Thames*; where being afterwards found by ſome fiſhermen, it was interred privately in the *Danes* burying place at *London*. *Alfric*, archbiſhop of *York*, and others, accuſing *Godwin*, as concerned in that young prince's murder, this earl laid it entirely upon *Harold:* but was forced to purge himſelf of the crime upon oath, and to make his peace by HARDICNUTE.

[1] *Brompton*, col. 935. *Knighton*, col. 2326. *Flor. Wig. an.* 1036.
[2] *Brompton*, p. 935.
[3] *Ib.* 1037.
[4] *Flor. Wig. A. D.* 1040.
[5] *Angl. Sacr.* i. 2. *Chron. Sax. A. D.* 1040.
[6] *Sim. Dun. Flor. Wig.*
[7] *Hunt.* l. 6.

the preſent of a fine ſhip, ſumptuouſly adorned, and curiouſly wrought, with an equipage ſuitable to it in all reſpects. The interceſſion and power of his relations, who were the moſt conſiderable perſons in the realm, ſeems to be the reaſon, why ſuch an excuſe and ſatisfaction were accepted. The beſt part of *Hardicnute's* character and conduct lay in the regard that he ſhewed to his mother, and to his brother *Edward*[1]; whom he invited over from *Normandie*, and treated very kindly and honourably: for after a reign of two years, wanting ten days, in which he had done nothing elſe remarkable, he died ſuddenly on *Tueſday*, *June* 8, *A. D.* 1042, at *Lambeth*, in the midſt of the jollity of a wedding-dinner, which he had honoured with his preſence.

EDWARD the Confeſſor. Aſcends the throne.

XXXIII. THE *Engliſh* were now cured of their fondneſs for a race of foreigners; who had loaded them with inſupportable taxes, and made it their buſineſs, not ſo much to govern, as to plunder, the nation. The two laſt of that race had treated them with great contempt: and had encouraged certain odious diſtinctions between them and the *Danes*, with ſuch ceremonies of reſpect and preference in favour of the latter[2], as the *Engliſh* ſpirit could not digeſt. This added to the old complaints of the inſolence of the *Danes*, to the conſtant grievance of their free quarters, and to their habitual practice of debauching the wives and daughters of the natives, made the people ſeize the opportunity of *Hardicnute's* death, to riſe in ſeveral places againſt thoſe foreigners, and either put them to the ſword, or drive them out of the kingdom. The prelates and nobility, meeting on the ſame occaſion; and either complying with the humour of the people, or dreading the *Norman* power ready to ſupport *Edward*[3], were at laſt unanimous for reſtoring the old line of their *Saxon* kings, and in offering the crown to *Edward*, ſon of *Ethelred*[4], who was then in *England*; but being perfectly free from ambition, fond of a quiet life, and apprehenſive, as well of the troubles which attend royalty, as of the danger of his own perſon in the diſputes for it, was thinking to retire into *Normandie*. *Godwin* undertook to perſuade him to accept it: and charged himſelf the rather with this commiſſion, as it afforded him an opportunity of providing, by certain ſtipulations with the prince, for his own ſecurity, againſt the general odium he lay under, and the violent ſuſpicions entertained of him, on account of the death of *Alfred*[5]. With this view he propoſed, that *Edward* ſhould continue him and his ſons in the governments which they already enjoyed, and ſhould marry his daughter *Egitha*; whom hiſtorians celebrate as the moſt accompliſhed lady of the age; beautiful in her perſon, mild in her temper, humble and condeſcending in her behaviour, regular in her devotions, zealous to do good, and prudent in all her actions; diſtinguiſhed by an excellent underſtanding, improved by an uncommon degree of knowledge and learning[6]. The prince had no reaſon to refuſe a match with a young lady of ſo amiable a character; whoſe birth was ſuitable to his dignity: nor could he well make a difficulty about continuing *Godwin's* family in employments, which it was not in his power to take away. He might likewiſe imagine, that this alliance would abſolutely ſecure *Godwin* in his intereſts, or at leaſt reſtrain him from thoſe ſeditious and treaſonable practices; which a prince hath reaſon to apprehend from a turbulent and imperious man, who has it always in his power to diſtreſs a government. *Edward* accordingly agreed to the conditions[7]: and was crowned by *Edſi*, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, on *Eaſter-day*, *April* 3, *A. D.* 1043.

[1] *Ib. Hunt. Angl. Sacr.* i. 236. [2] *Knighton*, col. 2326. [3] *Gul. Pict.* p. 181. [4] *Malmeſb.* l. i. c. 13. [5] *Ailred. Vit. Edw. confeſſoris.* [6] *Ingulf.* [7] *Ingulf. Flor. Wig. Chr. Mailroſ. Hoveden.*

XXXIV. THIS

XXXIV. This prince had a fair, ruddy complexion [1]; was well ſhaped, and handſome in his perſon: the royal robes and ornaments became him, when he ſat upon his throne; but he did not care for that parade. He was an utter enemy to all luxury, and very ſparing in his own diet; had not a grain of pride or avarice in his conſtitution; was kind, charitable, and liberal to foreigners, as well as natives; exceeding devout, and minded no worldly matter or exerciſe, but hunting; which he uſed every morning, as ſoon as divine ſervice was over. The monkiſh writers extol his chaſtity: and though he married *Egitha*, and lived with her after the exterior faſhion of other huſbands; yet taking advantage of his having no children, they pretend that he never cohabited with her; for no other apparent reaſon, but for fear a married man ſhould paſs for a ſaint; a character which they would fain confine to the rules of their own profeſſion. His primitive ſimplicity, meekneſs of ſpirit, ſcrupulous virtue, regular devotion, inoffenſive manner of life, and above all, his great deference to the monks and clergy, and large benefactions to monaſteries, ſeem to have merited that title from them: for he had all the good qualities which fit a man for a religious *recluſe*, though he had none of the talents neceſſary to qualify him for a great monarch. He meant well in all caſes; but was eaſy and always governed by thoſe that were about him: he had no paſſions or reſentments of his own, but ſtill adopted thoſe of his miniſters; he loved juſtice, and hated oppreſſion: but *Godwin* and his ſons being his chief juſticiaries, and the adminiſtration veſted in their creatures, ſhameful injuſtices were daily committed, and the common people ſuffered great hardſhips, under the colour of his authority. *Godwin* was duke, or earl (titles uſed promiſcuouſly by old writers, when the military and civil power of a country were veſted in the ſame perſon) of *Kent*, *Suſſex*, and all the maritime provinces of the *Weſt-Saxons* from thence to the *Land's End* [2]. *Swein*, his eldeſt ſon, was ſo of the counties of *Hereford*, *Glouceſter*, *Oxford*, *Berks*, and *Somerſet*; and *Harold* having the like title and authority in *Eſſex*, and over all the kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles*, they had thus the better half of *England* under their command. Theſe titles and governments indeed had not been hereditary ſince *Canute's* time: but as *Godwin's* family was actually poſſeſſed of them, and ſtrengthened likewiſe by great alliances all over the nation, it was too great a power for *Edward* to take upon him to controul.

Edward the Confeſſor.

His character and peaceful reign.

He was very fortunate in not being attacked by any foreign enemy; eſpecially by the *Danes*: who had reaſon to be irritated at the expulſion of their countrymen; and were an enemy always to be dreaded, becauſe of the numerous alliances which they had within the kingdom. *Ailred* [3] aſcribes this to the merit of *Edward's* piety, and to a particular interpoſition of Providence in his behalf; the *Daniſh* king, who had fitted out a mighty fleet, and embarked his forces in order to invade *England*, being drowned by a falſe ſtep he made as he was going aboard: which put a ſtop to the intended expedition. But the true reaſon ſeems to have been, the troubles which broke out at that time in *Scandinavia*; for though upon *Hardicnute's* death, *Swein*, ſon of *Canute*, ſucceeded to the throne of *Denmark*; he was turned out of *Norway* by *Magnus*, ſon of St. *Olave*, the true heir of the crown, to whom the *Norwegians* revolted. It was imagined in *England*, that this laſt prince deſigned an invaſion [4]; and *Edward*, about two years after his coronation, fitted out a fleet, which lay a good while at *Sandwich*, to prevent his landing: but *Magnus* was hindered by his wars with *Swein*; whom, after ſome ſucceſsful battles in the courſe of ſeveral campaigns, he drove at laſt entirely out of *Denmark*;

[1] *Malmeſb. ib.* [2] *Hoveden*, p. 441. *Sim. Dun. an.* 1051. *Flor. Wig.* [3] *Vit. S. Edw. confeſſor.*
[4] *Sim. Dun. Flor. Wig. A. D.* 1045, 6, 7.

and

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and yet that country was not, during all his, or his ſucceſſor's reigns, free from diſturbances. Thus *England* came to enjoy a continued peace for above twenty years; uninterrupted, except by ſuch hoſtilities as are uſually committed on the borders of kingdoms for the ſake of depredations, and by ſome commotions, which the pride and power of *Godwin* and his ſons occaſioned.

He reſumes the grants of his predeceſſors.

XXXV. ONE of *Edward's* firſt acts of authority after his coronation, was no great mark of his filial [1] piety: but he had no will of his own, and was eaſily led by *Godwin*, *Leofric*, and *Siward*, to make a ſudden journey from *Glouceſter* to *Wincheſter*, to ſeize all his mother's treaſure and jewels [2]. *Emma* [3], though ſhe gave ſome of thoſe manors, which *Ethelred* had aſſigned for her dower, and *Canute* had given her in perpetuity, to the church of *Wincheſter*, had yet the character of being covetous: and had probably, by the indulgence of her two huſbands, and the bounty of her ſon *Hardicnute*, ſcraped large ſums of money together; which might be of ſervice for the defence of the realm in the exhauſted condition, to which the exchequer was reduced by the extravagance of the laſt of thoſe princes, and the exceſſive expence of his houſhold. The ſtep was probably taken by the general conſent of the nobility, ſince thoſe three great earls joined in it; though ſome are willing to throw it upon *Godwin* alone: who being duke of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and the king reſiding ordinarily either at *Windſor* or *Wincheſter*, within his government, muſt have the chief direction in the diſpoſal of the money. However extraordinary this ſtep may appear in a ſon, it ſeems to have been in a manner neceſſary, conſidering the exhauſted condition of the exchequer; and to have been taken for the ſame reaſons which induced *Edward* to revoke the exorbitant grants of honours, manors, and lands, which his three predeceſſors, *Canute*, *Harold*, and *Hardicnute*, had made to *Danes* and other foreigners, to the prejudice and diſheriſon of the crown; to which it was now neceſſary to re-unite them, as far as was practicable [4], by an act of reſumption. *Edward* himſelf was ſo far from being diſpoſed to the leaſt rapaciouſneſs, that [5] he hated all exciſemen and officers employed in the levying of taxes: and took off the heavy impoſition of *Danegeld*, after it hath continued thirty-eight years from the time that, to ſatisfy *Swein's* demand of forty-eight thouſand pounds, it hath been ſettled at the rate by *Ethelred*. This gained him the hearts of his ſubjects: and the care that he took to collect the old *Saxon* laws into a body, and order the ſtrict execution thereof, which had been neglected for ſixty-eight years, ever ſince *Edgar's* time, riveted him ſo in their affections, that they generally looked upon his reign, as the happieſt time of the *Engliſh* monarchy.

The rebellion of *Godwin* and his ſons.

XXXVI. ONE part of his conduct gave diſtaſte to the great men, who inſpired it on ſome occaſions into others. When he was ſettled upon the throne, he invited over ſeveral of the *Normans*, among whom he had been educated, and from whom he had received ſeveral kindneſſes in the time of his diſtreſs: and ſhewed them ſo much countenance, that the *Norman* cuſtoms grew faſhionable. The

[1] *Ib. A. D.* 1043.

[2] I do not relate the ſtory told by *Brompton*, *Knighton*, and *Rudborne*, about *Emma's* undergoing the fire-ordeal to purge herſelf and *Ailwin* of the charge of incontinency; becauſe it appears plainly to be a mere legend, it being mentioned by none of our older hiſtorians, who yet are too fond of ſuch marvellous ſtories; and the circumſtances of their relation being manifeſtly falſe and inconſiſtent with the hiſtory of the times. To mention one, on which the whole ſtory hangs, *Robert*, to whom the accuſation is imputed, and to blacken whom the ſtory ſeems to have been forged, was not archbiſhop of *Canterbury* till *A. D.* 1050. *Flor. Wig. Sim. Dun. &c.*

[3] *Malmeſb. ib. Sim. Dun. Hoveden*, p. 439.

[4] *LL. Edw. confeſſ.* c. 16.

[5] *Ailred in Vita S. Edwardi. Flor. Wig. Sim. Dun. Chron. Mailroſ. an.* 1051. *Hunt. &c.*

nobility

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nobility looked upon it as a point of good-breeding and quality to ſpeak *French* [1]; and the men of buſineſs began to put their lawdeeds and inſtruments into the *Norman* form; as if they were aſhamed of the uſages of their own country. This was a voluntary obſequiouſneſs or affectation in ſome of the *Engliſh*; but though it was diſagreeable to others, it did not raiſe a clamour like his entruſting the guard of ſome caſtles and the diſpoſal of many conſiderable preferments in church and ſtate to the *Normans*; for the natives conſidering theſe poſts as their ſole right, began to be jealous, as if the king's favours were beſtowed more liberally upon foreigners than themſelves. Among the *Normans* thus preferred were *William* and *Wlf*, who having been the king's chaplains, were promoted to the ſees of *London* and *Dorcheſter*; and *Robert* a monk of *Jumieges*, who had been firſt made biſhop of *London*, and from thence tranſlated to *Canterbury*. This laſt was a man of great learning [2], excellent parts, and a ſound judgment; very capable of adviſing the king, and very zealous of his honour and ſervice. *Edward* had ſuch an opinion of his capacity, fidelity, and integrity, that he generally followed his counſels; which gave great offence to *Godwin:* who could not bear a rival in the direction of the king's meaſures, and complained loudly of *Robert* for miſrepreſenting him to his maſter, and inſpiring the latter with ſuſpicions of his and his ſons deſigns. The king had certainly but too much reaſon to be jealous on that head, and to guard againſt the exorbitant power of *Godwin's* family: who in their turn wanted to deprive him of ſo wiſe and faithful a counſelor, whoſe perſonal merit, ſacred character, and eminent dignity added weight to all his advices; and to leave nobody about his royal perſon, in whom he could put a confidence. This had been long their view: and they carried their point on the following occaſion.

EUSTACE the *Elder*, count of *Bologne*, is ſaid by our hiſtorians [3], to have married *Goda* ſiſter to *Edward*, and coming over in *September A. D.* 1051, to make him a viſit, paſſed from *Vitſand* to *Dover:* and either at his landing or return, one of his train attempting to take poſſeſſion of a lodging, contrary to the owner's will, was killed in the diſpute. The count and his men immediately mounted on horſeback; and the townſmen running to aſſiſt their neighbour, ſeveral were ſlain on both ſides: and *Euſtace* being forced to fly for his life, with the few that were left of his retinue, went full of wrath to make his complaint to the king, who was then keeping his court at *Glouceſter*. As this had happened in *Godwin's* government, the king ordered him to march thither with a body of men and puniſh the guilty: but he, who would not have born the leaſt interfering in a point of judicature within his own diſtrict upon any other occaſion, refuſed to go or meddle in the affair; being either prepoſſeſſed by a favourable repreſentation of the caſe made to him by the townſmen of *Dover*, or elſe thinking it a good opportunity to render all foreigners odious, and drive the *Norman* favourites out of the kingdom. With this view he and his ſons raiſed a vaſt army in their ſeveral governments, with as much privacy as poſſible, and under pretence of attacking a caſtle, which the *Welſh* had erected on the frontiers: but the king was too near the place, not to know the truth of the caſe, and that the preparations were too great for ſo inconſiderable an enterprize. Thence imagining that ſome violence was intended to himſelf, he diſpatched meſſengers in all haſte to *Leofric* and *Siward* earls of *Mercia* and *Northumberland*, to acquaint them with his danger, and deſire them to repair to him immediately with what forces they could get together. They came at firſt with a few: but underſtanding how matters went, ſent away couriers to

[1] *Ingulf. an.* 1051.
[2] *Malmeſb.* l. ii. c. 13.
[3] *Malmeſb.* l. ii. c. 13. *Chr. Sax. Flor. Wig. Sim. Dun.*

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their counties for more, and ſoon aſſembled a great army. *Godwin* and his ſons had in the mean time advanced with their forces into *Glouceſterſhire:* and ſent deputies to the king to denounce war againſt him, unleſs he would deliver up *Euſtace* and his companions, and likewiſe all the *Boulonnois* and *Normans*, that were in *Dover* caſtle. The king unable to oppoſe them in the field, had no party to take but to gain time; and continued in great anxiety, till the *Mercian* and *Northumbrian* forces came up: but then he gave the deputies a reſolute anſwer, that he would not deliver up *Euſtace*, nor the others they demanded. Theſe forces entered *Glouceſter* as the deputies departed, and were ſo incenſed at the inſolence of *Godwin*, that they were very eager to fight his army immediately, if the king would have given his conſent: but *Leofric* and other noblemen thinking it unnatural to ſheath their ſwords in one anothers bowel's, laboured to prevent matters being carried to that extremity. This gained time for an accommodation; by which *Godwin* was obliged to appear at a day appointed before the king and council at *London*, to have the affair judicially determined.

Godwin hereupon retired with his ſons to their governments: and the king having levied in *Mercia* and the *North* a ſtronger army than he had before, marched to *London*; where all the nobility of *England* was to meet in council. *Godwin* and his ſons came at the ſame time to *Southwark*, with a numerous body of *Weſt-Saxons:* but their men deſerting continually, they durſt not ſtay the hearing of their cauſe; and upon their flight, *Godwin* and his five ſons were baniſhed the realm by the unanimous ſentence of the council and nobility. *Godwin* himſelf, *Swein*, and *Toſti*, who had married *Judith* daughter of count *Baldwin*, and *Girth*, fled to *Flanders*; whilſt *Harold* and *Leofwin* getting on board a ſhip at *Briſtol* took refuge in *Ireland*. There they remained till about *Midſummer* in the year following; when *Godwin* parting from *Bruges* with a ſquadron of ſhips, and eſcaping the king's fleet, which waited to interrupt his paſſage, joined *Harold* with his *Iriſh* ſquadron near *Portland*. Sailing from thence along the coaſt to the mouth of the *Thames*, they were re-inforced all the way with ſoldiers from the land, and by ſhips from the cinque ports; till they advanced to *London*, where the king had a good fleet and army ready to give them a proper reception. But as the troops on both ſides were all in a manner *Engliſh*, and did not care to deſtroy one another, the moſt prudent and moderate of the nobility ſet on foot a treaty: in which it was agreed that *Godwin* and his ſons, delivering hoſtages to be kept in *Normandie*, for their good behaviour to the king [1], ſhould be reſtored to their honours, which had been given away during their exile; and that all foreigners ſhould be expelled the kingdom. The king refuſed for a good while to ratify it: but the *Londoners* joining in the popular clamour againſt the *Normans*, he was at laſt perſuaded, chiefly by *Stigand* biſhop of *Winchеſter*, to give his conſent. The laſt article however was not executed in all its rigour; the ſtorm falling only upon thoſe who were moſt obnoxious to *Godwin*; ſuch as count *Odo*, who had been put into a conſiderable part of the *Weſt-Saxon* government, and the three biſhops, *William*, *Wlf*, and *Robert*, who flying abroad upon the concluſion of the treaty, were declared outlaws by the *Great council*. Of theſe *William* was ſuffered in a little time to return to his ſee of *London: Wlf* [2], if not the ſame perſon with *Wlfſin*, who is thought to ſucceed him at *Dorcheſter*, died abroad, as *Robert* did in the abbey of *Jumieges*, upon his return from *Rome*, where he had been to complain of his uſage. *Stigand* en-

[1] *Knighton*, col. 2332.

[2] Dr. *Kennet* in *Paroch. Antiq.* p. 54, ſays *Wlf* was recalled; according to *Simeon* of *Durham*, and to *Florence* of *Worceſter*. *Wlf* lived poſſeſſed of his ſee till after the conqueſt, when he died in *A. D.* 1067, at *Winton*, and was buried at *Dorcheſter*.

joyed

joyed his ſpoils[1], being put into the ſee of *Canterbury*, probably as adminiſtrator only till the death of his predeceſſor, which I take to be the true reaſon why he had not the *pall* granted him till *A. D.* 1058, when *Benedict* X was elected to the papacy. *Godwin* and his ſons were reſtored to their governments; only *Swein*, the bloodieſt and moſt profligate libertine of the age, to atone for the treacherous murder of his couſin *Beorn*[2], went, by way of penance, barefoot to the *Holy Land*, and was killed in his return by the *Sarazens*. EDWARD the Confeſſor.

XXXVII. EMMA died in the midſt of theſe troubles at *Wincheſter*: and *Godwin* did not long enjoy the abſolute power he had got in the adminiſtration of the kingdom, by the late treaty and the removeal of all perſons from court in whom *Edward* had any confidence, dying[3] the year following of an apoplectic fit; which ſeized him as he was ſitting by the king at table in his palace of *Odiham*[4]. *Ingulf*, *Ailred* of *Rieval*, the *Chronicle* of *Peterborough* publiſhed by *Sparkes*, *Alured* of *Beverley*, and other writers who follow thoſe antient authorities, ſay that he was on *Eaſter Monday* at dinner ſtruck ſpeechleſs, as he was attempting to ſwallow a morſel of meat, which he wiſhed might be his death, if he had been any way concerned in the murder of prince *Alfred*; and that his ſons taking him up from the ground upon which he had fallen, carried him to a room in the palace; where he expired the *Thurſday* following, *April* 15, *A. D.* 1053. The death of this earl[5], who treated the king always with great neglect, and on certain occaſions with inſolence and contempt, was for a time of ſome advantage to the crown, by leſſening the overgrown power of his family; for though *Harold* (who was likewiſe[6] ſteward of the houſhold) ſucceeded in his government of *Kent*, *Suſſex*, and the *Weſt-Saxons*, he was obliged to quit that of the *Eaſt-Saxons* and *Angles*; which was given to *Algar* the ſon of *Leofric*. *Harold* lay as yet under no imputation of any odious crime, treachery, rapine, or cruelty, as his father had done; nor had he any of the other's roughneſs of nature and imperious manner of acting: he was humane, polite, inſinuating; and carried himſelf with ſo much decorum and reſpect to *Edward*, that he ſoon got into his good graces, and recovered all the power, which at *Godwin's* death was loſt to the family. Deaths of *Godwin*,

XXXVIII. THIS was much advanced by the deaths of *Siward* and *Leofric*, whoſe power had ſerved for a balance to *Godwin's*. *Edward*, out of a principle of juſtice, eſpouſing the cauſe of an injured prince, had ordered the firſt of theſe to march with an army into *Scotland*, to reſtore *Malcolm Canmore* the true heir of the crown, and depoſe the uſurper *Mackbeth*. *Siward* returned full of glory from his expedition; having routed and ſlain the tyrant in a bloody battle: but had the misfortune to loſe his eldeſt ſon *Oſbern*, who was killed in the action[7]. The heroick father bore this loſs with great magnanimity, when he found that the mortal wound given his ſon was received in the breaſt; but died himſelf in the year following at[8] *Yorke*; having juſt before he expired put on all his armour, as if it was unfit for a ſoldier to die in any other manner. *Waltheof*, his ſurviving ſon, being too young to rule the *Northumbrian* territories, the goverment of that large province was put into the hands of *Toſti*. This was a great acceſſion to *Harold's* power: but whether he was reſolved to increaſe it at any rate, or reſented his former government of the *Eaſt-Angles* being poſſeſſed by *Algar*, as well during his late exile, as ſince *Godwin's* death, he ſeems to have incouraged *Siward*, and *Leofric*.

[1] *Gervas Act. Pontif. Cant.* p. 1651.
[2] *Malmeſb. ib.* [3] *Flor. Wig. A. D.* 1053. *Hoveden.* [4] *MS. Wace*, p. 449.
[5] *Malmeſb.* l. ii. c. 13.
[6] *Major aulæ regiæ*, or, as termed in *France*, *Maire du Palais*. *Ingulf*, p. 68.
[7] *Chron. Mailroſ. Sim. Dunelm. Flor. Wig. At D.* 1054. [8] *Ib.* 1055.

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ſome falſe accuſations againſt this [1] nobleman; who, oppreſſed by a faction in the great council, was ſentenced to baniſhment. *Algar* bringing a body of forces from *Ireland*, the place of his retreat, landed in *Wales*; where he was joined by *Griffith*, prince of the country, who is ſaid to have married his daughter *Edgiva*: and entering *England*, forced *Harold* to a treaty; which affording him means to get to the king, and to clear his innocence, he was reſtored to the poſſeſſion of his government, and enjoyed it till the death of his father *Leofric*. This wiſe and good nobleman, celebrated for his probity, juſtice, and benefactions to religious houſes; irreproachable in all his conduct; ever faithful to the king; and univerſally beloved, as well as eſteemed, by the people, died on *Auguſt* 3, *A. D.* 1057 [2]: and was ſucceeded by his ſon in the government of *Mercia*. *Algar* was not ſuffered to enjoy it long in quiet; being the next year baniſhed a ſecond time by his enemies: he recovered it indeed again by the aſſiſtance of *Griffith*, and of a fleet of *Norwegians*; but died the year following, leaving two ſons, *Edward*, who was earl of *Mercia* after him, and *Morcar*, with as many daughters; the elder named *Edgiva*, or *Algitha* above-mentioned, and the younger *Lucia*, who was married after the conqueſt to *Ivo Taillebois*, and was living, when *Ingulf* wrote his hiſtory of *Croyland*.

Settlement of the crown on *William* duke of *Normandie*.

XXXIX. Edward, finding himſelf grown infirm with age [3], and the great men, upon whoſe fidelity and counſels he could beſt depend, wearing off continually, thought it high time to provide an active friend for himſelf, and a lawful ſucceſſor for his kingdom. With theſe views he had, a little before *Leofric's* death [4], ſent to *Hungary* for his nephew *Edward*, ſon of *Edmund Ironſide*; [5] who was then about forty years old, and came over accordingly; but died a few days after his arrival in *London*. *Edgar Atheling*, the only ſon of the deceaſed prince, and the laſt male of the *Saxon* royal line, was young, unexperienced, unactive, weak, and in all reſpects unable to bear the weight of a crown, as well as unfit to ſtruggle for it, with ſo powerful a competitor, as *Harold*; ſo that the declaring him his heir would, in all probability, ſcarce have any other effect, than expoſing him as a victim to the jealouſy of the uſurper. *Edward* deteſted the memory of *Godwin*, and could not bear the thoughts of the throne of *England* being filled with the deſcendants of a man, who, by the murder of his elder brother, had contributed ſo much to the extinction of the royal family. There appeared however no way of preventing it, but by appointing a ſucceſſor who was able to aſſert his claim [6]: and this circumſtance he found, in the perſon of a near relation by the mother's ſide, *William* duke of *Normandie*. He had a great affection for that country, in which he had received his education by the care and bounty of the duke's anceſtors: he had particular obligations to his father *Robert*; who had been at the expence of an armament to wreſt *England* from the hands of *Canute*, and to reſtore it to the line of *Ethelred*. *William* [7] was a prince of the greateſt reputation in the age, as well for his military talents, as for the vigour and wiſdom of his government: and he had ſurmounted greater difficulties in keeping poſſeſſion of his duchy, than he would probably meet with in a conteſt for the crown of *England*. He had been over in this country, upon *Godwin's* expulſion, *A. D.* 1051, either to aſſiſt, or to make a viſit to the king; who had entertained ſuch an opinion of his friendſhip, that he entruſted him with the keeping of the hoſtages [8], which *Godwin*, upon the accommodation made in his favour, gave for the aſſurance of his fidelity. The *Norman* writers ſay, that theſe hoſtages were deſigned likewiſe to ſecure the

[1] *Ingulf. Chron. Petriburg. Flor. Wig. Sim. Dun. A. D.* 1055. [2] *Ib. an* 1057. [3] *Ib.* [4] *Ib.* [5] *Ailred. Rieval. De genealog. R. Angl.* [6] *Malmeſb.* l. ii. c. 13. [7] *Ingulf. A. D.* 1065. p. 68. [8] *Alured. Beverl.* l. ix. *MS. Wace*, p. 448.

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ſucceſſion of the crown [1] to *William*; to whom archbiſhop *Robert* was directed to notify the *Confeſſor's* intentions: nor is it unlikely but *Edward*, who was dragged by force into that accommodation, might in his reſentment againſt *Godwin*, and thoſe who compelled him to ſubmit to it, take up at that time the reſolution which he executed afterwards. He was now far advanced in years, and his health was daily declining: in ſuch circumſtances there was no time to be loſt in ſettling the ſucceſſion; and he took care to appoint *William* duke of *Normandie* for his ſucceſſor.

THIS deſignation was probably made in the king's council, if not in the great council [2] of the nation; or elſe *Harold*, who was pitched upon for the embaſſador to notify it to the duke, would naturally have declined going on a meſſage ſo contrariant to his views and wiſhes [3]. He ſet ſail with two [4] ſhips from *Boſeham* in *Suſſex*: and being, by ſtormy weather, driven aſhore near *Eſtaples*, was diſcovered to *Guy*, count of *Ponthieu*, ſeized and carried priſoner to *Beaurein le Chateau*, upon the *Canche*, and from thence to *Abbeville*. He was there detained for ſome time: but finding means to ſend *William* advice of the condition he was in, and the errand he came upon, he was, upon the duke's inſtances [5], threats, and promiſes, conducted by *Guy* to *Ville D'Eu* the firſt frontier town in *Normandie*. *William* received him there in an honourable manner; treated him with all kinds of careſſes; carried him along, in an expedition to *Bretagne*; and did all that was poſſible to make him his friend; knowing well that he was the onely perſon in *England* capable of defeating the effect of his deſignation. But as bare promiſes and profeſſions are of little weight, where a crown is in proſpect, and offers itſelf as a reward for breaking them, the duke thought it proper to tie *Harold* down to the performance of his, by what was deemed in thoſe days moſt ſacred, and not to be violated without ſome terrible and immediate judgment from heaven. *Legends* of ſaints, full of ſenſeleſs ſtories of their miracles, had for ſome ages ſwarmed in the world; and whether coined deſignedly to impoſe on mankind, or drawn up as the exerciſes of pupils to try their invention, had been ſo much encouraged by the monks, as to be read in refectories at their meals, in their chapels on the feſtivals of ſaints, and in churches at divine ſervice. The people, who are always ſtruck with what appears marvellous in their eyes, heard them with wonder: and ſwallowing them without examination, the relicks of the ſaints thus celebrated were got into the higheſt requeſt, ſo as to ſupplant almoſt every thing elſe in its due veneration, and make even oaths themſelves loſe a great deal of their obligation, unleſs taken over ſome relicks. It was in this manner that the duke of *Normandie* propoſed to get, if poſſible, *Harold* to ſwear to the performance of the ſtipulations ſettled between them; by which, upon the former's aſſurance of his friendſhip, and the great favours he would heap upon him, the latter bound himſelf to marry his daughter, and to do his utmoſt to put him in quiet poſſeſſion of the crown of *England*.

THERE was ſome difficulty in the thing: and it was to be done by art, rather than compulſion. There is no forcing a man, of whom one propoſeth to make a

[1] *Wace, ib.* [2] *Optimatum Concilio. Guil. Pict.* p. 181.

[3] See a diſſertation on the repreſentation of this hiſtory in an old ſet of tapeſtry hangings belonging to the church of *Bayeux* in *Normandie*, by the late M. *Lancelot*, printed among the *Memoires de l'Academie des Belles Lettres & Inſcriptions*, and an abridgment thereof printed at the latter end of the firſt, and in the beginning of the ſecond, tome of the *Monumens de la Monarchie Françoiſe*. The tapeſtry is as old as the time of this event, and was given to that cathedral by *Matilda*, wife to *William the Conqueror*; it is two hundred and twelve feet long, and near two feet wide, and being uſed and expoſed only on certain days in the year, hath been preſerved to this time, though in ſome places damaged.

[4] *Wace*, p. 456. [5] *Alured* of *Beverley* ſays, the duke paid *Harold's* ranſome to the *C.* of *Ponthieu*; and *Wace*, p. 458, ſays, he gave *Guy* a rich manor for it.

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friend, to do any thing againſt his will: there was no treating *Harold*, an embaſſador, to whom he had given audience before the great council of *Normandie*, in that manner, without violating the law of nations, and diſobliging all the nobility of *England*, whoſe good-will it behoved *William* to cultivate. He choſe therefore to hide the ſhrine or relicks of ſome ſaints under an ordinary table, ſo as not to be ſeen [1]: and as oaths were an uſual way of confirming pacts, and taken of courſe by the parties without ſcruple, as ſoon as *Harold* had, in the preſence of the eſtates of *Normandie*, aſſembled at *Bayeux*, ſworn upon the goſpels that lay upon the table, that he would keep the ſtipulations between them, *William* ſhewed him under it the relicks of ſaints, as venerable at *Rouen*, as St. *Cuthbert* was then at *Durham*, and equally terrible to thoſe who violated the reſpect due to their holineſs. *Harold* could not help being ſtartled at the ſight: but it was too late to draw back; he parted from *William* with the faireſt profeſſions, but forgot them, as well as his oaths, when he arrived in *England*; where he took his meaſures very properly to make himſelf maſter of the kingdom.

Wales forced to ſubmit.

XL. HE had raiſed his reputation to the higheſt degree by the victories, which he had lately gained over the *Welſh*, as much by his military ſkill and judgment, as by his valour. He had formerly, on various occaſions, beaten their forces, and waſted their country: but this kept them quiet only a moment; they ſtill continued from time to time to make incurſions into the borders of *England*; and when they had got a ſufficient booty, retired to their mountains, which had as yet paſſed for inacceſſible. *Harold* however reſolving to drive them from thoſe retreats, to which men, in heavy armour, could not mount without being, by the fatigue, rendered unfit for an engagement [2], ordered his ſoldiers to take only leather targets for their defence, and javelins with other light offenſive weapons; and thus purſue the enemy into their mountains. This method ſucceeded ſo well, that his foot, either ferreting them out of their faſtneſſes, or deſtroying them there, whilſt a body of horſe over-ran the lower country, and a fleet haraſſed the maritime parts, he deſtroyed their corn, cattle, and proviſions, with ſuch numbers of people in all places where he paſſed; that the *Welſh*, fearing their nation would be exterminated [3], had no way to prevent it, but by cutting off the head of their brave prince *Griffith*, which they ſent to *Harold*, as an aſſurance of their abſolute ſubmiſſion; and by receiving for their princes *Blethyn* and *Rhywallon*, appointed by *Edward*.

Toſti expelled the realm.

XLI. TOSTI had done good ſervice in this expedition; and in caſe of a diſpute for the crown, *Harold* might reaſonably have expected the like from him, whilſt he continued to govern the *Northumbrian* provinces: but ſuch was his conduct, that in the year following he loſt all his power and influence in that country [4]. *Toſti* had all the vices and ill qualities of his father, without his diſſimulation to conceal his ſentiments, or any art to cover his deſigns; his paſſions being too violent to allow of either. He was perverſe, headſtrong, and obſtinate; ambitious, proud, inſolent, brutal, and cruel, boundleſs in his avarice and rapaciouſneſs; without virtue, faith, honour, religion, ſhame, or any other reſtraining quality to keep him from running into the moſt enormous exceſſes, to gratify his paſſions or reſentments; which fell upon all the world without diſtinction. He was ſo violent in

[1] *Wace*, p. 459, 460, ſays, that the duke of *Normandie* put theſe relicks in a *cuve*, or tub covered with ſtraw, over which was placed a table board, ſpread with a rich carpet, like the phylacteries put upon ſhrines; and that when *Harold* had ſworn, *William* cauſed the *cuve* to be taken from under the covering, and the ſtraw to be removed, and ſhewing him upon what relicks he had ſworn, *Harold* was exceedingly terrified.

[2] *Ingulf.* p. 68. [3] *Chron. Petriburg. Flor. Wig. Sim. Dun. A. D.* 1064.

[4] *Ib. A. D.* 1065.

his reſentment, that he ſeized his brother *Harold* by the hair; falling upon him in a furious manner, as he was helping the king to a glaſs of wine one day at dinner, according to the duty of his poſt in the houſhold. He was one of the juſticiaries of the kingdom: and if he took a fancy to a nobleman's [1] houſe by which he paſſed, he made no ſcruple of ſeizing it, and of putting the owner, with all his family, to death, to ſecure his poſſeſſion. He had thus murdered a prodigious number of perſons, ſeveral of them men of quality, and ſome even in the king's palace, having drawn in his ſiſter, queen *Egitha*, to be acceſſary to their aſſaſſination. Many gentlemen, in the moſt conſiderable employments among the *Northumbrians*, had fallen victims to his rage [2]; he loaded that people with exceſſive taxes and exactions: nor was there any kind of oppreſſion, which they did not ſuffer under his government. Unable to ſupport it any longer, they took up arms; [3] killed ſeveral of his officers, the miniſters of his tyranny; ſeized his ill gotten treaſures; and, with the help of *Edwin*, drove him out of the country. They then elected *Morcar* for their earl: and all joining them as far as the *Trent*, they advanced to *Northampton*; where *Harold* met them with an army, being ſent by the king to vindicate the royal authority, and do juſtice to *Toſti*. But the *Northumbrians* repreſented to him [4], that "they were a free people, both by their birth and educa-"tion, and could not bear the tyranny and inhumanity of their governors; that "they had learned from their anceſtors, either to maintain their liberties, or die in "their defence; but ſhould be very quiet and obedient under a mild and juſt go-"vernor." *Harold* finding they had reaſon on their ſide, and thinking it more adviſable to provide for the good of the country, than conſult his brother's private adventage, drew off his forces: and going with their deputies [5] to the king, got *Morcar* confirmed in the government; *Toſti* retiring in great diſcontent to *Flanders*.

Edward the Confeſſor.

XLII. The removal of a brother from ſo important a government, may naturally be imagined to have given a great blow to *Harold's* views and pretenſions to the crown: but he knew how to turn it to his advantage, and, inſtead of a brother, deteſted by all the world, and upon whom he could not depend, as being more likely to prove a rival than a friend, to fill the poſt with another, entirely beloved by the people, more capable and better inclined to do him ſervice. He married *Algitha*, the elder ſiſter of *Edwin* and *Morcar*, two young noblemen of the firſt quality, and the moſt powerful of any in the kingdom; the one being earl of *Mercia*, the other of *Northumberland*: and by this alliance he ſecured all the north and middle of *England* in his intereſt. He was himſelf duke of the *Weſt-Saxons*: and this government having been in his family fifty years, there was no doubt of his being ſupported by that people, who had ſtood by his father, even againſt the crown, in the inſurrection raiſed to expel the foreigners. In theſe circumſtances it was eaſy for every body, as well as *Edward* [6], to foreſee, that *Harold* would be his ſucceſſor: the expreſſing of which apprehenſion, ſeems to be the chief foundation for the report of his naming him ſo; a report which *Malmeſbury* rejects, it being utterly improbable, that the king ſhould leave his crown to a man, of whoſe power he had all his life been jealous. *Edward* would certainly have left it to *Edgar Atheling* [7], whom he loved entirely; but that he was a boy [8], unable to ſupport his right againſt *Harold*, who was already in effect maſter of the kingdom; and there was not left within it any nobleman of power and weight enough to take *Edgar* under his protection, beſides *Edwin* and *Morcar*, who were too much linked in with *Harold* to be depended on for oppoſing his meaſures.

Harold aſpires to the crown.

[1] *Brompton*, p. 948. [2] *Alured Bev.* l. viii. [3] *Sim. Dun. A. D.* 1065. [4] *Knighton*, col. 2337. [5] *Flor. Wig. Chron. Sax. an.* 1065. [6] *Knighton, ib.* [7] *Ib.* [8] He was living ſeventy years after, when *Malmeſbury* wrote his *Hiſtory*, l. ii. c. 13.

The

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The onely likely method, which offered for defeating them, had been taken by the deſignation of *William*, duke of *Normandie*; in which it may reaſonably be preſumed the council of ſtate, if not the great council of the realm, concurred; ſince the king, in the whole courſe of his reign, never took any material ſtep without their advice. Nor is it otherwiſe eaſy to account either for *William's* conduct (immediately after his acceſſion, when it behoves a prince not to do harſh and odious things without a plauſible pretence) in ſeizing the eſtates of ſuch as fought againſt him at *Haſtings*, or for the manner in which, as ſoon as the king was dead, *Harold* had aſſumed the crown. The ſtates of the realm had conſtantly met at the acceſſions of *Edward*, *Hardicnute*, *Harold Harefoot*, *Canute*, *Ethelred*, and others of their predeceſſors; it behoved *Harold*, no way related to the royal family, and deſtitute of any foreign force to ſupport him, more than any of thoſe princes, to aſſemble them in order to have a colour for his uſurpation. He had no rivals, but a foreigner, of a country to which the nation in general had lately ſhewn their averſion, and a boy of no promiſing hopes, and diſagreeable to many of the nobility; ſo that without ſuch a circumſtance, there appeared very little reaſon to doubt of their general and ready conſent to his pretenſions. It is not politic to break through ancient uſages without an abſolute neceſſity; to multiply without any occaſion objections to a bad title; to treat the ſtates of a realm with contempt; to neglect the nobility; and probably diſoblige his friends; who however well-affected to his intereſts, might have been glad of an opportunity to make their court to him, to diſtinguiſh themſelves by their zeal for his ſervice, and to have the merit of contributing by their ſuffrages to his elevation. It took up, in that age, very few days to aſſemble the ſtates, yet *Harold* would not wait for their being convened: but the citizens of *London* and ſome others declaring in his favour[1], aſſumed the royalty without the conſent of the prelates and nobility, that at the time of *Edward's* death, attended upon the king as uſual at the great feſtivals, and were preſent at the dedication of the church of *Weſtminſter Abbey*. This is implied in *Malmeſbury's* words, *extorta a principibus fide:* and I take it to be the meaning of what our hiſtorians ſay, *that he ſet the crown on his own head*; ſince *Ingulf*[2], a cotemporary writer, and others, ſay, that *Aldred*, archbiſhop of *York*, performed the ceremony of his coronation; perhaps on the refuſal of *Stigand*, the canonicalneſs of whoſe primatical dignity was not as yet called in queſtion.

On *Edward's* death *Harold* ſucceeds.

XLIII. EDWARD died on *Thurſday*, *January* 5, the eve of the *Epiphany*, *A. D.* 1066: and was buried the next morning[3], that his ſucceſſor might be crowned the ſame[4] day; it not being cuſtomary to perform the rites of coronation and unction to a new prince, either before his predeceſſor was interred, or on any day but a *Sunday*, or ſome great feſtival. Thus ended the royal line of the *Weſt-Saxons*, after having continued upon the throne between five and ſix hundred years from the time of *Cerdic*, with various fortune, but in the height of glory during the reigns of *Alfred*, *Edward*, *Athelſtan*, and *Edmund*: from the time of which laſt prince, the monarchy began to decline by the miſtaken conduct of his ſucceſſors; who may be ſaid to have diſmembered it, by granting away ſuch large territories and principalities to their vaſſals diſtinguiſhed by the title of dukes, as rendered them, in a manner, independent of the regal authority, and at laſt enabled one of

[1] *Relatio De Willielm. Com. Norman.* p. 189.
[2] P. 68. *Hiſt. Ramſei*, c. 120. *Chr. Sax. an.* 1066. *Stubb. Acta Pont. Ebor.* col. 1702. *Brompton*, p. 958. [3] *Ingulf. Sim. Dun. Chron. Petrib. Hiſt. Elienſis*, l. ii. c. 43.
[4] The author of the *Relatio De Willielmo Comite Norman.* (at the end of *Taylor's Hiſtory of Gavelkind*) who wrote in the time of *Henry* I, and had his relation from eye-witneſſes, ſays, *Harold* was crowned at *St. Paul's*, before his predeceſſor was buried at *Weſtminſter*. Theſe actions, in different places, were perhaps done both in the ſame morning.

them

them to uſurp the crown upon the death of *Edward*, ſurnamed, for his holineſs, the *Confeſſor*. EDWARD the Confeſſor.

XLII. It was to the hereditary right of the royal line, that people in *Malmeſbury's* days [1], aſcribed the ſupernatural virtue of our kings in curing the ſcirrhous tumour, called the king's evil; though this author is willing to impute it to the ſingular piety of *Edward*. There is no proof of any of our kings touching for that diſtemper, more ancient than this king; of whom *Ailred* [2], as well as *Malmeſbury*, obſerve, that he cured a young married woman, reduced by it to a deplorable condition, by the ſtroking the place affected with his hand; upon which ſhe grew ſenſibly better, the humour diſperſed, the ſcar wore off, and in a week's time the cure was perfected. There are no accounts of the four firſt kings of *Norman*, or foreign race, ever attempting to cure that complaint: but that *Henry* II both touched thoſe afflicted with it, and cured them, is atteſted by *Petrus Bleſenſis* [3], who had been his chaplain. *Bradwardine*, archbiſhop of *Canterbury* under *Richard* II, the lord chancellor *Forteſcue*, and other grave authors, give the like teſtimony in behalf of the cure, as well as practice, by that prince's ſucceſſors: beſides a great number of evidences that may be drawn from records; many of which are printed by *Tucker* [4], having been communicated to him by the late *Garter*, the learned Mr. *Anſtis*. There is a particular religious office uſed at the time of touching, not diſagreeable to the ſimplicity of the *Saxon* times; in the ceremonial whereof, the king, at the reading of the firſt goſpel, gently draws both his hands over the ſore, much after the manner uſed by *Edward*. All our *Engliſh* kings have continued to uſe the ſame rite to this day: and the *French*, from the time of St. *Louis*, if not of *Philip Auguſte*, have imitated them in it with the like ſalutary effect. Some of the *French* writers aſcribe this gift of healing to their kings devotion towards the relicks of St. *Marculf*, in the church of *Corbigny* in *Champagne*; to which the kings of *France*, immediately after their coronation at *Reims*, uſed to go in ſolemn proceſſion: and it muſt be owned, there was formerly a veneration paid to this ſaint in *England*. It was in memory of him, that a room in the palace of *Weſtminſter*, frequently mentioned in the rolls of parliament [5], at the time of its aſſembling, was called the chamber of St. *Marculf*; being probably the place where our kings uſed to touch for the evil. It is now called the painted chamber: and though the name of that ſaint hath been long forgot in this nation, yet the ſanative virtue of our kings ſtill continues. Nor is it confined to them alone: for though *Forteſcue* (at the time of whoſe writing there had been no ſovereign hereditary queen crowned in this realm) imagined it was not communicated to queens, becauſe they were not anointed in the hands, the contrary hath been ſince proved by abundant experience. *Tucker* [6] relates one remarkable inſtance in the cure of a Roman Catholic; who being put into priſon, perhaps, for recuſancy; and terribly afflicted with the king's evil, was, after he had been there for a tedious time, at a vaſt expence to phyſicians without the leaſt relief, touched by queen *Elizabeth*, and perfectly cured. This gave him occaſion to ſay, he was now convinced by undoubted experience, that the Pope's excommunication of that queen ſignified nothing; ſince ſhe ſtill continued bleſſed with ſo miraculous a quality [7]. Of the cure of the king's evil.

[1] L. ii. c. 13. p. 91. [2] *Vit. S. Edwardi*, p. 390. [3] Epiſt. 150. p. 235. [4] *In Chariſmate.* See Dr. *Friend's Appendix to the Hiſtory of Phyſic*, n. 6. [5] *Rot. Parl.* 17 E. 3. n. 8. 25 E. n. 8. 38 E. 3. n. 5. 47 E. 3. n. 4. 1 E. 4. n. 5. 3 and 4 E. 4. n. 4. [6] *In Chariſmate*, c. 6. p. 92.

[7] That the cure can't be imputed to the ſtrength of imagination, is evident from the numbers of children that have been ſo cured. Dr. *Heylin*, an eye-witneſs of ſuch cures, ſays, "I have ſeen "ſome children brought before the king (*Charles* I) "by the hanging ſleeves, ſome hanging at their "mothers breaſts, and others in the arms of their

HAROLD II.

Manner of his government.

XLIII. HAROLD having [1] uſurped the crown, and, by the aſſiſtance of the *Londoners*, all-powerful in their own city, forced the nobility, attending the court at the feſtival of *Chriſtmas*, to ſwear allegiance to him, applied himſelf to gain the affections of the people, by a conduct very different from what he had formerly uſed, and which could not reaſonably be expected from one that had broke through the laws of God, and the conſtitution of the kingdom, to invade a throne belonging to another, who was the undoubted lineal heir of the royal family. Ambition and avarice were his predominant paſſions: and to gratify them whilſt he was a ſubject, and had a crown in view, he had ſtuck at no rapine, violence, and injuſtice [2], that would contribute to increaſe his wealth; to the influence whereof in a corrupt age, as much as to the terror of his power and ſtanding forces, *Malmeſbury* and other hiſtorians aſcribe the facility of his uſurpation. He had not ſcrupled to ſeize even the lands of the church that lay within his government: nor could the late king's piety prevent the ſtripping *Giſo*, biſhop of *Welles*, of the greateſt part of the poſſeſſions of his ſee, and ſeizing the manors of other prelates, as well as of religious houſes. But *Harold* having now attained to the height of his wiſhes, thought it no ill policy, at leaſt for a time, and till he was better ſettled on the throne, to reſtore ſome of his ill gotten eſtates: for notwithſtanding the [3] encomiums paſſed upon his government, by the generality of our hiſtorians, who celebrate his care to puniſh malefactors, to have juſtice duly adminiſtered, to relieve the oppreſſed, and to redreſs all diſorders and illegal executions, it is certain he did not reſtore all; the lands of the ſee of *Welles*, as appears from *Domeſday book*, not being recovered by *Giſo* till after the conqueſt; and all the ſchools of learning founded by *Alfred* at *Oxford*, were ſtripped by him of their revenue, except that of divinity [4]. We ſee alſo in *Dugdale's* [5] *Monaſticon*, a large liſt of manors formerly belonging to the church of *Hereford*, which were unjuſtly taken away by this uſurper, and reſtored afterwards by *William the Conqueror*.

KNIGHTON [6], ſupported by *Wace*, and the *Norman* hiſtorians, gives a different account of his adminiſtration; repreſenting it as ſo oppreſſive and tyrannical, that it rendered him infinitely odious to the nation. The firſt of thoſe authors gives him the character of a proud, haughty, avaricious mortal, intent upon ſcraping money together at any rate to ſwell his treaſures; which (whether he acted agreeably to it after his acceſſion or not) was certainly his true character: and chargeth him with diſhonouring ſeveral noble families by his luſt; with committing rapes on the daughters of his nobility; and haraſſing with proſecutions abundance of the gentry, who lived near the royal foreſts, to the impoveriſhment of ſome, and the utter ruin of others. This laſt inſtance of oppreſſion ſat the more uneaſy upon the *Engliſh*, becauſe hunting was their favourite diverſion, and they do not ſeem to have been then ſubjected to the ſeverity of the foreſt laws; every man, though obliged to abſtain from killing or chacing the king's deer, having free liberty to ſtart [7], purſue, and hunt any game, either in woods or in the open fields, on his own eſtate. Theſe grievances (he ſays) provoked a number of the earls and barons to meet together, and reſolve in common to get rid of the yoke of an uſurper, who having no right to their allegiance governed in ſo lawleſs a manner; and that, in conſequence of this reſolution, they ſent to invite over *William* duke of *Normandie*, to aſſert his claim of the crown; aſſuring him of their aſſiſtance in the enterprize.

"nurſes; *all* cured without the help of a ſervice-"able imagination." *Animadverſions on Fuller's Church Hiſtory*, p. 47.

[1] *Brevis relat.* [2] *Brompton*, p. 948. [3] *Brompton*, p. 958. *Malmeſb. Flor. Wig. Sim. Dun.* an. 1066. [4] *Leland's Itin.* t. iv. p. 157. [5] T. iii. p. 187. [6] Col. 2339. [7] *Leges Canuti*, c. 77. *LL. Edw. conf.* c. 36.

XLIV. THIS

HAROLD II.

England invaded by the *Norwegians*,

XLIV. THIS was not the onely quarter, from whence *Harold* was to expect attacks. His brother *Tofti* hated him mortally; and either out of old reſentments, or envy at his new dignity, or perhaps becauſe on his acquiſition of the crown he had not given him the government of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and their father's patrimonial eſtate (which *Wace* ſays [1], he claimed on *Harold's* mounting the throne, but was refuſed) left no means untried to diſturb his government. *Tofti* was, at this time, in the court of *Baldwin* count of *Flanders*, father to his wife *Judith*, and to *Matilda* ducheſs of *Normandie:* and preſuming upon this affinity, went to *Rouen* to perſuade the duke to invade *England*. *William* wanted no incitement to the attempt: he had reſolved to raiſe up all the enemies he could againſt *Harold*; and the *Normans* having great affinities in *Norway*, he had taken meaſures to engage *Harold Harfager*, king of that country, to fall upon the *Northumbrian* territories, whilſt he made a deſcent in the ſouthern parts of the kingdom. *Tofti* was well received at *Rouen:* and encouraged to haraſs the coaſts of *England*, whilſt the duke was preparing an armament ſufficient to make a formidable invaſion. He ſet ſail accordingly with ſixty ſhips from *Flanders* [2], landed and raiſed contributions in the *Iſle of Wight*, and in ſeveral places along the coaſt in his paſſage thence to *Lincolnſhire:* but being driven thence by *Edwin* and *Morcar*, was forced to take refuge in *Scotland*; till *Harold Harfager* arriving with a fleet of two or three hundred ſail at the mouth of the *Tyne*, he joined that prince; and ſailing together up the *Humber*, they landed in *Yorkſhire*. The earls of *Mercia* and *Northumberland*, aſſembling in haſte a body of men ill armed, undiſciplined, and unequal in numbers to attack them, were routed at *Fulford:* and *York* fell a prey to the enemy. *Harold*, on the firſt news of *Harfager's* deſcent, had put himſelf in march with a royal army of veteran troops to oppoſe him: but could not come up till five days after that diſaſter. The two armies met on *September* 25, near *Standford-brigg*, ſince called *Battle-bridge:* where *Harold*, after an obſtinate engagement, gained a complete victory; *Harfager* and *Tofti* being killed on the ſpot, and the greateſt part of their forces cut in pieces. Thoſe that eſcaped to their ſhips, owed their ſafety, in a great meaſure, to the incomparable valour of a brave *Norwegian* [3]; who poſting himſelf on the bridge over the *Darwent*, defended it for two or three hours againſt the whole *Engliſh* army, forty of the boldeſt falling one after another under the ſtroke of his battle-axe: till none daring to approach him, he was ſlain by an arrow, which being ſhot ſideways, found an unguarded part of his body. *Harold* purſuing his blow, made himſelf maſter of moſt of the *Norwegian* [4] ſhips that lay in the river *Ouſe:* and coming to a compoſition with *Olave*, ſon of *Harfager*, and *Paul*, count of the *Orkneys*, who had been left to guard the fleet, allowed them to go off with twenty of their ſhips, under the condition of leaving all their treaſure behind. This amounted to a vaſt ſum; it being more than twelve luſty men could carry [5]: the booty likewiſe, either taken on the field battle, or delivered up by the treaty, was exceeding valuable.

And by the *Normans*.

XLV. THIS victory proved the ruin of *Harold*, whoſe affairs it ſeemed to eſtabliſh; ſo much do the good or ill conſequences of events depend on a perſon's conduct. That very ſucceſs which raiſed him to the height of glory, ſwelled his pride to an ungovernable degree, and ſhewed him in his true colours: he was too much elated therewith to think it longer needful to put any reſtraint on his avarice, or to keep any meaſures with his army; which he took care to diſoblige by re-

[1] P. 485. [2] *Malmſb. Flor. Wig. Sim. Dun.* [3] *Brompton*, p. 959, *Knighton, ib.* [4] *Sim. Dun. ib.* [5] *Camden, Brit. Yorkſhire.*

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ſerving

Harold II. ſerving all the ſpoils and treaſure to himſelf [1]. He could not well have taken a more impolitic ſtep: nor was any ever more unſeaſonable; few days having paſſed before he received advice at *York* of the duke of *Normandie's* being landed with an army of fifty or ſixty thouſand experienced warriors on *Michaelmas-day*, at *Pevenſey* in *Suſſex*. The news ſurprized him the more, as he had begun to flatter himſelf with a notion, that the *Norman*, after delaying his expedition ſo long, had in fine laid it aſide, upon notice of the land army provided, and the mighty fleet (which ſome writers compute at ſeven hundred ſail) fitted out, and both ſtationed at proper places to prevent or oppoſe a deſcent.

Harold defeated and ſlain.

XLVI. These armaments had indeed waited all the ſummer, and till after *September* 8, in the autumn, for that purpoſe: but had afterwards diſperſed, and returned to their homes for want of proviſions; leaving both ſea and land open to the enemies invaſion. *Harold* had loſt, in the late battle, a good number of his old mercenary troops, which, whilſt duke of the *Weſt-Saxons*, he had, like other governors, ſince the time of *Edgar*, kept in ſtanding pay at the expence of the people; and which being under his immediate command, and devoted to his intereſt, had been a great ſupport to him in his pretenſions to the crown: but taking the reſt, who were in a condition to march along with him, he haſted to *London* with ſo much expedition, that abundance of them, incenſed at their late uſage, took occaſion on the road to deſert. *Edwin* and *Morcar*, with their followers, were in no better humour: and advanced by ſlow marches. *Harold* hurried on to his fate, and impatient till he engaged the enemy, would not wait [2] either their coming up to *London*, or the arrival of other forces, which had been ordered to rendezvous there, or even the array and arming of the *Londoners*: but taking with him half, or (as others ſay) a third part, of the army he might have had in a few days together, advanced with equal confidence and raſhneſs to fight with inferior numbers, an army compoſed of the braveſt and moſt experienced ſoldiers under the command of the wiſeſt general of the age; who, in a long ſeries of wars, had never met with any diſgrace. The *Normans* could hardly have been ſupplied with proviſions to ſubſiſt in an hoſtile and deep country at ſo late a ſeaſon of the year, if he would have taken his meaſures to diſtreſs them in that reſpect: but infatuated to purſue his own ruin and that of his country, he choſe to ſtake the kingdom on the fate of a day; and coming up with the enemy, was attacked by them before his men had recovered the fatigue of their march, and loſt his life in the battle of *Haſtings*.

Of the *Saxons*; their cuſtoms and conſtitution.

XLVII. That battle having put an end to the government of the *Saxons* in *England*, it may not be improper, in this place, to take notice of ſome of the moſt material parts of their conſtitution; in which they appear plainly to have agreed with the *Salii*, *Ripuarii*, *Franks*, *Burgundians*, *Lombards*, *Goths*, and other *German* or northern nations, who, upon the diſſolution of the *Roman* empire, ſettled in different parts of *Europe*. The *Old Saxons* that continued in their ancient ſettlements in *Germany*, after the ſending out of ſo many numerous colonies into this country, remained for ſeveral ages in their primitive condition, without any king to govern them, till the time of *Charle-Magne*; whoſe continual wars with them for thirty years together, made firſt, a ſtanding, experienced general, and afterwards a monarch, neceſſary for the defence of their liberties. They were governed all that time by the chieftains of their ſeveral clans; who, as *Tacitus* [3] obſerves of the old

[1] *Knighton*, col. 2340. *Chron. Petriburg.* an. 1066. [2] *Ingulf. Flor. Wig. ib. Sim. Dun. ib. Chron. Petriburg. Hiſt. Elienſ.* l. ii. c. 44. [3] *De mor. Germ.*

Germans,

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Germans, gave laws and adminiſtered juſtice to their followers, and all upon their own lands: but the civil government of larger territories was veſted in an earl or alderman, aſſiſted therein by a council compoſed of an hundred perſons of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the nobility, choſen by a general aſſembly of the gentry and freeholders within thoſe territories. It was there reſolved, what quarter of the country was fit to be tilled from year to year: and the ſeveral portions thereof were aſſigned to people of an inferior rank, employed in rural affairs, and charged with the cultivation of lands, whilſt the gentlemen were engaged in military expeditions. To theſe laſt was the buſineſs of war entirely appropriated among the *Germans*; though the bulk of their armies conſiſted in foot; ſo that the terms of *warrior* and *gentleman* were ſynonimous for many hundred years after the commencement of the *Chriſtian* æra, till the emperors introduced the practice of giving pay to the ſoldiery, and the profeſſion became leſs honourable by being made mercenary. A proportionable ſtrength of body being neceſſary for undergoing the fatigues of war, no body could be admitted to ſerve, till a certain age required by the law or cuſtom of the nation: and with a political view to raiſe the warlike ardour of the youth, the ceremony of admiſſion was performed with great ſolemnity. It was probably a diſtinction in favour of the moſt conſiderable of the young nobility, that they were admitted and inveſted with their arms in a general diet: upon which they became qualified to be *comites* or companions to their prince, or chieftain; eating at his table; making part of his houſhold; ſerving as well for an ornament to his retinue in peace, as a ſupport to his authority in war, for the guard or defence of his perſon. Theſe *comites* anſwered to the *Equites* among the *Gaules*; it being plain from *Tacitus*, that they ſerved on horſeback: ſince the arms with which they were inveſted in the diet, were, as he obſerves [1], the peculiar arms of the cavalry, and the very ſame with which the conſtituent members of general councils ſignified their aſſent. As there was a dignity in their being about the perſon of their chieftain, and the *Romans*, from the time that their emperors uſed to have a *German* guard about them, became familiariſed to the terms *duces* and *comites*, theſe laſt adopted them into their own uſage, applying them to the chief commanders of their forces, and the principal officers in the imperial palace. The cuſtom of admitting theſe diſtinguiſhed noblemen to knighthood, or the inveſtiture of armes in a diet, hath been diſuſed in *Germany* for ſeveral ages; the ceremony being now performed only in the hall or houſe of the chieftain, or lord of a territory: which probably was the ancient way of receiving the leſſer gentry, that were pitched upon to ſerve as infantry.

Hence appear the different orders of people among the *Saxons*, before they were united under a royal government: the chief of a clan, or lord of a tract of country; the nobility of an higher claſs (perhaps the younger branches of the chieftains family) and of a leſſer rank, like the gentry here, or the *nobleſſe* in *France*; and a lower order of *ingenui* or freemen, employed in ruſtick affairs. For the *Germans* had no ſlaves among them, till their wars with the *Romans*, except a few, that either forfeited their liberty by their crimes, or entered into a voluntary ſervitude in order to ſecure a maintenance to themſelves and families. When *corps* of this people, coming into *England*, had reduced any conſiderable part of the country, the chieftains, who were at the head of thoſe expeditions, aſſumed the title of kings, and diſtributed the conquered lands among their followers, whether of their own clan, or of others who had joined with them in the adventure: which was probably done by lot; it being very clear that their neighbours, the *Franks* [2], who agreed with them in cuſtoms, as well as language, ob-

[1] *Ib.* § 6, 11. [2] *Baluzii Capitular. Franc.* t. ii. p. 704.

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ſerved that method. They ſeem in this to have copied after the *Romans*, who took a like method in ſettling their colonies, and in diſtributing the frontier lands of the empire among the ſoldiers employed in their defence, deſcendible to their heirs, at leaſt from the time of *Alexander Severus*. Theſe allotments being made in proportion to the rank which each man held in the army, and to the number of a general's followers, large tracts of country muſt of courſe be aſſigned to the principal commanders; who were probably in ſuch expeditions followed by their own vaſſals: and theſe being ſettled about them, they became the natural governors of countries where they planted; and having been of all councils of war in times of action, became likewiſe, in ſeaſons of peace, members of the *great councils*, which directed all the important affairs of the kingdom. They are ſtyled in our old *Chronicles*, *principes*, *ſatrapæ*, *dynaſtæ*, *majores natu*, *optimates*, *proceres*, and ſometimes *comites*; even after *Alfred's* diviſion of *England* into counties, when the laſt of thoſe titles was generally no more than a title of office; and in caſes where there is no reaſon to imagine, they had any command or authority, but within their own lands, and over their own vaſſals. But though theſe were the conſtant ordinary members of the *great councils*, it is not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the ſame uſage continued here, which prevailed over all parts of *Germany*, *Sweden*, and the *North*, where on ſuch extraordinary occaſions, as the entering into a war, and the levying of new taxes to ſupport it, the leſſer nobility was always convened before a reſolution was taken, according to the wellknown maxim; *that what concerned all, ought to be treated by all in common* [1].

It would be eaſy, were it not too tedious, to verify, by a great number of quotations, all theſe particulars; except the laſt, which is ſupported only by the reaſon of the thing, by the ancient practice of the *German* nations, and by the ſubſcriptions, of now and then an archdeacon and high ſheriff, who yet might have eſtates to qualify them; but more frequently of the king's *thanes* or *miniſters*, to the acts of *great councils*. The ordinary conſtituent members thereof were only the biſhops and abbots, who had very large poſſeſſions, and the *proceres*, or chief nobility: nor is there the leaſt paſſage in any of our old hiſtorians and records, that affords any juſt reaſon to ſurmiſe the contrary; they all ſpeaking of them as ſo many aſſemblies of the *proceres*, and mentioning no others among the conſtituent members, when they come to enumerate the particulars. They do on ſome occaſions indeed make uſe of the word *populus*, to expreſs the laity in contradiſtinction to the *clergy*, and to repreſent the fulneſs of an aſſembly: and ſome have fondly catched at this expreſſion, as if it favoured their groundleſs notion of a repreſentation of the populace; a thing utterly unknown in any quarter of the world in thoſe ages. But M. *Baluze*, in his preface to the common law of *Germany* [2], contained in the capitularies of *Charles the Great*, and other kings of *France* (in which the old laws of the *Salii*, *Ripuarii*, *Burgundians*, *Lombards*, and other *German* nations are compriſed) hath fully proved, that this term means only *multitudo procerum*, a *numerous aſſembly* of the principal nobility, and that none elſe had a ſeat or voice in thoſe *great councils*. Not to enter into a long detail upon this ſubject, which hath been treated at large and irrefragably proved by the late learned Dr. *Brady*, I ſhall only mention two relations; which will help to explain what is advanced above, and which I do not remember to have been taken notice of by any writer. *Bede* [3] ſays, that in the great battle fought between *Egfrid* and *Ethel-*

[1] *Hincmar*, ſpeaking of the general councils of the chief nobility of *France* held in his time twice a year, ſays, that in one of theſe, the leſſer nobility attended to receive inſtructions, and to give their opinion, but not to decide.—*Non ex poteſtate, ſed ex proprio mentis intellectu vel ſententia confirmandum. Epiſt. ad epiſc. Franciæ*, n. 29. *in Hincmar. oper.* t. ii.

[2] *Co. Leg. Longobard.* l. ii. t. lvi.

[3] *H. E.* iv. 22.

red;

red; in which the latter gained the day, and, by his victory, recovered the country of *Lindſey*, there was left on the field a *Northumbrian* ſoldier grievouſly wounded; who was taken up and carried captive into *Mercia*. There he endeavoured to conceal his quality in hopes of being admitted to an eaſier ranſom; pretending to be only a poor *futler*, who was bringing proviſions to the army, and came by that means to be accidentally involved in the ſlaughter of the day: but his good breeding and underſtanding, much above the level and capacity of a ruſtick, ſoon diſcovered what he really was, and obliged him to own that he was a ſoldier. This ſhews plainly, that the *Saxons*, for above two hundred years after they came into *England*, ſtill ſtuck to the old *German* cuſtom of making uſe of no ſoldiers, but who were likewiſe gentlemen, in their armies.

THE other relation is in the hiſtory of *Ely*[1], and ſets forth that *Wulfric*, being by *Edward the Confeſſor*, to whom he was related, appointed, in *A. D.* 1045, abbot of that monaſtery, made over ſeveral of its manors and poſſeſſions to his brother *Gudmund*; who was deſperately in love with a fair lady, but likely to be diſappointed in his courtſhip, for want of a better eſtate. The lady was herſelf a perſon of quality, daughter of a great man, and heireſs of a large eſtate, which ſhe derived from her anceſtors; and though ſhe liked *Gudmund's* perſon well enough, and had no other objection to the match, yet ſhe abſolutely refuſed to marry him; becauſe, though he was a nobleman, he had not an eſtate ſufficient to qualify him to be one of the *proceres* of the kingdom; to whom, as is above obſerved, the right of ſitting in the great council was appropriated. The abbot, purely out of compaſſion to his brother, alienated to him the manors of *Merham*, *Livermere*, *Nachenctun*, *Acholt*, *Garboldeſham*, and other lands of the abbey, in order to make him maſter of forty hides of land: which removing the lady's objection, the marriage took effect. It appears evidently from this relation, that however noble any man was by his birth, and even though deſcended of the royal family, and related to the king himſelf, yet he could not be one of the *proceres*, unleſs he had an eſtate of forty hides[2] of land. Nobility of birth was indeed previouſly neceſſary; but not a ſufficient qualification, without a ſuitable eſtate: and this *Saxon* uſage, notwithſtanding the feudal law occaſioned ſome alteration in the ſtate of things after the conqueſt, ſeems to have been a precedent for the diſtinction made about the time of *Henry* II, between the *greater* and the *leſſer* barons: the former only being particularly ſummoned to parliament.

THE feudal law was nothing but a collection of cuſtoms obſerved in the *German* and other nations with regard to the tenures of land, digeſted into a body of common law, made up of the moſt rigid of thoſe cuſtoms; which having been firſt adopted by the *Lombards* in *Italy*, were brought on this ſide the *Alpes* by *Charle-Magne*, who thought they might be uſeful for the defence of his vaſt empire; and received by the *Normans* in all their rigour. Some think that the payment of *heriots* was firſt introduced by *Canute*, in order, after he had ſent away his *Daniſh* forces, to get all the arms of the kingdom into his hands: but as there were the like payments all over *Germany*, upon the death of a vaſſal, it ſeems more likely to have been an ancient *Saxon* cuſtom; ſuch as the dower of a wife, which was always a third of her huſband's eſtate, though only mentioned on occaſion of penal laws[3], declaring it forfeited in caſe of her conſenting to his iniquity, or of her marrying in leſs than an year after his deceaſe. Many of theſe cuſtoms prevailed

[1] L. ii. c. 36, 40.

[2] Some hides conſiſted only of an hundred and twenty acres; others of two hundred and forty. *Hiſt. Elienſ.* l. i. c. 14. Mr. *Selden*, *not. in Hengham*, p. 1917, produceth ſeveral authorities to ſhew that an *hide* generally conſiſted of two hundred and forty acres, till 9 R. 1. it was in the 5 s. aid fixed at an hundred acres, perhaps the common hundred, which was an hundred and twenty

[3] *LL. Inæ* 58. *Canut.* 71.

in *England* during the *Saxon* times; for though there were no *premier ſeiſin*, *reliefs*, *homage*, *wardſhips*, *marriage*, and other hardſhips of a feudal nature: yet *heriots* were conſtantly paid to the crown (except in the caſe of a perſon killed in its ſervice [1]) or to the immediate lord of whom the land was holden. Every freeholder was, after the twelfth year of his age [2], obliged to take an oath of fealty; as his guardian did for him in caſe the minor had not attained that age. All lands whatever [3] ſubjected the owner to the obligations of marching in warlike expeditions, and of contributing to the charges of building and repairing caſtles and bridges; and being bound to have his arms always ready for defence of the country in proportion to his eſtate; there was every year, on *February* 3, [4] a general review of thoſe arms, when every body was obliged to produce them, to ſhew they were in good order; it being made through the whole kingdom on the ſame day, to prevent any fraud by people's lending them to one another. The time of ſervice, on warlike expeditions, was not limited to forty days, as it was after the conqueſt, agreeable to the tenor of the feudal law: but was continued [5] as long as the publick neceſſity, and occaſion of the ſervice, required; only in the caſe of a ſea-armament, the cinque ports, who furniſhed a certain number of ſhips for that ſervice, were not obliged to provide for them longer than fifteen days [6] at their own expence. The charges of land-armies were defrayed chiefly by the land-holders; who furniſhed pay and victuals to the ſoldiers that compoſed them: and the money levied for that purpoſe was not ſent to the king, but given to the ſoldiers themſelves. Each county ſent a number of men in proportion to its extent, or valuation; the whole kingdom of *England* being divided into two hundred and forty-three thouſand and ſix hundred hides, and the freeholders thereof in a county court [7] choſe the officers and commander in chief of their ſeveral forces. In *Berkſhire*, according to *Domeſday book*, every five hides ſent a man: but the proportion ſeems to be different on extraordinary occaſions in times of danger, or in other counties which lay more expoſed to the invaſions of an enemy; at leaſt *Athelſtan's* laws [8] charge every plough-land with the maintenance of two horſemen. The great towns were alſo rated at a number of hides: but ſome of them ſeem to have compounded as well for a certain number of men to be provided by them in ſuch expeditions (*e. g.* [9] *Warwick* for ten, *Leiceſter* twelve, and *Oxford* twenty) as for the rate of the fine to be paid in caſe of a default, it being fixed at twenty ſhillings a man; whereas in other caſes it amounted to fifty or an hundred ſhillings. Theſe laſt were the penalties for not coming upon ſummons: but as the *Germans* in general thought cowardice and infidelity to be the moſt infamous of crimes, and puniſhed them in the ſevereſt manner, whoever deſerted in a march, or quitted his lord in the field, was, by the *Saxon* [10] laws, puniſhed capitally, and forfeited his copy-hold lands to the lord of whom they were held, and his lands of inheritance to the king. In this manner was proviſion made for the common ſafety and defence of the nation.

There were ſome lands not liable to any forfeiture; [11] not even for rebellion. Theſe were probably ſuch as had been allotted to the firſt adventurers, when a partition was made of their conqueſts, and deſcended afterwards to their poſterity with the ſame privileges and allodial rights as had been enjoyed by the original proprietors: but they were continually leſſening in their quantity, and were, by the time of *Edgar*, reduced to a ſmall pittance; if we may judge of other counties, by

[1] *LL. Edw. conf.* c. 36. *LL. Canut.* c. 69, 75.
[2] The ſame law prevailed in *France* and *Germany*, according to the capitulary of *Pepin* king of *Italy*, c. 36.
[3] *LL. Canut.* 62.
[4] *LL. Edw. conf.* c. 35.
[5] *LL. Canut.* c. 10.
[6] See *Conſuetudin. de Domeſday* in *Gale's Hiſt. Brit.* t. i.
[7] *LL. Edw. conf.* c. *De heretochiis.*
[8] C. 16.
[9] *Conſuetud. Domeſday.*
[10] *LL. Canut.* c. 75.
[11] *Hiſt. Elienſ.* l. i. c. 35.

what is ſaid of that of *Huntingdon*, in a verdict given at the county court ſoon after that prince's death, and declaring that there were no ſuch unforfeitable lands in it, except two hides near *Spaldwick*. It was impoſſible for lands to continue long in the ſame ſtate among a people, whoſe cuſtoms, in relation to the deſcent of eſtates, and whoſe circumſtances, in point of ſituation, were like thoſe of the *Engliſh Saxons*. Their landed eſtates were, upon the death of a proprietor, divided equally, according to the *Roman* law, or rather the cuſtom of the *Britiſh* and other *Celtic* nations, among the male children: which reduced them to ſuch a degree, that the deſcendents of the firſt conquerors became, in a few ſucceſſions, not qualified, for want of a ſufficient fortune in land, to be admitted among the *proceres* of the realm; till by being put into earldoms, governments, and other offices, or being enriched by grants of manors, from the favour and bounty of the crown, they were enabled to revive that dormant privilege; which, though ſome of their anceſtors had formerly enjoyed it, had been as it were in abeyance, or ſuſpenſe, during the time of their poverty. The *Saxons* too were continually at war either with the *Britains*, or with one another; ſo that families were continually extinguiſhing from the time of their firſt ſettlement in *England:* and the *Daniſh* invaſions coming on afterwards, made a terrible havock among them, as well as gave occaſion to the forfeiture of whole counties; ſo that by the time of *Athelſtan* almoſt all the lands of the kingdom had fallen into the crown, either by eſcheat or forfeiture. They were indeed generally granted out again by our kings, and termed *bocland*, becauſe given by written charters; but on ſuch reſervation of rent, and other terms as were expreſſed in the grant: which regulated likewiſe the manner of their deſcent, and either ſettled or reſtrained the poſſeſſor's power in their diſpoſition and conveyance. Lands of this kind were forfeited for murder or treaſon: but the forfeiture [1] did not extend to the children of the guilty perſon, if born before the crime was committed.

THE crown itſelf deſcended according to the courſe of a *lineal agnatic ſucceſſion*; all the males, deſcended from the blood of the firſt king or progenitor of the royal family, ſucceeding to it in their reſpective order, by right of blood, *ob ſanguinis continuationem*, as the lawyers expreſs themſelves. This regular way of ſucceſſion, founded on the order of nature, ſeems to have been the conſtitution of all the *German* nations in ancient times: and obtained in *France*, as well as in the empire. In this kind of ſucceſſion, when a prince hath ſeveral ſons, each of theſe form a diſtinct line or primogeniture; the elder taking place before the younger; ſo that till the line of the eldeſt ſon is extinct, neither the ſecond ſon, nor any of his deſcendents, can ſucceed: but when that is extinct, the line of the ſecond ſon takes place; and this being extinct, the third comes in; and ſo on in their reſpective order; ſtill keeping to the rule, that none of a ſecond, third, fourth, fifth, or other line can ſucceed, whilſt there are any males of an elder or preceding line remaining. This rule holds in the collateral, as well as direct, branches; the brothers of a king forming each of them a diſtinct *line*, with the ſame right and order of ſucceſſion. Such was the conſtitution of all the kingdoms of the *Saxon heptarchy:* and for this reaſon, our old hiſtorians, when they ſpeak of a prince's acceſſion to any of thoſe crowns, conſtantly take care to deſcribe his genealogy, and ſhew the line of his deſcent from the *Genarcha*, or firſt king of the nation. This appears throughout the whole *Saxon Chronicle*, more particularly with regard to the ſucceſſion of the *Weſt-Saxon* princes; whoſe kingdom and conſtitution agreed with the others, if it did not ſerve for a rule to all the reſt of *England*, according to the *Saxon* laws contained in the charter of [2] *Henry* I, where it is ſtyled *caput regni et legum*.

[1] *LL. Edw. conf.* c. 19. [2] *Lambard's Archaionom.* p. 202, 210. c. 70, 87.

Kingdoms being indiviſible in their nature, could not be ſhared among the children; ſo that the eldeſt ſon ſucceeded to the whole of his father's realm in every kingdom of the heptarchy: but this did not hinder princes from giving, out of their conqueſts, conſiderable *appanages* to their younger ſons; who poſſeſſed them with ſo full an authority, that they they are often ſtyled kings by our old writers. Theſe *appanages* do not ſeem to have been diſmembered from the body of the kingdom, and to have formed ſo many diſtinct ſovereignties, as they appear to have done in *France* after its conqueſt by *Clovis*, and in the time of his deſcendents; the kingdoms of the *Engliſh* heptarchy being of too ſmall an extent to admit of ſuch a diſmembering, before the reigns of *Egbert* and *Ethelwolf*. In all thoſe kingdoms, when the princes thereof died without iſſue male, their daughters never ſucceeded nor advanced any pretenſions to the crown; ſo that the rule of ſucceſſion was the ſame here among our *Saxon* princes, as it was in *France* under the *Merovingian* and *Caroline* races. The *French* imagining, they derived great advantages from ſuch an excluſion of females, have ever ſince adhered to the ſame order of ſucceſſion: but it was altered in this country, either upon the conqueſt, among other changes made by the *Normans*, or upon the utter extinction of the male line of our kings in *Edgar Atheling*, according to the analogy of the law or cuſtoms[1] received among the *German*, *Saxon*, and *French* nations, in the caſe of private inheritances; which, though deſcending lineally according to proximity in blood[2] in the male line, yet, in defect of male heirs, went to the females; who in ſuch caſes ſucceeded to lands, as well of a noble, as a baſer tenure.

Their laws.

XLVIII. The laws of all the *German* nations on the continent, and of the *Saxons* in this iſland, conſiſted in cuſtoms immemorially obſerved, without being committed to writing; the general tenor thereof being the ſame in all their colonies, as appears evidently from the *Capitularies*. The collections of our old *Saxon* laws, that have been tranſmitted to us, contain only ſome conſtitutions of our princes, occaſioned by the eſtabliſhment of *Chriſtianity*, or deſigned to moderate the rigour of the common law; or elſe to provide againſt certain inconveniencies, which a change of times and circumſtances had introduced. The conſidering them in another light hath occaſioned ſome to think, that our anceſtors did not inflict on offenders penalties adequate to the heinouſneſs of their crimes; and that pecuniary mulcts were all the puniſhment denounced againſt the greateſt: but there are paſſages enough, even in theſe proviſional ſtatutes, which are moſt of them penal, to ſhew the groſſneſs of their miſtake. Such commutations were indeed allowed in ſeveral capital crimes, in the caſe of a firſt offence, as *Alfred* declares in the preface to his laws; and likewiſe upon an offender's repentance, confeſſion, and taking refuge in a church or ſanctuary: but notwithſtanding this mitigation of the rigour of the law, the criminal came not off ſo eaſily, as is now ſurmiſed; ſince if he did not pay the mulcts, in any age when money was very ſcarce, he was with his wife and children reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery. Theſe mulcts were fixed, that the offender might not lye at the judge's mercy, nor the injured perſon and his family be defrauded: in which laſt caſe the law provided ſo carefully, that though the king could pardon all crimes, even murders and treaſon, as to life and limb[3], yet he could not remit the fine due by law to the injured perſon or family. Even theft could not be commuted, if repeated[4]; the offender being to be hanged without mercy: and that it was, in the ſtrictneſs of law, capital in the firſt inſtance, when manifeſt, appears from *Edgar's* laws[5], and

[1] *LL. Ripuar.* c. 56. See *Not. Bignon.* in *Leg. Salic.* and in *Marculfi Form.* in *Capit. Franc.* t. ii. p. 854, 936. *LL. Angl.* tit. vi. *de Alled.* § 1. [2] *Tacit. De mor. Germ.* n. 20. [3] *LL. Edw. conf.* c. 19. [4] *LL. Inæ*, c. 23. *LL. Ethelred.* c. 1. [5] *LL. Edgar.* 7.

the

the relation of the caſe of *Athelſtan*[1] a preſbyter, who having concealed ſome ſtolen goods, was for that offence ſubject to death, if the ſecular courts took cognizance of his crime, or to degradation, if tried by his biſhop; this latter penalty inflicted on a clergyman being deemed equivalent to a capital puniſhment in a layman. In ſome caſes when the criminal was a *ceorl* or ruſtick, it was puniſhed[2] with the cutting off the hand and foot: but there were few inſtances wherein the *Saxons* proceeded to corporal puniſhments in the caſe of any perſons, but ſlaves; who alone were ſubject to whipping[3], in caſes where others commuted, and to[4] caſtration for the crime of fornication. In puniſhments of this kind, the vengeance of the law fell upon that part of the body which had been immediately concerned in the crime, or the amputation whereof would probably prevent a future relapſe. Thus a wife committing adultery[5] not only forfeited all her eſtate to the huſband, but had her noſe and ears cut off, being branded for ever with infamy. Sacrilege and falſe[6] coining, were puniſhed with cutting off the hand, and ſuch as ſpread falſe reports[7] and calumnies to the prejudice of others either in their perſon or fortune, had their tongue cut out, upon proof of the falſhood of the aſperſion[8]. In theſe points the *Engliſh* agreed with the cuſtoms of other *German* nations, as appears throughout the capitularies.

THERE was a like agreement between them in their methods of proof, and their courts of judicature: no ſervant could be interrogated or examined againſt his maſter, when life was in[9] queſtion; whoever had given falſe teſtimony in any cauſe, could not[10], though he were pardoned, be ever after admitted as a witneſs; all ſlaves[11], even after they were manumiſed, and all perſons reputed infamous, as having been cenſured in any civil or eccleſiaſtical court, lay under the ſame incapacity. It was one reaſon why the jurors that were to judge in cauſes civil and criminal, were neceſſarily to be ſummoned out of the neighbourhood of the place where the matter in controverſy lay, or the fact was committed; becauſe[12] they were beſt acquainted with the character of the witneſſes produced, and well qualified to judge of the credit to be given to their teſtimony, by having a ſufficient knowlege of the caſe, and being able to atteſt the fact themſelves. But notwithſtanding their care in this reſpect, falſe teſtimonies became very frequent; and every ſuſpected, or inſufficiently accuſed, perſon being obliged to clear his innocence by the oaths of a great number of compurgators, who ſwore to their belief of the truth of what the criminal depoſed himſelf, this cuſtom of ſwearing, rendering oaths familiar, gave occaſion to an infinite number of perjuries. To prevent theſe, and to preſerve innocence from the dangers to which it was expoſed by a too general contempt of oaths[13], ſeveral methods of trial were invented by the *German* and other northern nations; in conſequence of a notion, that God preſided over trials by fire and water, and would always interpoſe miraculouſly to declare innocence. Theſe methods were moſt of them introduced in the times of paganiſm, being remains of the ſuperſtition of the old *Germans*, who were extremely given to divinations of various kinds, as *Tacitus* obſerves: but were continued, or revived, after the reception of *Chriſtianity*, in imitation of the water of jealouſy among the *Jews*, or out of an extravagant opinion of the miraculous virtue of relicks.

THUS *Gondebaud*, king of the *Burgundians*[14], about *A. D.* 501, inſtituted duels or combats; which, however it expoſed an innocent perſon to the ſword of his ac-

[1] *Hiſt. Elienſ.* l. i. c. 42.
[2] *LL. Inæ*, c. 18. 37. [3] *Ib.* c. 55.
[4] *LL. Alured.* c. 25. [5] *LL. Canut.* 50.
[6] *LL. Alured.* c. 6. [7] *LL. Canut.* c. 8.
[8] *LL. Alured.* c. 28. *Edgar*, c. 4. *Canut. polic.* c. 15. [9] *Baluz. Capit.* t. ii. p. 1062, 1067. 1103. 1123. *LL. Athelſtan.* 4.
[10] *LL. Canut.* c. 33, 34. [11] *Capitular.* t. i. p. 763. 949. *ib.* p. 1122. 1103.
[12] *Ib.* p. 884. *Forteſcue De leg. Angl.* c. 28.
[13] See *LL. Edw. ſen.* c. 3. *LL. Athelſtan.* c. 14. 23. *LL. Hen.* I. c. 89. [14] *LL. Burgund.* t. xlv.

cuſer and the hazard of a victory, ſeemed to allow him a better chance for his life, than he had, in an age of perjuries, from the conſcience and veracity of witneſſes. This practice was ſoon adopted by the *French*; from whom it paſſed to the *Lombards*, *Bavarians*, and other nations: but was not introduced into *England*, till after the conqueſt by the *Normans*. The methods of a like kind here uſed for the clearing of innocence, or diſcovery of truth, were the *fire* and the *water-ordeal*; the former being confined to gentlemen [1]; the other ſerving for the trial of the common people. The *fire-ordeal* had been uſed by the *Ripuarians* [2], before they were *Chriſtians*, and by other heathens (ſuch probably as worſhiped *fire*) before the time of [3] *Sophocles*: it was practiſed alſo by the *Wiſigoths* [4]; and conſiſted either in taking up with the naked hand a bar of iron, heated burning hot, of the weight of one or more pounds, according to the number of articles exhibited againſt a perſon, and carrying it to a certain diſtance; or in walking blindfold and barefoot over a number of plough-ſhares, heated in the like manner, and placed about a yard diſtant from each other. If the perſon, put to this trial, underwent it, without diſcovering any ſenſe of pain, or having any marks of hurt in his hands or feet, he was acquitted immediately: but if it happened otherwiſe, he ſuffered the puniſhment which the law inflicted. The trial in *water-ordeal* was, either by plunging the arm up to the elbow in ſcalding water, in which manner *Tetberga* [5], the emperor *Lothair's* wife, was cleared, by her deputy's eſcaping unhurt; or by caſting the perſon ſuſpected into a river or pond of cold water: in which caſe, if he floated on the ſurface without any ſwimming poſture, it was deemed an evidence of his guilt; but if he ſunk, he was acquitted. The inſtitution of this laſt method of purgation, is by ſome aſcribed to Pope *Eugenius* II [6], who eſtabliſhed it at the requeſt of the emperor *Louis*, ſon of *Charle-Magne*: but it ſeems more probable, that he onely [7] appointed the form of divine ſervice on that occaſion, as we learn from the *Membranæ Remigianæ*, wrote in the ſame age, and other ancient authorities. It was much oppoſed by many of the clergy [8], who thought it preposterous to make ſwimming an argument of guilt, when St. *Peter* ſunk for want of faith, the *Egyptians* were drowned in the *Red ſea*, and the guilty world was overwhelmed by the general deluge, whilſt *Noah* and his pious family floated in the ark upon the top of the waters. Theſe and the like objections had ſo much weight, that ſoon after that Pope's death, the capitularies of *Aix la Chappelle* in *A. D.* 828, and of *Wormes A. D.* 829, forbade its being uſed by any of the imperial delegates, appointed to inſpect the adminiſtration of juſtice in the provinces of the empire. All theſe practices, dignified by the title of *Judicium Dei*, were oppoſed by ſeveral biſhops [9], as unauthorized acts, on which no ſtreſs could be laid; as mere human inventions, without any warrant from ſcripture; and as affording wicked perſons means, by ſecret arts, tricks, and ſorceries, to make falſhood triumph over truth, and guilt get the better of innocence. It was certainly a very unreaſonable thing to pronounce a man guilty, unleſs he was cleared by a miracle; and to make a particular interpoſition of providence neceſſary to ſave innocence from deſtruction; ſo that *Stephen* V, who came to the papacy in *A. D.* 885,

[1] *Glanvil. De leg. Angl.* l. xiv. c. 1. [2] *Lex Ripuar.* tit. xxx. [3] *Antigone*, ℣ 270. [4] *Lex Wiſigoth.* l. vi. tit. i. c. iii. [5] *Hincmari Opera*, t. i. p. 568. [6] See *Mabillon's Analecta*, t. i. p. 47.

[7] *Gregory* of *Tours* ſpeaks of a woman of *Lyon*, accuſed by her huſband of adultery, and thrown by the judge's ſentence into the river *Saone*, to prove the truth of the caſe: and in various places of his works mentions all the different kinds of *ordeal*. *G. Logotheta*, *Pachymerus*, and others of the *Byzantine* hiſtorians, ſpeak alſo of them, not as *Roman* inſtitutions, but as the cuſtoms of barbarous nations. See *Bignon not. ad leg. Salic.* in *Baluz. Capit.* t. ii. p. 850. The offices preſcribed on theſe occaſions are to be ſeen in *Marculf*, *Baluz. Capit.* t. ii. p. 640. *Mabillon. Analecta*, t. i. p. 47. and *Lambard's Gloſſ. v.* Ordalium.

[8] *Hincmar. Op.* t. i. p. 618. [9] *Ib.* p. 599.

thought fit to condemn the trials by *hot iron*, and *ſcalding water*. Several councils in *France* and *Germany* declared from time to time againſt all theſe *ordeals:* but people were ſo attached to their old cuſtoms, that it was the work of ſome [1] ages to extirpate their practice. In *England* they continued to the time of *Henry* III; in the third year of whoſe reign orders [2] were given by the king's council, to ſome of the itinerant juſtices in their circuits, not to put any upon the *trial ordeal*; which, after languiſhing for ſome time, fell at laſt entirely into diſuſe.

THERE were other of the like ſuperſtitious methods of purgation uſed, though leſs frequently, and in leſs conſiderable inſtances, among the *Engliſh Saxons*; as well as by all the *German* nations on the continent: particularly what was called by the former, *corſned* [3] *(the loaf of execration)* or the judicial morſel. It was a piece of bread, or cheeſe, weighing about an ounce; which, after a form of exorciſm [4], appointing its uſe, and deſiring of the Almighty, that it might cauſe paleneſs in the countenance, convulſions in the limbs, and find no paſſage, if the man was really guilty, but that it might be eaſily ſwallowed, and turn to health and nouriſhment, in caſe he was innocent of the crime laid to his charge, was given to the ſuſpected perſon; who was thereupon acquitted or condemned, as theſe effects reſpectively followed. In all trials of this kind, the accuſed generally received the euchariſt; being firſt adjured by the relicks of ſaints, and by every thing deemed moſt ſacred by a *Chriſtian*, not to communicate, unleſs he were innocent: and the uſages themſelves ſeem to have been, either the remains of pagan ſuperſtitions and divinations, or elſe to have been taken up (as the forms of ſervice uſed on thoſe occaſions indicate) in imitation of ſome miraculous deliverances recorded in the *Old* and *New Teſtaments*, and in conſequence of a groundleſs notion, that a ſacerdotal prayer or bleſſing can endow inanimate things with ſupernatural powers and virtues. This notion, however it came to be entertained at firſt, hath certainly no warrant either from ſcripture or reaſon; for the natural operations and effects of things, being ſettled by the God of nature in their firſt creation, he alone can ſuſpend thoſe operations, and ſuperadd to them other virtues. He hath been pleaſed to do ſo in ſome caſes, as in baptiſm and the euchariſt; and hath expreſsly authoriſed us to aſcribe to the elements therein uſed ſupernatural effects: yet as theſe do not flow from the nature of thoſe elements or actions, but are owing purely to the divine inſtitution, we can neither depend upon ſuch effects in thoſe inſtances when we deviate from the inſtitution, nor on the like in any others, which are founded only upon human inſtitution.

XLIX. THE courts of juſtice, eſtabliſhed or regulated by *Alfred*, had likewiſe a great affinity with thoſe of *Germany* [5], where they had their baron, hundred, and county-courts, as we ſee throughout the capitularies: ſo that whatever new order that king might ſettle in theſe, the leſſer judicature of tythings for the determination of ſmall treſpaſſes, and of diſputes about boundaries, and the view of frank-pledges, ſeem to have been the principal parts of his peculiar inſtitutions. The hundred and county-courts among the *Alamanni*, *Salii*, *Franks*, and *Lombards*, were empowered to determine all controverſies; except in caſes where either the liberty of perſons or the property of lands were concerned: out of theſe they could not take cogniſance, [6] unleſs either the earl or the royal delegate were preſent. It is not unlikely, that they lay under the ſame reſtraint here, till the reign of *Alfred*; when the ſheriff, who had acted before as the earl's deputy, was made an independent magiſtrate, with an inherent power to judge, in conjunction with Courts of juſtice.

[1] See *Specula Juridica Suevic.* c. 374. and *Saxonic.* l. i. *Art.* 39.
[2] *Coke's Reports*, Part 5.
[3] *LL. Canut.*
[4] *Ib.* v. PANIS, and *Capit.* t. ii. p. 654. 796.
[5] *LL. Alaman*, t. xxxii. § 1, 2.
[6] See *Baluz. Capit.* t. i. p. 354, 473, 769.

the freeholders, who owed ſuit and ſervice to the county-court, and were his aſſeſſors in judicature; and to determine all cauſes cogniſable in that court. But from that time, it is evident, by abundance of facts related in the books of *Ramſey* and *Ely*, that the titles of lands and manors were tried and decided; fines and concords paſſed; ſales, mortgages, purchaſes, donations of eſtates, manumiſſions, *&c.* made, not only in county-courts, but even in thoſe of the hundred. Theſe county-courts [1] were held every month throughout the year: and in that of *October*, the ſheriffs were annually choſen for the year enſuing by the freeholders, who were their coaſſeſſors in judgment; as the *heretochs* alſo were, who had the command of all the military forces of the county. The *centenary*, or preſident of the hundred court, was choſen in the ſame manner: and Sir *H. Spelman* [2], in his *Icenia*, ſays, that *Flitchamburg* was the uſual place for convening the freeholders of an hundred in the county of *Norfolk*, for ſuch elections. The [3] capitularies ſhew, that they were choſen in the like manner among the *Franks* and *Germans*; ſo careful were thoſe nations to have the general adminiſtration of juſtice repoſed in the hands of thoſe who had the greateſt ſhare of landed property in the country. The freeholders of thoſe days (all that held by military tenure being ſo called, if they had not received knighthood) were men of conſiderable eſtates: and it would not be diſagreeable to the ſpirit of our old *Saxon* conſtitution, if, notwithſtanding any later alteration in the ſtate of things, juſtices of the peace were now choſen, as the coroners, the original conſervators of the peace, formerly were, and ſtill are, by the freeholders; or elſe gentlemen of certain eſtates, equivalent to thoſe of knights in former days, had of courſe a power of acting as juſtices veſted in their perſons, on account of their poſſeſſion of ſuch eſtates, without depending on miniſterial pleaſure for a ſpecial commiſſion.

Out of the coaſſeſſors in theſe county and hundred courts, were the twelve jurors choſen by the reſt; all taken from the neighbourhood of the place where the matter of diſpute lay, or the fact in queſtion was committed; and all acquainted with the ſtate of the caſe, and qualified to determine it by their own knowledge: on which account they are ſometimes termed *witneſſes*, as the judgment of thoſe courts is often called the *teſtimony* of the county or hundred [4]. They had no notion of perſons brought from diſtant parts, being competent witneſſes in the cauſes that came before them: and none were admitted to be of the jury, but ſuch as knew the truth of the thing in queſtion, and [5] were able to give a verdict upon their own knowledge. They were not however mere witneſſes; being likewiſe judges in *England* [6], as well as *Germany*; and even more conſiderable than the other aſſeſſors, becauſe their ſuperior knowledge of the point in queſtion influenced the judgment of the reſt; ſo that, by what appears of the proceedings in former days, they ſeem to be ſomewhat like the *rapporteurs*, or committees of the judicatures, called parlements in *France*, appointed by the whole court to examine a caſe, and report their opinion; which is generally followed in the deciſion. In *Sweden* and the north of *Europe*, they ſtill continue to exerciſe their judicial capacity: but it ſeems to have been laid aſide in ſome meaſure here, ever ſince the conqueſt; when the *Normans* gradually introduced this and other deviations from the *Engliſh* uſages. In the famous court held on *Pinnenden heath*, near *Maidſtone* in *Kent*, in the time of *William the Conqueror*, to [7] determine the right of lands, belonging to the church of *Canterbury*, and diſputed between archbiſhop *Lanfranc* and *Odo* earl of *Kent*, the whole county ſat in judgment, and gave their ſentence, without having recourſe to a ſelect jury: and the ſame method was taken at the trial of the cauſe between

[1] *LL. Edw. conf.* c. 36. [2] *Reliq. Spelm.* t. i. p. 884. [6] *Glanvil.* l. ii. c. 11. *Sc. De montic. Wall.* c. 4. *LL. Ethelred* in *Brompton*, col. 896. c. 4. [7] *Hickes's Diſſertat. Epiſtolaris.* p. 146. [3] *Baluz. Capit.* t. i. p. 544, 756. [4] *LL. Canut. Polit.* c. 76. [5] *Baluz. Capit.*

the

the abbey of *Croyland* and *Ivo Taillebois*, in the county-court held at *Spalding*, according to *Ingulf's* relation. But [1] when, in the ſame reign, the ſuit of *Gundulf*, biſhop of *Rocheſter*, againſt *Picot* the ſheriff, about lands in *Giſlebam*, came to be tried in the county-court of *Kent*, all the freeholders met to decide it: and for fear of the ſheriff, declared that the land belonged to the crown. *Odo* the earl, who preſided in the court, as the king's juſticiary, ſuſpecting how the matter went, made them a propoſal; which inſinuates, that the aſſeſſors in theſe courts took no oath to do juſtice; and which he imagined might contribute to diſcover the truth, and procure a right deciſion of the controverſy. He ordered them, if they knew what they ſaid to be true, to chooſe *twelve* of their number, to confirm what they ſaid upon oath; which was done: and the jurors, after retiring to conſult together, being terrified by the ſheriff, ſwore to the truth of what had been ſaid, and the land, upon this verdict, was adjudged to the king. It appeared afterwards very plainly that the jurors were perjured: and ſome of them confeſſing it, the ſheriff was ordered to ſummon all the reſt to *London*, with twelve others of the moſt conſiderable freeholders of the county, to appear before the great barons of all *England*; when the firſt jury either owning their guilt, or declining to prove their innocence by the *fire-ordeal*, were fined, and the land adjudged to the biſhop. This was the firſt precedent after the conqueſt of a jury, not named by the ſheriff, but choſen by the freeholders aſſembled in the court: and it doth not appear to be followed in other trials, till after the time of king *Stephen*; there being no notice taken of any between the monks of *Canterbury* and *Ralf Picot* the ſheriff, which was tried at the latter end of that prince's reign, in *A. D.* 1153, in the county-court held at *Caſtaners*. It was *Henry* II, who, to prevent the miſchiefs ariſing from trials by battle, which had been introduced by the *Normans*, firſt inſtituted the *grande aſſiſe* [2]; leaving it to the defendant's option to defend his right in the lands he poſſeſſed either by battle, or by the judgment of a jury of twelve men, choſen by four legal knights of the county, out of the neighbourhood. This was done by the council of the nobility: and thus were juries eſtabliſhed in the manner that hath ever ſince obtained, except in the point of their nomination: which by an unhappy policy of adding, upon favourable occaſions, to the ordinary power of the officers of the crown, hath ſince fallen into the hands of the ſheriffs.

IT is very probable, that ſuch jurors had originally, even in *Normandie*, a judicial power, they being, in the *grand cuſtumier* of that country, termed *judiciarii*; and the cuſtom of jurors having been eſtabliſhed with a judicial power by king *Regner Lodbrog* [3], when he aboliſhed duels in *Denmark*, about *A. D.* 820, above fifty years before *Rollo* left that country, in order to invade *France* and ſettle in *Normandie*. It is not worth while to diſpute, whether juries, at this day in *England*, may be properly termed *judges*; ſince they are ſo in effect, and their verdict [4] is a judgment to all intents and purpoſes; the king's juſtices, who preſide in the court, being indiſpenſably obliged to conform to it in their ſentence. The lord chancellor *Forteſcue* [5] conſiders them as witneſſes, on account of the knowledge which they are ſuppoſed to have of the fact or point in iſſue; it being for this reaſon, that they ought always to be ſummoned out of the *neighbourhood* of the place: and their knowledge of the fact, as well as of the perſons, circumſtances, and characters of their neighbours, enabling them to judge as well of the credibility of the other witneſſes, as of the truth or falſhood of their depoſitions. Theſe are points in which they ought to exerciſe their judgment, and make uſe of all their knowledge, without taking what is ſworn for granted. The very reaſon why they

[1] See *Selden not.* in *Eadmer.* p. 197. [2] *Glanvil.* l. ii. c. 7, 10, 16. [3] *Sax. Gram. Hiſt. Danic.* l. ix. [4] This verdict is in the phraſe and ſenſe of our law, the *judgment* of a man's *peers*. [5] *Com. de leg. Angliæ*, c. 26, 27.

are impannelled out of the *neighbourhood* is, in order to guard againſt unknown, ſuborned, hireling, vagabond, malicious, and ſcandalous witneſſes: and if they are not made uſe of in the courts of admiralty, or of the conſtable and marſhal for the trial of facts or contracts committed on the high ſeas, or made in foreign parts, it is becauſe in ſuch caſes there are no neighbours to be put upon juries.

Normandie was divided into *vicomtez* and *bailliages*; cantons of country anſwering to our hundreds and counties; each diſtrict having its reſpective court for adminiſtring juſtice to the people within its juriſdiction. The great lords had alſo their court barons; in which they exerciſed a juriſdiction over their tenants, and ſuch as reſided within their manors. The *Normans* thus agreed in general with the *Engliſh*, *Germans*, and other northern nations in their uſages: but had likewiſe ſome peculiar cuſtoms of their own, particularly in the point of feudal juriſdiction; ſo that though they kept up the names of the hundred and county-courts in *England*, they yet introduced new forms, laws, and proceedings into them after the conqueſt. In thoſe courts, the parties concerned in any cauſes, were ſummoned to give their anſwer, or appear in court, by ſome of the freeholders or aſſeſſors in it, deputed by the reſt to attend them for that purpoſe: and they pleaded their cauſe either by themſelves, or by a proxy, generally one of the ſuitors of the court, whom either friendſhip engaged, or chance offered, to aſſert the juſtice of their claim, which was determined in a ſummary way. But after the conqueſt this method fell into diſuſe: writs, and advocates by profeſſion, were introduced and multiplied as occaſions offered; law became a trade; ſuits were drawn out to a tedious length, and attended with an expence unknown before; juſtice, no longer adminiſtered in its primitive ſimplicity, began to give way to thoſe querks, niceties, and chicanes, which the *Normans* have been ever noted for encouraging, and which have ſince abounded to ſuch an exceſs, as to baffle right, and prevent relief to the injured; to evade the redreſs which equity demands; to render the event of a ſuit uncertain; to ſtifle the merits of a cauſe; and to make the deciſion depend, not ſo much on its goodneſs, as on the ability, care, and honeſty of the lawyer, to whoſe management it is committed. The feudal law, which had been practiſed in *Normandie*, was brought over hither with all its rigorous appendages; and took place not only in courts baron, but in other courts to ſuch a degree, as to extinguiſh a great part of the old *Engliſh* cuſtoms: and the cauſes of great lords, cogniſable before in the hundred and county-courts, were now reſerved to the king's court; which ſoon began to be peſtered, not only by thoſe original cauſes, but by a multitude of appeals [1] from inferior judicatures. In ſuch caſes, when parties were to ſeek for juſtice at an inconvenient diſtance from their own homes, and to be ſummoned out of the counties where they reſided, it became neceſſary for that purpoſe, inſtead of meſſengers, to make uſe of writs; which being drawn up by the king's chancellor or chief chaplain, and the clergy under him, attending about court, and ſerving for notaries and ſecretaries, were ſealed by the chief juſticiary, and ſent with his atteſtation all over the kingdom. The *Engliſh Saxon* prelates and nobility, according to ancient cuſtom, conſtantly attended the king at the three great feſtivals of *Chriſtmas*, *Eaſter*, and *Whitſontide*: and the *Normans* paying the like attendance on their duke, theſe were the principal ſeaſons for hearing cauſes in the king's court; who ſitting himſelf in judgment, had the crown put upon his head with great ſolemnity by the archbiſhop of *Caterbury*, and appeared with all the pomp and enſigns of majeſty on theſe occaſions. It is not improbable, but the

[1] Such appeals to the king's court were very rare, and original cauſes there were utterly unknown, in the *Saxon* times; it being expreſsly forbidden by law to apply thither, till after having ſought juſtice in vain in the county-courts, or in order to moderate the rigour of the law in certain caſes. *LL. Athelſtan*, c. 3. *LL. Edgar*, c. 2. *LL. Canut.* c. 16, &c.

archbiſhop heard eccleſiaſtical cauſes at the ſame time; ſince ſo high up as *A. D.* 678, *Egfrid* king of the *Northumbrians*, and archbiſhop *Theodore*, ſat together in publick and gave audience to the people. The county and hundred courts were not taken up only with the cauſes of private men: the king's buſineſs was likewiſe tranſacted therein, and he had two delegates, like the imperial *Miſſi* in *Germany*, to attend them ordinarily to take care thereof; a charge which the chief juſticiary executed on ſome occaſions after the conqueſt; but the pleas of the crown, as they are termed, were generally held in the ſheriff's turns, twice a year, after the feaſts of *Eaſter* and *Michaelmas*. In civil cauſes about lands, poſſeſſion was then a very great advantage, and when continued for any conſiderable time, in a country, where juſtice was ſpeedily done and the procuring it attended with little expence, ſerved generally for a rule to the deciſion, it being what the hundred or county could well atteſt. There was no attacking it without a very clear title: and ſo little encouragement given to litigious ſuits, that ſuch as ſued unjuſtly for lands, if they proceeded to a trial and examination of witneſſes upon oath, not only loſt the land in queſtion, but were obliged moreover to pay the full price thereof; beſides the valuation of their head as a fine to the king [2]. All the freeholders, within the diſtricts of theſe courts, were ſuitors thereto; and obliged to attend them conſtantly, under very ſevere penalties, if thrice abſent [3] after a week's notice had been given of the time and place of the court's ſitting: and to bar all excuſes for non-attendance, they could not be arreſted or moleſted in their going thither [4] or return thence; a privilege, which ſeems to have been the foundation of that which our kings granted afterwards to the repreſentatives of the commons in parliament. The biſhop, his archdeacon, or ſome other commiſſary, conſtantly ſat in thoſe courts, with the earl, ſheriff or centenary, to judge; the former in cauſes of an eccleſiaſtical nature, and even in criminal ones wherein the clergy were concerned, for which they had a book of canons to ſerve for their guide; the latter in civil and criminal matters, according to a *Dome-boc* or code of laws; by which they were directed in their judgment. Theſe two judicatures went hand in hand together; and were exerciſed in all the *Saxon* times with ſo perfect an harmony, that there never was the leaſt complaint, either of any encroachment on the civil power, or of any invaſion of the rights and immunities of the clergy; ſo little reaſon is there to imagine any real incompatibility in thoſe different juriſdictions which ſome catching, at diſputes ariſen ſince their ſeparation by *William the Conqueror*, though owing evidently to other cauſes, have been willing to ſurmiſe.

L. Ingulf mentions two *Engliſh* cuſtoms; the one relating to the manner of conferring knighthood, the other to the conveyances of land, which were altered immediately after the conqueſt. When a gentleman was to be knighted, he uſually came the evening before to ſome biſhop, abbot, monk, or prieſt; made a confeſſion of all his ſins; declared his hearty repentance thereof; and being abſolved, watched in the church all night, which he ſpent in faſting, meditation, and prayers. When he was in the morning to hear maſs, he offered his ſword upon the altar: and after the goſpel, the prieſt put the ſword thus conſecrated, on his neck or ſhoulder, with a ſolemn prayer or benediction. This was followed by the reception of the euchariſt; which compleating the ceremony, the perſon thus initiated was reputed a compleat knight. In this manner was the famous *He-*

Manner of conferring knighthood,

[1] *Vit. Wilfridi*, c. 24.

[2] See the proceedings in the county-court at *Cwichelmeſlow* in king *Ethelred's* time Dr. *Hicke's Theſaur. ling. ſeptent.* t. ii. p. 5, 6, 7. *LL. Inæ*, c. 10. and *LL. Canut.* c. 60.

[3] *LL. Athelſtan.* c. 20. [4] *LL. Canut.* c. 79.

[5] *Theſaur. ling. ſeptent.* t. ii. p. 60.

reward, with ſome of his followers, knighted by his uncle *Brand*, abbot of *Peterborough*: but the *Normans* abſolutely diſliked this way of conferring knight-hood as too mean and ignoble, and thought it unworthy of a ſoldier to ſubmit to a ſacerdotal dubbing. Hence it came to be generally laid aſide after the conqueſt; though in ſome caſes, where policy or devotion interpoſed, it was ſtill retained; *William Rufus* being knighted in his father's life-time by archbiſhop *Lanfranc*. This method ſeems to have continued in [1] *England* till *A. D.* 1102. when abbots were, in the ſynod of *London* held under *Anſelm*, forbidden to make knights; but it never was the onely one here uſed, ſince *Offa* king of *Mercia* knighted his ſon *Egferth* in a council of his nobility, and *Alfred* did the ſame honour to his grandſon *Athelſtan*.

and of conveying lands.

LI. As to the manner of conveying eſtates; this was often done in the *Saxon* times, by the delivery of a turf, an horn, a cup, a ſword, helmet, bow, arrow, or other ſymbols, without any writing at all: and when a deed or inſtrument was drawn for the like purpoſe (which came in uſe after the nation was converted to *Chriſtianity*) it was ſubſcribed by the witneſſes preſent at its execution, with golden croſſes and other marks affixed to their names. Both theſe uſages were ſoon laid aſide by the *Normans*; who looked upon no charters as authentick, that had not on them an impreſſion of wax made by the ſeal of the granter [2]; which was generally pendant: though it is not ſo in *William the Conqueror's* charter to the church of *Exeter*; which only recites the names of the witneſſes preſent, without giving them the trouble of ſubſcribing; the ſeal alone being deemed a ſufficient proof of the inſtrument. This is generally taken for granted; at leaſt if *Ingulf* be underſtood to mean pendant ſeals, which were affixed to charters in various manners: but it will not hold in all reſpects, if taken in the rigour; becauſe the uſe of ſeals in *England*, is undoubtedly more ancient than the conqueſt; and even after that revolution, we find charters of our kings ſubſcribed by witneſſes. *Silas Taylor* ſays [3], "he had ſeen a charter *ſealed* before the conqueſt, and had ſeen "other charters ſince the conqueſt, ſigned both by *William* I. and his ſon *Henry*, "with a great number of witneſſes and croſſes before their names." That of *William the Conqueror*, granting the manor [4] of *Heminburch* to the church of *Durham*, hath not only a pendant ſeal to it: but is ſigned alſo by the witneſſes with croſſes after the *Saxon* manner; as is another of his, being a grant of the manor of *Winantune* to the abbey of *Weſtminſter*, made at *Whitſontide A. D.* 1070, in a common council of the realm then ſitting. The letters patent under the great ſeal of that prince, confirming lands in *Lothian* granted by *Edgar* [5] ſon of *Malcolm*, king of *Scotland*, to the church of *Durham*, is atteſted by no witneſs: and there are ſeveral other charters, as well of his, as of his three next ſucceſſors, in which not above one is mentioned. *Matthew Paris* [6] affirms, that there were in his time ſeveral grants of *Saxon* kings under ſeal preſerved in other monaſteries, beſides that of *Weſtminſter*: and there is in the *Cotton Library* an inſtrument under the ſeal of *Edward the Confeſſor*. The charters which this king is ſuppoſed to have granted to the *church of Weſtminſter*, are likewiſe under ſeal; and that he generally uſed one in his grants, is put out of all doubt by abundance of

[1] It continued longer in other countries, for *Johannes Sariſburienſis* was knighted in *Italy* by archdeacon *Baldwin* in the reign of *Henry* II (See his *Epiſt.* 219.) and the *Normans* themſelves kept up the religious ceremonies of bathing and offering the ſword on the altar. See *Anſtis* on the *Knighthood of the Bath*.

[2] *Theſaur. ling. ſeptent.* t. ii. *Diſſ. Ep.* p. 374. 84.

[3] *Hiſtory of Gavelkind*, p. 72.

[4] *Ib.* p. 63, 64.

[5] *Ib.* p. 73, 74.

[6] *Vit. Abbatum l. Albani*, p. 79.

paſſages in the [1] book of *Domeſday*. If any cavil be made about theſe on account of the large and undeterminate ſenſe of the word *Sigillum*, it may be obſerved further, that this ſenſe is not reconcileable to the expreſſions of ſome of his charters [2]. There are in the [3] regiſter of *Ramſey*, the *Latin* tranſlations of four or five *Saxon* charters, granted to that abbey by the ſame king, and ſealed with the impreſſion of his image, *regiæ ſuæ imaginis impreſſione roboratæ*. Sir *H. Spelman* [4] ſays, he had ſeen two ſeals of the *Confeſſor*: and there is a charter of his to the church of *Canterbury*, with his ſeal to it in the cuſtody of Sir *Edward Dering*. If there be no interpolation in the fifteenth law of that king, and if the *Latin* tranſlation of it from the *Saxon* only adopted the phraſeology introduced after the conqueſt, when the great lords and moſt conſiderable freeholders came to be termed barons, the uſe of ſeals, was certainly very common in his days, among the nobility. Even pendant ſeals were then uſed; as is evident from the teſtimony of *Silas Taylor* [5], who, during the rebellion againſt king *Charles* I, and in the time of the uſurpations which it produced, had the ranſacking of all the regiſters and records of the church of *Hereford*; and ſays, "that king *Edward* made a grant of ſome pri-"vileges to that church, and firmed it with a *ſeal*; which in one of their regiſter "books is deſcribed to be preſerved, *in panno ſerico*, and a memorandum alſo of "the circumſcription of the ſaid ſeal to be this, *hoc eſt ſigillum regis Edwardi*." *Madox* has alſo [6] printed a charter of his to the church of *Weſtminſter*; which on a ſtrip of parchment cut from the bottom, hath a round pendant ſeal of red wax, three inches large, the delineation whereof is in [7] *Speed's* hiſtory. Were it not for *Ingulph's* teſtimony in this point, it might perhaps admit a doubt, whether the *Normans* did not borrow the uſe of ſeals from the *Engliſh*, rather than theſe laſt from the others; for whatever is to be ſaid with regard to the practice of abbeys in *Normandie*, which that writer had particular reaſons to know, the dukes did not always put their ſeals to charters. *Ryley* [8] mentions a grant of *Richard* II, grandfather of the conqueror, to the abbey of *Mont St. Michel*, containing a donation of certain lands in *Jerſey*, without a ſeal: and as to pendant ones, they were certainly made uſe of here, before the *French* adopted them into their practiſe, which perhaps they borrowed from *England*. For *Du Freſne* [9], in his learned obſervations on *Ville-Hardouin*, ſays, that they did not begin to uſe pendant ſeals in *France*, till about *A. D.* 1112: and it was about the ſame time, that ſuch ſeals obtained alſo in [10] *Flanders*.

They were undoubtedly uſed an hundred and fifty years earlier in this nation; there being extant in Mr. *Selden's* time [11], who quotes the beginning of it, an ori-

[1] Hundred & ſcira dicunt quod, R. E. dedit, & habet ſigillum regis.

Berrot-ſhire. *Terra Eccl. Abandonienſ. Specfold.* Abbas inde habet brevem & ſigillum regis Edw. ibid. *Terra Henrici de Feriers, Ollavintone.* Hanc terram dedit R. E. *Godrico de* firma ſua, & inde viderunt *Sigillum* homines de Comitatu.

Glouceſter-ſhire 59. *Terra Henrici de Ferriers,* Hoc teſtatur omnis comitatus, & ipſe qui *ſigillum* regis detulit.

Huntedon-ſhire 29. *Terra Tainorum* regis, ipſi vendiderunt *Hugoni Camerario* R. E. Hugo vero vendidit duobus preſbyteris de *Huntedon*, & habent inde *Sigillum* R. E.

Ibidem Cabeleſtain,—nec unquam viderunt vel audierunt *ſigillum* regis *Edwardi*, quòd eam &c.

Sudfulc. VI. *Terra Roberti Malet*—Rex Edwardus ſaiſirit totam terram ſuam, poſtea conciliatus eſt regi E. conceſſit ei terram ſuam; dedit etiam *breve & ſigillum.*

Ibidem xiv. *Terra S. Edmundi—Antius*—ex dono regis *Edw.* ſicut *brevia & ſigillum* demonſtrant, quæ Abbas habet.

Dorſet 19. *Terra Abbatiæ Sceptesberienſis—W.* rex eam facit reſaiſiri quia in ipſa eccleſia inventa eſt brevis cum *ſigillo* reg. Edw. præcipiens ut reſtitueretur. So in *Conſuetud. Domeſday* in *xx Scriptor.* p. 775. *Lincoln.* Pax manu regis vel *ſigillo* ejus data, & p. 777. Pax data manu regis vel ſuo *brevi*, &c.

[2] Manu noſtra oppoſito ſigno roboravimus noſtræque *imaginis ſigillo* in ſuper affignari juſſimus.

[3] C. 107. & *ſeq.* [4] Of ancient deeds, p. 236.

[5] *Hiſt. of Gavelkind*, p. 72.

[6] *Formulare Anglican.* n. 60. [7] P. 398.

[8] *Placita Parl.* p. 286. [9] P. 263.

[10] Vredii *Sigill. Com. Flandr.* p. 9. See *Vaddere Orig. des Ducs de Brabant*, p. 263, 264.

[11] *Office of Lord Chancellor*, c. 2.

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ginal *Saxon* charter of king *Edgar* to the abbey of *Perſhore*; to which three labels were affixed with as many hanging ſeals; one of the king, the ſecond of St. *Dunſtan*, and the third of *Alfer*, duke of *Mercia*. As to the more ancient and ordinary way of ſealing; the laſt cited writer obſerves, that there are among the *chartæ antiquæ* ſeveral with ſeals; particularly one of king *Canute*: and mentions two charters, the one of *Offa*, the other of *Edgar*, with ſeals annexed; the one of which he had ſeen caſt off in lead, having a face on one ſide, and being of the breadth and thickneſs of a ſhilling. The firſt of theſe is probably the ſame which is taken notice of by *Felibien*, as ſtill preſerved among the records [1] of *St. Denis*, near *Paris*; being a charter of king *Offa* to that abbey, and ſealed *annuli ſui impreſſione*. The famous charter of the ſame king granting *Peter-pence* [2] to the church of *Rome* is ſaid to be ſtill remaining under ſeal; and that of king *Edwy*, dated *A. D.* 956, and conveying the land called *Jecklea*, in the *Iſle of Ely*, was not only ſealed with his own ſeal, [3] but with that of *Ælfwinus*, biſhop of *Winchester*. Upon the whole, it ſeems reaſonable to conclude, that if *Ingulf* is not guilty of a miſtake, his meaning at leaſt was, that the putting of ſeals to inſtruments was not ſo abſolutely neceſſary to their validity before, as it was after, the conqueſt; when the clauſe, *in cujus rei teſtimonium ſigillum meum appoſui*, or other expreſſions of the like import, became ſo eſſential in law, that deeds have been adjudged invalid, purely on account of their omiſſion; and the bare ſeal of the donor [4] to a grant rendered it authentick without the ſignature of any witneſſes.

Changes in the ſtate and church made by the conqueſt.

LII. These alterations were of little conſequence, in compariſon of the great changes which were made by the conqueſt, in the condition of the gentry and clergy; which in their conſequences affected the ſtate of the kingdom, and produced very unhappy innovations in religion. The *Engliſh* nobility and gentry were diſpoſſeſſed of all their allodial lands and eſtates of inheritance; which were given away to the *Norman* and other foreign adventurers; the utmoſt favour allowed to any of the natives being to hold in vaſſalage of their new lords, on condition of rents and ſervices, part of what they had enjoyed before as their own abſolute property. The feudal law [5] being likewiſe introduced and eſtabliſhed in all its rigour, the nature of tenures was altered; the new proprietors became expoſed to various hardſhips, payments, and forfeitures unknown before: and whilſt reduced themſelves to a ſtate of more abſolute dependance on the crown, they exerciſed an authority, of a like nature with the regal, over their inferior vaſſals and tenants; which proved a fertile occaſion of civil wars and inſurrections, deſtructive of the peace and welfare of the kingdom. The clergy among the *Engliſh Saxons* were generally men of quality; deſcended of the beſt and nobleſt families, and continued to be ſo, till the time of *Edgar* [6]; when others of meaner rank being ſometimes admitted to holy orders, it was found neceſſary to provide by a canon againſt the contempt, with which the clergy of noble birth were apt to treat ſuch inferior perſons. They ſucceeded to the power which the *Pagan* prieſts had among the *Saxons* before their converſion to *Chriſtianity*: and as theſe laſt ſat and preſided [7] in the great councils of the nobility, as well in *Germany* as *England*, the *Chriſtian* biſhops and abbots were always conſtituent members of ſuch aſſemblies. They were ſo in all parts of *Europe*, particularly in *Normandie*; where all the great councils are by the *Norman* hiſtorians conſtantly repreſented, as conſiſting of the

[1] *Hiſt. de l'Abbaie de St. Denis en Preuves*, n. 62.
[2] *Coke on Littleton*, c. 1. § 1. p. 7.
[3] The words are, Ego *Edwinus*, Dei gratiâ totius Britanniæ telluris rex, meum donum proprio ſigillo confirmavi: Ego *Ælfwinus*, Winton. eccleſiæ ſpeculator proprium ſigillum impreſſi.
[4] *Br. Faitſ.* 76, 103. [5] See *Relig. Spelman.*
[6] *Canones ſub Edgaro in Lambard. Archaionom.* p. 66. [7] *Tacit. De mor. Germ. Bede*, l. ii. c. 13.

prelates and barons. Hence no alteration was made in this reſpect, except in relation to their lands, which the prelates held before in *Frank-almoine*, ſubject to no ſervice, beſides the contributing to military expeditions, and the repairs of forts and bridges; but were afterwards obliged to hold by barony; and that the right of ſitting in parliament, which was in the *Saxon* times common to all abbots, became, in the *Norman*, reſtrained to ſuch as held by that tenure, and whoſe abbeys or monaſteries were of royal foundation. The *Saxon* clergy in general were married, as well ſecular as regular, till *Edgar's* reign; when the *Benedictine* rule being introduced, the married clergy that would not ſubmit to it, and part with their wives, were expelled from all monaſteries and collegiate churches. The ſecular clergy ſtill retained theirs: and continued to do ſo for ſome time after the conqueſt; when the papal power beginning to take place in *England*, and in a ſhort time bearing down all before it, they were obliged to quit them; notwithſtanding the ancient uſage of the *Engliſh* church, [1] conformable in this point to the apoſtolical canons, "which ordered a biſhop, prieſt, or deacon, turning off his wife on pre-"tence of religion, to be ſuſpended from communion; and if they perſiſted, to be "deprived." This change was not brought about by the *Conqueror*, who doth not appear to have diſcountenanced the married clergy; ſince he employed *Robert*, afterwards biſhop of *Lincoln* [2], as his *chancellor*, who, during his enjoyment of that poſt, got his ſon *Simon*, dean of the ſame church: but was the work of *Henry* I, who, in the thirtieth year of his reign, out of avaritious views and for political reaſons, firſt prohibited [3] the marriage of the ſecular clergy. This was done in a great council or parliamentary aſſembly; but as that prince raiſed money by granting diſpenſations in this point, it was not generally obſerved for ſome time after; and in *Wales*, where this prohibition did not operate, the clergy continued to marry; till the diſcouragement, given to all that did not profeſs celibacy, came to be entirely removed by the reformation.

IN the *Saxon* times a friendly correſpondence was held between the *Engliſh* church and the *Roman*; ſo that meſſengers were ſometimes ſent hither from *Rome*, but without legatine powers, or at leaſt none were exerciſed: and a great opinion was entertained of the efficacy of the Pope's bleſſing and anathemas; which induced monaſteries to have their privileges fortified by ſuch a ſanction. But we find no inſtances of any appeals to *Rome*; except in the caſe of *Wilfrid*; when it was thought a ridiculous ſtep, and the Pope's interpoſition and mandate rejected with indignation. The grant of the pall to the primates of *Canterbury*, was merely honorary; derived originally from the imperial power, and conveyed through the canal of the biſhop of the imperial city. Nor do we meet with any other inſtance of ſuch an interpoſition in the affairs of the church of *England*; beſides what may be inferred from an epiſtle of Pope *Formoſus*, pretended to be wrote in the time of king *Edmund*; which Mr. *Wharton* [4] hath proved to be ſpurious. The caſe was much altered after the conqueſt; when the papal authority, being called in to ſerve the *Conqueror's* political views, eſtabliſhed itſelf upon the ruins of the liberties and independence of the church; oppreſſed the clergy and people with grievous exactions; evoked to a foreign judicature, cauſes which ever uſed to be determined within the realm; trampled on the eccleſiaſtical government; and encroached, upon all favourable occaſions, on the royal authority, to the diſturbance of all order and peace in the nation: and beſides theſe evils, cauſed ſeveral unwarrantable innovations, as well in the offices of divine worſhip, as in the doctrines of religion.

[1] *Can. Ap.* 3, or 6. [2] *Angl. Sacr.* xi. 697. [3] *Matth. Paris, A. D.* 1129. [4] *Angl. Sacr.* i. p. 210, 554.

Such were the doctrines of tranſubſtantiation and purgatory; both grounded on pretended miracles and viſions; the firſt of which ſerved for a foundation to the adoration of the hoſt, and to ſolitary maſſes; as the latter did to ſeveral corrupt and ſuperſtitious practices. Such were the prayers to ſaints, the worſhip of images, the adoration of the wood of the croſs, and the denying of the cup in the euchariſt to the laity, in conſequence of the doctrine of concomitancy; a ſcholaſtic nicety, as well as novelty. With regard to all theſe, I am only to obſerve, that they are every one of them contrary to the doctrines and uſages of the *Engliſh Saxon* church, as laid down in the *Saxon* homilies, or expreſſed in her offices for divine ſervice; ſeveral of which are ſtill preſerved[1]. The neareſt approach to any of the practices here mentioned, obſervable in any of thoſe offices, is, the deſiring of God, in ſome collects, to grant their requeſts by the interceſſion and prayers, or through the merits, of the ſaint whoſe day is celebrated: and yet in others, prayers are made for the ſouls of thoſe very ſaints, according the tenor of the liturgies of the church in the firſt ages of the goſpel. The uſe likewiſe of holy water, and the bleſſing of inanimate things, in order to endow them with the virtues prayed for, are the onely uſages mentioned therein, which ſeem to border upon ſuperſtition. Such were the offices, and ſuch the ſtate, of the church of *England*, when it was firſt brought into an illegal ſubjection to the church of *Rome*, by the *Norman* conqueſt.

[1] Beſides what we have in *England*, there is in the library of the chapter of *Rouen*, a *Benedictionale* of the church of *England*, given to it by *Robert* archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, about *A. D.* 1050: and in that of *Jumieges*, is a miſſal of the ſaid church, particularly uſed in the cathedral of *London*, given to the abbey by the ſame prelate, whilſt he was biſhop of that ſee. Both theſe I have had an opportunity of peruſing, and have thence made the obſervations here mentioned.

A GENERAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK V.

Containing an Account of the Affairs of ENGLAND, for Eighty eight Years, from the *Norman* Conqueſt to the Death of King *Stephen*.

I. THE *Norwegians*, *Danes*, *Saxons*, and other northern nations, known by the general name of *Normans*, had begun, about the commencement of the ninth century, to cover the ſeas with their fleets, and to make deſcents on the coaſts of the iſles and continent, waſhed by the *German* and *weſtern* oceans. The great rivers, the *Rhine*, the *Seine*, the *Loire*, and the *Garonne*, afforded them convenient paſſages into the heart of *France*: which being diſtracted by the civil wars between the ſons of *Louis le Debonnaire*, and weakened by the vaſt effuſion of the blood of her nobles ſlain in the battle of *Fontenay*, was in a very unfit condition to oppoſe their ravages. Being enemies to the *Chriſtian* religion, and perhaps particularly exaſperated againſt the *French*, from whom many of theſe piratical adventurers had ſuffered in the time of *Charlemagne*, their fury fell upon every thing that was ſacred, and they either burnt or deſtroyed what they could not carry off: but their chief view being plunder, they continued their depredations, without attempting any ſettlement in the country, till the time of *Rollo*. This prince, diſtinguiſhed by his military ſkill above all the *Daniſh* chieftains, was lord of an independent territory in *Denmark*; which he inherited from his father, and had in his youth maintained with great bravery againſt all the power of the king of that country: who made war upon him in order to annex it to his other dominions, but was routed in ſeveral engagements. *Rollo*, invincible and ſuperior to the *Daniſh* monarch in war [1], was over-reached in a treaty; and during the ſecurity of a peace, ſurprized by him in an ambuſcade: his brother and almoſt all his men were cut in pieces; and he was himſelf forced to quit his territories, and take refuge in a quarter of *Scandinavia*. A great number of his old ſubjects, flocking thither to join him, reſolved to run his fortune,

WILLIAM I. *A. D.* 1066.

Account of the dukes of *Normandie* from *Rollo* to *William* the conqueror.

[1] *Dudo De mor. Norman.* p. 70.

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William I. A. D. 1066.

he was for ſome time irreſolute with regard to the party proper for him to take; whether he ſhould attempt the recovery of his own dominions, or try, like other *Normans*, to enrich himſelf by depredations, and form a ſettlement for himſelf and his followers in ſome other country. A flattering dream, whether real or pretended, favourably [1] interpreted, determined him to take the latter party: and the noiſe of his deſign, perhaps of his dream, ſpread among a people ever ready to embark in ſuch adventures, ſoon brought a great acceſſion to his forces. A ſtature larger than ordinary, a majeſtic look, a certain dignity mixed with ſweetneſs and affability in all his air and behaviour; the opinion generally entertained of his virtue, abilities, and talents for war; the relation of his great actions and his undeſerved misfortunes, naturally engaged the reſpect, love, and eſteem of the world: and ſuch was his reputation in *Scandinavia*, that the braveſt warriors of the north came from all parts to offer him their ſervice; deſirous to ſignalize their valour under ſo excellent a chieftain. The hopes of booty ſerved them for pay: and a numerous fleet was ſoon equipped in a country which abounded with ſhipping.

With theſe views, and with a powerful army, *Rollo*, towards the latter end of the ninth century, entered the mouth of the *Seine*: and paſſing up the river, took *Rouen*; which he fortified and ſecured with a ſtrong garriſon. From thence he marched, as occaſions offered, to the aſſiſtance of other *Norman* generals, who were laying *France* deſolate: and having reduced *Neuſtria*, deſtroyed all the adjoining provinces with fire and ſword for a long ſeries of years; till *Charles the Simple*, by a treaty made *A. D.* 911, with the conſent of the prelates and nobility of his realm, gave him his daughter *Giſele* in marriage, and with her all the country ſince called *Normandie*, to be held by him, and his heirs, of the crown of *France* by homage. *Rollo*, at his baptiſm, aſſumed the name of *Robert*: and having eſtabliſhed an admirable order and police throughout his territories, the lands whereof he diſtributed among his officers and ſoldiers, died ſoon after; being ſucceeded by his onely ſon *William*, who was, in *A. D.* 943, treacherouſly murdered in a conference at *Picquigny*, by *Arnulf* count of *Flanders*. The ſon and grandſon of this *William* inherited his dominions in their order; being both named *Richard*: and the latter leaving two ſons, was firſt ſucceeded by the elder, of the ſame name with himſelf, and after his death, by the younger, called *Robert* II, who died at *Nice* in *Bithynia*, as he was returning from his pilgrimage to *Jeruſalem*. This laſt prince, before he ſet out for the holy land, had, in an aſſembly of the eſtates of *Normandie*, cauſed all the prelates and barons that compoſed it, to take an oath of fealty to his ſon *William* [2], then about nine years of age, as his ſucceſſor; whoſe youth afforded reaſon enough for ſuch a precaution. It appeared the more neceſſary, becauſe [3] *William's* mother, *Herleva*, was the daughter of *Foubert*, the duke's *valet de chambre*, and ſon of a tanner of *Falaiſe*; a very unequal match for *Robert*; though he was not at that time inveſted with the ducal dignity: and ſuch miſalliances were in thoſe days reputed ſo diſhonourable, that a wife of ignoble birth, however lawfully wedded, paſſed for nothing better than a concubine, and the iſſue ſhe had by her huſband for little more than baſtards.

During the minority of this young prince, *Normandie* was a terrible ſcene of diſorders, of civil broils between the great lords, who fought out their quarrels in the field, and of inſurrections, raiſed by different pretenders to the ſucceſſion of the dutchy: and till the ſignal victory he gained at *Val des Dunes*, over *Guy de Bourgogne* count of *Brione*, the counts of *Bayeux* and *Coutances*, *Hamon* of *Thorigny*, and other *Norman* lords, in *A. D.* 1046; there was ſcarce a year paſſed, but he was

[1] *Gulielm. Gemeticenſis in Ep. ad Guil. Conq.* thinks it only a pretended dream, and therefore left it out of his hiſtory. See *MS. St. Victor. Paris. non interpolat.* [2] *Fragment Will. Conq.* in *Walſingham*, p. 30. *Du Tillet Recueil des Grands de France*, p. 137.

in danger of losing his dominions. He was afterwards attacked by the king of *France*, and the counts of *Flanders*, *Anjou*, and *Ponthieu*; who encouraging the discontents of the turbulent barons of *Normandie*, seized the opportunities, which their mutinous spirit and measures offered, for invading the country: but *William*, by an uncommon vigilance, courage, prudence, and activity, baffled the attempts of his enemies, and extricated himself out of all his difficulties. From the time that he was seventeen years of age, he marched constantly at the head of his armies, and presided in all councils; distinguishing himself by his valour and judgment on all occasions: and if fortune may claim a share in his happy escapes from the plots of assassins, his success in other cases was undoubtedly owing to his military skill, to the vigour of his measures, the firmness of his mind, and the wisdom of his conduct. Bad intellects and weak minds depend continually on the direction of others, and derive from lucky accidents what share of felicity they enjoy: but great men make their own fortune, and *William* himself was evidently the author of all the grandeur he attained. Ever prudent in the choice of his measures, ever successful in all his enterprizes, ever wise in the good use he made of every success, he was esteemed, and either loved, or dreaded by all his neighbours: and this general esteem, with the great reputation he bore in the world, had as large a share in his designation to the crown of *England*, as his relation to *Edward the Confessor*, or this prince's gratitude for the favours he had received in *Normandie*. It would otherwise have scarce been practicable for *Edward*, a weak prince, to draw the *English* nobility into such a measure, and to have engaged *Harold* to undertake an embassy, as well to notify the intended succession, as to take an oath of fealty to *William* in his own person; which is expressly said to have been his chief[1] business in that embassy: wherein he probably acted as representative of the body of the *English* nobility, of which he was the principal; that ceremony being an usual practice in those days, as well in *France*[2] and other foreign countries, as among the *English Saxons*, whenever a successor to the crown was appointed[3]. It was in this manner that *Egferth*, the son of *Offa*, king of *Mercia*, *Robert*, *Henry* I, and *Philip* I, kings of *France*, and *William* II, duke of *Normandie*, were recognized in assemblies of the estates of those countries, when the princes their fathers declared them their successors.

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II. Edward *the Confessor* had been dead ten days, when the duke of *Normandie* received advice of his decease, and of *Harold's* usurpation. Had *Edgar Atheling*, the right lineal heir of the royal family, been set upon the throne of *England*, *William* would probably have acquiesced in that event; at least he would have wanted a plausible pretence for an invasion, and would have scarce found friends and supporters enough to abet his claim, and assist him in an enterprize manifestly unjust. But he could not bear the thoughts of being deluded and insulted by *Harold*; who had so lately done him homage, and sworn in the solemnest manner upon the holiest relicks to secure him the succession: hence the news of the latter's advancement filled him with the keenest resentment, and he instantly vowed revenge. The conquest of *England* seemed at first sight an enterprize too hardy for a duke of *Normandie* to undertake, and much above all the force which his dominions could furnish to execute: but there were several circumstances, as well in the situation of affairs on the continent, as in the condition of this island, that

William makes preparations to invade *England*.

[1] *Guil. Gemet.* l. vi. c. 31. p. 200.

[2] *Guil. Pictav.*

[3] *M. de Masseville, Histoire de Normandie*, part i. p. 185, says, that all the *English* lords in the general council, where the duke of *Normandie* was declared the successor, took an oath, that they would, after *Edward's* death, receive him for their king; and *Harold* was sent to take the said oath in *Normandie*. So the author of the *Inventaire de l'Histoire de Normandie*, p. 65, says, *William* was declared *Edward's* successor in an assembly of the estates of *England*.

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conſpired to encourage him in the undertaking, and to flatter him with hopes of ſucceſs. He had married *Maude*, daughter of *Baldwin* V, count of *Flanders*: and his father-in-law being guardian of *Philip* king of *France*, a child about twelve years of age, he had no reaſon to apprehend any diſturbance from a country, which alone could attack him with a ſuperior power, but which thought itſelf happy enough, to preſerve her own peace during a minority. He was in peace and in terms of friendſhip with all his neighbours, except *Conan* count of *Bretagne*: and the ſeaſonable death of this prince not onely freed him from all inquietude on that ſide, but made way likewiſe for the aſſiſtance which he received from his ſucceſſor. The kingdoms, which had been erected in *Italy* by ſome of his *Norman* ſubjects, enabled them to engage the court of *Rome* in his intereſt; they being ſtrenuous aſſerters of the *papal* claims, and always ready to ſupport the papacy againſt the attempts of the *German* emperors, whoſe rights the *Popes* were invading upon all occaſions. The *Normans* were in the height of their glory for military proweſs: and had diſtinguiſhed themſelves above all other nations by their great actions, in an age of adventures that would now paſs for romantic, and at a time, when private men had in various parts of the world ſubdued countries, and advanced themſelves to royalty, merely by their valour. The peace which then reigned in *Normandie*; the perſonal merit and character of the duke; the good order he had eſtabliſhed throughout his dominions; and the magnificence of his court, had occaſioned a vaſt reſort thither, from *France*, *Burgundy*, and all parts of *Europe*, of the chief nobility and the braveſt ſpirits in thoſe countries, all eager to embark in adventures, and to ſignalize their valour in his ſervice. Theſe, either out of affection to his perſon, or indignation at the affront offered him by *Harold*, or in hopes of the lands and honours which they expected, in caſe of ſucceſs, for their recompence, in *England*, readily offered to bring to his aſſiſtance great numbers of experienced warriors, who had ſerved formerly under their banners: and theſe ſuccours, joined to his old *Norman* ſoldiers, whom the civil wars and foreign invaſions of their country had inured to all the hardſhips, and perfected in all the diſcipline, of war, ſeemed an overmatch for any body of troops that could be drawn together to make head againſt him in *England*.

This nation indeed was in a very ill condition to oppoſe ſo formidable an enemy. *England* was an open country, ſo deſtitute of fortifications, that except *Dover*, caſtle, *London*, and two or three towns more, there was not a place in it able to ſtand a ſiege; ſo that whoever was maſter of the field, was in effect maſter of the kingdom. The people ſoftened by a long peace, which had laſted fifty years without any interruption, were unfit to undergo the fatigues of war, knew nothing of the uſe of arms, and underſtood little of military diſcipline: they were ſtill more enervated by the vices which prevailed among them, by idleneſs, intemperance, and debauchery. The nobility and gentry minded nothing but eating and drinking; being over-run with luxury, and utterly regardleſs of the publick good; corrupt and venal in all their conduct; and divided into parties, as beſt ſuited their private intereſts; to which they were entirely devoted. The clergy themſelves were not exempt from theſe vices: with which our old hiſtorians repreſent all orders of men to be infected, and to this general corruption aſcribe their ruin; it being impracticable for a nation, without virtue, without publick ſpirit, without union, ever to defend its liberties. The crown, which ſhould have rectified all theſe diſorders, was itſelf the fountain of more; being poſſeſſed by an uſurper: who had ſeized it by force; and having no natural right to the allegiance of the ſubject, endeavoured to ſupply that defect by bribery and terror, the chief inſtruments uſed by all tyrannical governments to keep a people in ſubjection. The prelates and clergy had a mighty influence in the nation; and though *Harold* had courted them after his acceſſion

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ceſſion by reſtoring ſome of the church lands, which he had before ſeized unjuſtly: yet as his conduct was unequal in that point, they ſtill remembered his former oppreſſions, and ſuſpected the ſincerity of his profeſſions. They were likewiſe extremely ſhocked at his perjury in mounting the throne, after he had ſworn fealty to another: moſt of the biſhops, being natives of *Normandie*, *Brabant*, *Flanders*, and *France*, were naturally inclined to favour the cauſe of *William*. The caſe was much the ſame with regard to a great part of the nobility; who being deſcended of *Daniſh* race, wiſhed to have a *Norman* of the ſame race upon the throne. *Ralph*, earl of the *Eaſt-Angles*, the earl of *Hereford*, and ſome others that enjoyed the like dignity, or very great power, as *Fitz Scrobi* in *Salop*, *Ralf Peverell* in *Eſſex*, *Danbin de Bear*, &c. were actually *Normans*: and none of theſe, however naturalized they were to this country, and whatever advantages they enjoyed in it, could not yet forget their own original ſo far, as not to wiſh ſucceſs to the enterprize of the duke of *Normandie*. *Harold* ſeems to have been apprehenſive of ſome danger from theſe foreigners: and had, by way of precaution, taken care to baniſh all the *Norman* gentlemen, whom [1] *Edward* had brought over and enriched with caſtles and large eſtates. Many of them had intermarried with the *Engliſh*: and yet they were expelled, together with their wives, children, and relations, out of *England*. It was probably thought too dangerous in ſuch a juncture to treat the chief nobility of that nation, ſettled here in governments which enabled them to ſtand on their defence, in the ſame manner: but though they were ſuffered ſtill to retain their power, they could not but think their ruin was only poſtponed to a more favourable opportunity, and that they ſhould ſoon undergo the common fate of their countrymen. Whether it was to concert meaſures with theſe noblemen, to draw over to his party, others who had ſuffered indignities from *Harold*, or were diſcontented at his elevation; or elſe in hopes of bringing the uſurper to a reaſonable compoſition, if not to a reſignation of his crown, *William* ſent over embaſſadors to put him in mind of his oath and the ſtipulations between them; to inſiſt upon their being obſerved; and on failure thereof, to threaten him with an invaſion. *Harold*, grown inſolent by the poſſeſſion of a potent kingdom, laughed at the menaces, demands, and propoſals made him; refuſed to make the leaſt ſatisfaction for his breach of faith: and [2] rejected all terms of accommodation with a contempt; which inflamed the *Norman's* reſentment, and cauſed him to lay aſide all thoughts but thoſe of revenge.

William, determined to invade *England*, applied to all the princes his neighbours for ſuccours: and generally did it with more ſucceſs than he had reaſon to expect. His old enemy *Geffrey Martel*, count of *Anjou*, ſent a good number of forces to his aſſiſtance; *Guy*, count of *Ponthieu*, followed his example; *Euſtace*, count of *Boulogne*, and the *Vicomte de Thouars* in *Poictou* reſolved to go in perſon at the head of their vaſſals: and *Howel*, count of *Bretagne*, levying a body of five thouſand men, as well horſe as foot, ſent them under the command of his eldeſt ſon *Alan Fergant*, attended by the *Vicomtes* of *Leon* and *Dinam*, and other noble *Bretons*, to ſerve in the expedition. The emperor *Henry* IV, and *Philip* I, king of *France*, were minors: but the imperial council, by a publick proclamation, allowed all the vaſſals of the empire to enter into the duke of *Normandie's* ſervice. *William*, being a vaſſal of the crown of *France*, expected more powerful ſuccours from thence, than from any other quarter: but was greatly diſappointed, when waiting upon the king with offers of holding *England* alſo of him in vaſſalage, in caſe he ſucceeded in his attempt upon that country, and being referred to the council of regency, he was either ordered, or adviſed to deſiſt from the enterprize.

[1] *Wace's Hiſt. MS. penes me*, p. 462. [2] *Ib.* p. 463.

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The [1] reasons which influenced the council to this resolution were, "that the duke "of *Normandie* was already too potent for a vassal, and performed the services due "from him, as such, only when, and in what manner he pleased; that if he added "*England* to his other dominions, he would be an overmatch for the crown, and "would have it in his power to distress *France*, and disturb its peace; and that it "was not consistent with prudence to provoke the *English*, in order to aggrandize a "race of *Norman* princes, whose increase of power would swell their pride, and "render them dangerous, as well as eternal, enemies to the *French* monarchy." These reasons however did not hinder *Baldwin*, who was at the head of the regency and guardian of the king's person, from giving underhand encouragement to the *French* nobility to assist his son-in-law: and he used the like instances in his behalf with his own subjects in *Flanders*, in the same private manner. But no assistance was of greater consequence to *William*, than the Pope's declaration in his favour. *Rome* was in those days the chief seat of learning in *Europe*, and thither applications were generally made in material cases, for the resolving of any doubts relating to conscience: which was particularly affected, whenever the obligations and breaches of oaths, matters deemed of ecclesiastical cognizance, came in question. Pope *Alexander* II, full of hopes, and glad of an opportunity, to extend the papal jurisdiction into a country, where it had not been yet established, received the archdeacon of *Lisieux*, *William's* embassador, with open arms: and readily granted all that he sollicited in his master's behalf. *Harold* was denounced a perjured usurper[2]; a ring with one of St. *Peter's* hairs in it, and a consecrated banner, were sent to *William*, to hallow his enterprize. Bulls were published to declare the justice of his cause, and to animate all the world to assist in putting him upon the throne of *England*. This declaration had a great effect, not only on the *English* prelates, who knew that *Harold* deserved the censure passed upon him, but likewise on abundance of brave men in all parts of *Europe*; who eager to signalize their valour, and now fully satisfied of the justice of *William's* cause, flocked from all quarters to range themselves under his ensigns, and to acquire either glory, honours, or rewards, by serving under the command of so experienced and eminent a general.

William had such numbers of these offering him their service, that he picked and chose out of them such as he found most inured to the hardships, and versed in the arts of war; till he made up an army of sixty thousand men, composed of the best soldiers of the age: which he judged superior to any force, that could be brought into the field by his rival. The hopes of rewards and settlements in *England* supplied the want of pay to his troops: but money was necessary to provide ships for their transportation, and provisions for their subsistence. This he expected from the estates of *Normandie*: and having summoned the prelates and barons to meet in a general council at *L'Isle-bonne*, proposed to them his design; pressing them to join in revenging the affront he had received from *Harold*; and to grant him the necessary supplies for an enterprize, which he was obliged in honour to undertake, and the success whereof would redound infinitely to their glory. The nobility that composed the assembly were much divided in their sentiments; some appearing zealous for complying with the duke's request, whilst others exclaimed against the undertaking as rash and impracticable; considering that *Normandie* was, in its best state, far inferior to *England*, in wealth, force, and number of people, and was then so extremely harrassed and impoverished by its late wars, that it was in no condition to bear the expence of armaments for foreign conquests. *William*, seeing where the difficulty lay, sent for the richest persons of the province,

[1] *Wace*, p. 472. [2] *Ib.* p. 476.

and

and talking to them privately, and apart from each other, perſuaded them to advance conſiderable ſums: and the example being once ſet, was readily followed by others; who did not care to be marked out, as leſs concerned for the duke's honour, or leſs cordial in promoting his ſervice. The affair was hereupon reſumed in the great council; and though many appeared averſe to it, was carried at laſt by a vote of *William Fitz-Oſborne*, count of *Breteuil*, and conſtable of *Normandie*. This nobleman, in a ſpeech [1] he made to the aſſembly, had declared ſtrongly againſt the invaſion of *England*: and maintained it to be a privilege of the *Normans*, that though they were obliged to contribute to the defence of their own country, they were not obliged by their tenures to ſerve in foreign expeditions. This ingratiated him ſo with the oppoſers of the enterprize, that they agreed to make him their ſpokeſman, to repreſent to the duke their ſentiments on the ſubject: but they were ſtrangely ſurprized, when inſtead of urging the reaſons, which he had before alledged againſt the expedition, they heard him declare, in their name, the utmoſt readineſs to embark in it, and ſuch a zeal for vindicating their prince's honour, that they were all reſolved to aſſiſt him therein, with double the ſervice they were bound to by their tenures, and uſed to do upon other occaſions. This was immediately applauded by *Odo* biſhop of *Bayeux*, and *Robert* count of *Mortain* (*William's* brothers by the mother's ſide) by the count of *Longueville*, and other principal noblemen; who readily ſubſcribed for a number of ſhips and men in that proportion. Many of the others who had been the moſt averſe to the enterprize, were ſo diſconcerted by the count's aſſurances in their behalf, or ſo aſhamed to contradict him, that they followed the example ſet them: but there was ſtill a good deal of confuſion and clamour in the aſſembly; till the duke aſſuring them, that it ſhould never be made a precedent to draw them into any future inconveniencies, but their ſervices ſhould remain fixed at the rate anciently uſed, they all agreed at laſt to furniſh ſhips and men, for this once, in a duplicate proportion. The abbeys furniſhed money, as well as men; as *Ingulf* obſerves in the inſtance of that *St. Wandrille*, whereof he was prior.

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III. The hopes of honours, and of making a fortune in *England*, now took place of all other conſiderations; every one was deſirous to recommend himſelf to the duke's favour, and uſed the utmoſt application to provide and mann the ſhips, for which he had engaged: and a fleet of about eight hundred large veſſels [2], beſides three thouſand ſmaller of all ſorts, was fitted out in a leſs time than could be expected. Its rendezvous was appointed at *St. Pierre ſur Dive*; where the army embarked: and though it was detained there a month by contrary winds, yet in all that time no diſorder was committed in the country; the troops being, by the duke's care, well ſupplied with all neceſſaries, and kept in exact diſcipline. From thence it proceeded to *St. Valery*, at the mouth of the *Somme*; where it was likewiſe detained ſo long, that the ſoldiers began to imagine, providence did not favour the enterprize, and that it would miſcarry like that of duke *Robert* II; who was hindered, by contrary winds, from making in *Canute's* time the deſcent he propoſed in *England*. At laſt, on the eve of St. *Michael*, the tutelar ſaint of *Normandie*, the wind proving favourable, the fleet ſet ſail: and *William* landed, without any oppoſition, the next day, at *Pevenſey* in *Suſſex*; having loſt in his paſſage only two ſmall veſſels that were overladen.

William invades *England*.

William lands in *England*.

The debarkation being made with as much order and precaution, as if the enemy had been in view, [3] *William* quitted his ſhip: and as he advanced to the ſhore, ſinking too deep in the mud, fell on his hands; which ſome of his ſoldiers

[1] *Chron. Norman.* [2] *Wace*, p. 477. *Gul. Pictav.* p. 197. [3] *Wace*, p. 481.

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taking for a bad omen, he cried out immediately, like *Cæsar* upon the same mischance at his landing in *Africa*, "'Tis thus I take possession of the country." To humour this notion, one of his followers, running to an house near the place, plucked off some of the thatch: and bringing it to him, delivered it into his hands, to give him, as he said, seisin of *England*. From thence he marched to *Hastings*; where he caused his ships to be drawn on shore, and put upon stocks, to deprive his men of all hopes of escaping by flight, or of saving themselves but by victory; and erected forts[1] for their security. He gave strict orders, that they should not burn the country, nor plunder the inhabitants; alledging that it was hurting themselves to destroy what would soon be their own: but the true reason probably was his apprehension of a want of provisions; those which had been put aboard the fleet, having been almost consumed during his lying windbound at *St. Valery*[2]. This too might occasion his staying in the neighbourhood of *Hastings* fifteen days; which he employed in gathering victuals, and discovering the country. During his stay there[3], *Robert*, a *Norman* baron, son of an *English* lady named *Guimara*, settled in those parts, sent him an account of *Harold's* victory over the king of *Norway*, and return from the north to *London*; advising the duke not to venture a battle with such a numerous army of brave men as the usurper was bringing against him, but to intrench himself as strongly as he could in his camp at *Hastings*. *William* was too judicious and intrepid to follow such timorous advice: and returned for answer, "that he was come into *England* to seek his enemy; that he had a just "confidence in the valour of his troops, and did not doubt of having his revenge "on *Harold*; even though he had but ten thousand, instead of sixty thousand "soldiers or more, that he had brought with him into the kingdom."

Harold on[3] his part was full as confident, and did not question driving the *Normans* into the sea: but was persuaded by the lords of his council, before he tried the fate of a battle, to send a message to the duke with the offer, if he would quit the land quietly, of a large sum of money, to defray the charges of his expedition. *William* received it with contempt: and replying, "that he was come "over, not for any of his coin, but to take possession of the kingdom, which the "other had in violation of his oath usurped; and that nothing less than the whole "of it would satisfy him;" *Harold* prepared to march against him; resolving to run the hazard of an engagement. *Gurth*, brother to the usurper, a nobleman of great wisdom and valour, dissuaded this step as too rash: and thought it more advisеable for *Harold* to waste the country, [4] and carry off all the provisions it afforded; whilst he, who had taken no oath to the duke, and had not merited the divine wrath by the sin of perjury, advanced against the *Normans* with an army, to keep them from roving about in quest of victuals; or to fight them, if a favourable occasion offered. All the *English* nobility approved of this advice; which *Harold*, fated to destruction, rejected with indignation: nor could he be prevailed with to wait the arrival of the forces, which were coming up from different counties to join him; but erecting his standard, marched hastily to a place, then called *Senlac*, where *Battle Abbey* was afterwards founded by the conqueror.

This unadvised conduct of his was in a great measure owing to the vanity, arrogance, and presumption of his own heart: he fancied himself, after his late success, to be invincible; and looking upon a victory as certain, seemed only apprehensive lest the *Normans* should rob him of the glory of it by a precipitate retreat. What flattered this notion in him, was some advices which he received from *Baldwin*, count of *Flanders*; whom he considered as his friend, and probably ascribed to his influence the resolution taken by the council of *France*, not to assist the

[1] *Gul. Pictav.* p. 199. [2] *Wace*, p. 482. [3] *Wace*, p. 487, 488, 489. [4] *Ib.* p. 490.

duke of *Normandie* in his enterprize. *Baldwin*, by the anſwer which he gave to the envoys of his ſon-in-law, who deſired his aſſiſtance, appears to have been ſelfiſh: and might perhaps have touched ſome of that money which, the *Norman* hiſtorians ſay, *Harold* diſtributed ſo plentifully in all the courts of princes in the neighbourhood of *Normandie*. Whatever was the ground of the uſurper's confidence in that prince, he ſeems to have depended upon him for intelligence: and though he had ſpies in *William's* country to diſcover what was there doing, yet thoſe venal intelligencers, either flattering him with ſuch accounts as they imagined would be agreeable, or not having the ſame credit with him as *Baldwin* had, he certainly adjuſted his meaſures according to the advices he received from the latter. He had fitted out a fleet of ſeven hundred ſail to encounter *William* at ſea, and had raiſed a great army to oppoſe his landing; he had kept the one hovering about the *Iſle of Wight*, and the other poſted on the neighbouring coaſt all the ſummer: but about *September* 8, had ſuffered both to quit their ſtations, and diſperſe for want of proviſions; upon receiving advice from *Baldwin* [1], that the duke, finding the ſeaſon for action too far advanced, had laid aſide his deſign of an invaſion for that year; advice, which the long delay of the *Norman* fleet's ſailing, and the near approach of winter, conſpired to render credible. *Harold*, ſurprized in his falſe ſecurity by the news of a landing, ſtill credited other intelligence, given him by the count of *Flanders*, and repreſenting *William's* forces to be much fewer in number than they really were: and this account was the eaſier ſwallowed, becauſe it ſtruck in with his wiſhes, and ſeemed countenanced by the *Normans* fortifying *Haſtings*, and ſtaying there ſo long without advancing further into the country; which otherwiſe ſeemed unaccountable.

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IV. Contemptible as the enemy appeared in *Harold's* imagination, he yet took his precautions when he came to *Battel*; [2] encamping on an hill, which he encloſed on all ſides with a large ditch, leaving only three paſſages to his camp open; and the *Engliſh* lying all night on their arms, for fear of being ſurprized by the *Normans*. In the morning, at break of day, *Harold* and *Gurth* mounting their horſes, went unattended to take a view of the enemies camp, and to obſerve their diſpoſition; advancing to a convenient eminence near enough to diſcover the good order that reigned among them, the glittering of their armour, and the great number of their cavalry. *Harold*, from this view, judged them to be much more numerous than he had been informed; and returning to his camp, propoſed a retreat to *London*, in order to increaſe his forces: but was told by *Gurth*, with ſome warmth, "that he ought not to have quitted that place, contrary to the advice of "his nobility [3], before all his troops were aſſembled; that it was too late to repent "his raſhneſs in advancing ſo far; his honour was now engaged, and he muſt "either conquer, or be ruined; that to retire a ſtep without fighting, would look "like cowardice, be interpreted as a flight, and attended with the loſs of his re"putation; that to attempt a *retreat*, in the ſight of an enemy, would endanger "his whole army, would animate the *Norman* troops, and ſo diſcourage his own, "that they would certainly deſert him, and he would never be able to get them to"gether again."

The battle of *Haſtings*.

Harold, piqued at reaſons which attacked equally his prudence and his courage, reſolved to ſtand his ground: but being deſirous to know the juſt number and condition of the enemy, ſent two ſpies into the *Norman* camp to get him intelligence. They were ſoon diſcovered, ſeized, and brought before *William*: who underſtanding their buſineſs, ordered them to be carried all over his camp, for making what ob-

[1] *Ib.* p. 531, 532. [2] *Wace*, p. 491. [3] *Ib.* p. 493—506.

ſervations

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ſervations they pleaſed; to be entertained plentifully; and diſmiſſed in ſafety. Upon their return to *Harold*, they ſpoke of the duke with great encomiums: but ſeemed to deſpiſe his ſoldiers, becauſe they looked like maſſe-prieſts; being all ſhaved, even on the upper lip; whereas the *Engliſh*, at that time, wore whiſkers. *William*[1], after this act of magnanimity, willing to prevent the effuſion of blood unneceſſarily, ſent *Hugh Margot*, a monk of *Feſcamp*, to offer the uſurper his choice of three parties, either to reſign the crown quietly, or refer their diſpute to the Pope's judgment, or elſe to fight a duel, and the kingdom to be the prize of the conqueror. *Harold* refuſing them all, *William*, at the inſtance of his barons, who were impatient till they came to an action, and were apprehenſive that the *Engliſh* would be reinforced daily, particularly by the *Londoners*[2], reſolved to try another experiment for an accommodation, by offering all the provinces of *England*, north of the *Humber*, to *Harold*, and earl *Godwin's* patrimony to *Gurth*; and in caſe of a refuſal, to denounce the firſt a perjured liar, to declare all that fought on his ſide excommunicated by the Pope, and to challenge them to a general engagement. He thought to do this, not by meſſage, but in a perſonal treaty: and mounting on horſeback, with twenty others, followed by an hundred more, and theſe at ſome diſtance, by a party of a thouſand cavaliers, advanced towards the *Engliſh* camp, and propoſed a parley. *Harold* was not fond of meeting the prince, to whom he had ſworn fealty, and who would probably upbraid him with his perjury: and ſent *Gurth* to receive the propoſals. Theſe were reported to *Harold* in a council of all the *Engliſh* nobility in his army; who were much ſtruck with the dread of an excommunication: and being deſirous to avoid incurring it by a battle, preſſed very earneſtly for an accommodation. But *Gurth* alarming them with the loſs of their lands and honours, which *William* had already granted away to his foreigners; and *Harold* promiſing them grants of larger eſtates to reward their valour; it was agreed to reject the propoſals, and to accept the battle for the day[3] following, *October* 14; which he imagined would prove fortunate to him, it being his birth-day.

All thoughts of peace being laid aſide, both armies prepared for a combat, which was to decide the fate of *England:* but paſſed the precedent night in a different manner[4]; the *Engliſh*, in jollity, drinking, and revelling, to warm their courage; the *Normans* in prayers, confeſſion, and other religious exerciſes, to obtain the divine bleſſing, on which they depended for victory. *Harold*, [5] far inferior to the enemy in the number of his forces, reſolved not to loſe his advantage in the ground: and drew up his men in a column on the decline of the hill, a ditch and line of hurdles before them; ordering them to keep cloſe together, and cautioning them above all things againſt breaking, which would be their ruin; the[6] *Normans* being ſo good cavaliers, that if they once pierced their ranks, they would make a terrible havock among them by their lances, againſt which a ſhort battle-axe would prove but a very ſorry defence. The *Kentiſh* men were placed in the van, a poſt of honour which they claimed as their right by ancient uſage: which aſſigned likewiſe that of guarding the king's perſon, and defending the royal ſtandard, to the *Londoners*. The *Normans* advanced againſt them in three bodies: the firſt compoſed of the troops of *Bretagne*, *Anjou*, *le Maine*, and *Perche*, led by *Alan Fergant*, the count of *Breteuil*, and *Roger de Montgomery*; the ſecond of *Poictovins* and *Germans*, under the command of *Charles Martel*, and a *German* prince; the third and ſtrongeſt, conſiſting of the braveſt troops of *Normandie*, headed by the duke himſelf; who took care to line the wings of theſe *corps* with archers.

[1] *Ib.* and *Du Moulin. Hiſt. de Normandie*, l. vii. c. 11. [2] *Chr. Wikes.* [3] *Gul. Pictav.* p. 201. *Wace*, p. 530. [4] *Ib.* [5] *Ib.* p. p. 524, 525. [6] *Ib.* p. 523.

The *Normans*, marching with the Pope's banner at their head, in good order and close array, to begin the attack on three sides at once; *Taillefer* [1], a gallant old soldier, advanced before the rest: and sung, according to custom, the famous song of *Roland* and the heroes that fell at *Roncevaux*, to rouse the valour of his countrymen. To animate them further by his own example, having the duke's leave to give the first stroke in the battle, he rushed on to begin the charge, running an ensign through with his lance, and killing another with his sword: but before he could dispatch a third, was slain himself. The *English*, well serred together, stood the shock with great firmness; being in every part impenetrable, and doing such execution upon the enemy with their javelins, that the *Bretons* in the left wing, giving way, were pushed into some covered ditches, which they had passed by unobserved: and the other corps being seized with a sudden pannick on a report or notion that the duke was slain, were on the point of flying; when *William*, hearing of the disorder, marched in haste from the right wing to their assistance; and shewing them their mistake, rallied his men, and led them on again to the combat. To wise men all events are lucky, whilst fools are often ruined by success; as appeared remarkably on this occasion, the disaster of the left wing proving the occasion of the *Normans* victory. The *English*, full of vanity and presumption, as well as valour, upon seeing the *Bretons* retire, quitted their advantage of ground, and pursued them eagerly into the plain: they had no horse, nor were their armes a proper defence against them; so that *William* bringing a body of *Norman* cavalry from his right wing, easily intercepted the retreat of two or three thousand of the most advanced, being *Kentish* and *Essex* men, and put them all to the sword. He then renewed the general attack against the *English* that had kept their posts on the hill; but was received with the same intrepidity as before: his troops were repulsed in all places; and in despair of prevailing by open force, he was obliged to have recourse to a stratagem, which the late disaster suggested. He caused his men to retreat on a sudden from all their attacks, and to feign a flight; which the *English* fondly imagining to be real, pursued them again into the plain, with as much fury and as little caution as before: till the *Normans* facing about, and their horse surrounding them, the rash pursuers were cut down in great numbers, the rest recovering the hill with difficulty; where they still maintained their ground, impenetrable by all the force of the enemy.

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The *Normans* finding all their attacks in vain, repeated their former stratagem; and what is really astonishing, did it with the same success. The *English*, never to be made wise by any experience, whenever their vanity and fighting humour are flattered, had already forgot what they had so lately suffered by quitting their posts, contrary to *Harold's* orders, and following the enemy into the plain: and falling again into the same snare, were trodden down by the *Norman* horse, and slaughtered in great numbers. Weakened much by these repeated losses, they still stood their ground on the hill unbroken for some time; till *William*, observing that the *English* covering their bodies with their shields, were thereby secured against the direct stroke of the *Norman* arrows, ordered his archers to shoot them in the air so that they might wound obliquely in their descent. This had all the effect he proposed: and whilst the foremost of the *English* were fighting hand to hand with the bravest of the *Normans*, those behind were galled, and their ranks continually thinning, by the shot which showered down upon them from a more distant enemy, against whom they had no defence. *Harold*, whose activity and bravery in this battle are much celebrated by all writers, was, toward the close of the day, killed by one of those falling arrows, which entering at the eye, pierced his brain: and

[1] *Ib.* 534.

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with him fell the hopes, if not the courage, of the *Engliſh*. His valiant brothers *Gurth* and *Leofwine* ſtill animated them to ſtand their ground, keeping about the royal ſtandard, till they fell under the deſperate efforts of twenty reſolute *Normans*; who ſwore to one another, either to take it, or die in the attempt. Moſt of them periſhed in it; but the reſt carried their point; *Harold's* ſtandard being pulled down [1], and the duke's erected in its ſtead: upon which the *Engliſh* retired from all parts of the hill, and were hotly purſued by the enemy, even after night commenced. The darkneſs, favourable to the retreat of the *Engliſh*, that knew the country, had like to have proved fatal to the *Normans*, who purſued them through deep and watery valleys full of ditches; into which they fell man and horſe in great numbers. This re-animating the courage of the vanquiſhed, they rallied, fell upon their purſuers, and made a terrible ſlaughter among them; *Engenouf*, baron *de l'Aigle*, falling among the reſt: and the action was ſo hot, that *Euſtace*, count of *Boulogne*, was for ſounding a retreat; when *William*, imagining that ſome new reinforcement had joined the *Engliſh*, came up in perſon to his ſuccour. *Euſtace* would fain have perſuaded him to retire, without expoſing himſelf to the hazards of a night engagement; and was whiſpering to him this advice, when he received a blow between the ſhoulders, which forced blood from his noſe and mouth: but the duke, reſolving not to leave his victory imperfect, ſtill preſſed on againſt the enemy, till he had driven them from all their ditches, and diſperſed them entirely.

Such was the iſſue of this famous battle; which decided the fate of *England*, and having laſted from nine in the morning till night, was won by *William* with great danger to himſelf (having had two horſes killed under him, and been forced to charge ſometimes on foot) and with the loſs of fifteen thouſand of the beſt troops of his army [2]. The number of the *Engliſh* ſlain in it is uncertain; and in all probability it did not much exceed that of the *Normans*, conſidering that their forces were much inferior to the others in number [3], and that they were favoured by the night in their retreat: but they had an irreparable loſs in the deſtruction of the flower of their nobility. *William*, returning about midnight to the field of battle, pitched his tent among the dead; where *Harold's* corpſe being brought, mangled in the thigh, after he was dead, by a ſoldier, he ordered the man to be degraded, ſtripped of his arms, and turned out of his army, for ſo mean and deteſtable an act of inhumanity. He ſhewed the like magnanimity in refuſing the great ſums of money that *Harold's* mother offered for the corpſe; which he had at firſt directed *W. Malet* to bury on the ſea-ſhore: but on this application, having ordered it to be given her freely, it was interred in the church of *Waltham-Croſs* with great ſolemnity. The publick and honourable manner of *Harold's* interment in that abbey, whereof he was the founder, did not hinder the common people of *England* from believing an idle report current among them, of his living many years after in a religious retreat near *Cheſter*; ſo apt are they to ſwallow the abſurdeſt ſtories that can be invented, if they flatter in any reſpect their wiſhes, paſſions, or prejudices.

His march to *London*.

V. William ſtaid a few days at *Haſtings* to refreſh his troops: and then leaving a garriſon in the place, marched to *Rumney*; which he ſacked, in revenge for the ill treatment that the crew of a ſhip, ſeparated from the reſt of his fleet, had received from the inhabitants. From thence he advanced to *Dover*: and received both the town and caſtle by compoſition. Whilſt the treaty was carrying on, the *Normans*

[1] This ſtandard had on it the picture of a man fighting, and being enriched with gold and precious ſtones to a very great value, was ſent by *William*, after his victory, as a preſent to the Pope.

[2] *Guil. Gemet.* l. vii. c. 36.

[3] *Chr. Wikes*, *Knighton*, col. 2341. *Chr. Sax. Flor. Wig. Hiſt. Elienſ.* l. ii. c. 44.

had,

had, by artificial fires or combuſtible matter fixed to their arrows, burnt ſeveral houſes in the former: but *William* made good the damages to the ſufferers, in order to poſſeſs the *Engliſh* with an opinion of his lenity, and to encourage them to expect, that they ſhould be treated as ſubjects, rather than as a conquered people. He was obliged to make there a ſtay of eight days[1], by reaſon of a diſentery which raged violently in his army: and when he advanced thence towards *London*, receiving the ſubmiſſion of the *Kentiſhmen*, and hoſtages for aſſurance of their fidelity; he was ſtopped ſome time on the road, by being ſeized himſelf with the ſame diſtemper[2]. In the mean time *Edwin*, *Morcar*, and a good number of the *Engliſh* nobility, who had either not been preſent at the late battle, or had eſcaped from it, aſſembling at *London*, conſulted together about the meaſures proper to be taken for ſettling the government of the nation, and making head againſt the *Normans*. The *Londoners* inſiſted ſtrongly, that *Edgar Atheling* ſhould be placed upon the throne: his right to it was indiſputable, and the weight of that city was very great, on account of the wealth, military proweſs, and number of its inhabitants; *Fitz Stephens* obſerving, that not long after, in the time of king *Stephen*, it was able to muſter ſixty thouſand foot, and twenty thouſand horſe, well armed and accoutered. Archbiſhop *Stigand* ſeems to be the onely prelate that joined heartily in this motion; moſt of the reſt being either ſecret favourers of the duke of *Normandie*, or intimidated by the Pope's declaration in his behalf: but it being ſupported by the general ſenſe of the nobility, *Edgar* was accordingly proclaimed king, and orders given for levying a new army.

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These meaſures ſeem to have been agreeable to the whole nation; every body at leaſt ſubmitted to *Edgar*: and *Leofric* (nephew to *Leofric* the great earl of *Mercia*) abbot of *Peterborough*, dying on *November* 13, *Brand* was elected in his ſtead by the monks, and ſent to that prince for his royal aſſent, which he readily granted. But his exerciſe of the government was very ſhort: and all hopes of raiſing an army ſufficient to oppoſe that of the *Normans*, and to prevent the deſtruction of the country, vaniſhed upon *Edwin* and *Morcar's* diſcontent at their miſſing the crown to which they aſpired, and retiring from *London* with the *Mercian* and *Northumbrian* forces. This defection diſcouraging the leſſer nobility, and none of ſuperior rank or more eminent power offering to put himſelf at their head (for which *Edgar*, a raw youth[4], of a ſhallow capacity, and no experience, was utterly unqualified) they deſpairing of ſucceſs, began likewiſe to diſperſe: and all the preparations made came to nothing, upon *William's* advancing into *Surrey*, and burning all the country-houſes in the neighbourhood of the city, on that ſide of the river. The *Londoners* indeed ventured to attack a party of five hundred *Norman* horſe[5]: but being routed with a conſiderable loſs, were ſo diſheartened thereby, that upon *William's* paſſing the *Thames* at *Wallingford*, and arrival at *Berghamſtead*, in his march towards *London*, they either ſeeing no likelihood of making head againſt him, or wrought upon by the influence of their biſhop *William*, who was by birth a *Norman*, or elſe flattered with the hopes of experiencing the ſame good government, which *William* was famed for exerciſing over his ſubjects in *Normandie*, were as ready, as any of the leſs conſiderable nobility that ſtaid with them, to make their ſubmiſſion. All now joined with the prelates in courting the duke of *Normandie* to accept the crown: but though they delivered hoſtages for aſſurance of their fidelity, he did not care to truſt himſelf in the city; till he had built a fortreſs in it to awe the inhabitants, and ſecured it by a ſtrong garriſon of his *Normans*. Whilſt this was erecting, he paſſed his time at *Berking* in *Eſſex*[6]: and cauſed preparations

[1] *Guil. Pictav.* [2] *Flor. Wig.* [3] *Chr. Sax. an.* 1066. [4] *Ordericus Vitalis*, p. 778, ſays, he was of the ſame age with *Robert Curthoſe*, who could not be above fourteen, at the time of the conqueſt. [5] *Gul. Pictav.* p. 205, 206. [6] *Ib.* p. 208.

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to be made for his coronation; the ceremony whereof was performed on *Chriſtmas-day*, with all the ſplendour and magnificence proper for ſuch a royal ſolemnity.

William crowned at *Weſtminſter.*

VI. It had been an invariable cuſtom among the *Engliſh*, from the time that the unction of kings was introduced, for the archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to officiate and put the crown on the king's head, at that ſolemnity and on all publick occaſions: and this cuſtom rendering it the undoubted right of the metropolitan to do ſo, *William* applied to *Stigand* for that purpoſe; but was refuſed. The reaſons alledged by this prelate, for declining the office [1], were, "that *William* had made his "way to the throne by blood, and by the invaſion of another's right:" but theſe objections had little weight with *Aldred*, archbiſhop of *York*; who being of a time-ſerving diſpoſition, thought it more prudent to comply with the *Conqueror's* requeſt, and to perform the office. There are no particular circumſtances mentioned by our old hiſtorians in their accounts of the coronation, ſufficient to enable a judgment to be formed, whether the office uſed on that occaſion was taken from the *Engliſh*, or the *Norman* pontifical. The ceremony moſt taken notice of by them is "the oath by which *William* bound himſelf to maintain the church of God, "and all *Chriſtian* people, in true peace; to prohibite all orders of men from com-"mitting injuſtice and oppreſſion, and to enjoin the obſervance of equity and mercy "in all judgments." Such was the purport of the three articles of the oath which the *Conqueror* took at his coronation: it was the ſame which he had taken at his inauguration as duke of *Normandie* [2], and which the kings of *France* did of old, and continue at this day to take: but as it runs in the ſame individual words with the promiſe made by the kings of *England* before the conqueſt, there is no reaſon hence to imagine that the old office [3], uſed at king *Ethelred's* coronation (which, wrote in an hand of the time, is ſtill preſerved in the *Cotton* library) was not likewiſe made uſe of at *William's*. It is certain that all the ſucceſſors of this laſt named prince were crowned according to the *Saxon* form; the ſame in ſubſtance with that uſed at this day in ſuch ſolemnities; which laſt was originally ſettled in the time of *Richard* II, and is now to be ſeen in the *Liber Regalis*, preſerved in *Weſtminſter Abbey*. The judicial law of the *Jews* ſerving for a principal direction to the *Saxons* in modelling their own; and the uſages of the former people recommending themſelves to the imitation of the latter, the *Engliſh Saxon* princes took no oaths [4] any more than the *Jewiſh*; ſo that before the conqueſt, all our kings (except *Canute*, a foreigner and invader, and as ſuch obliged in policy to give the nation the moſt ſolemn aſſurances of his good government, in order to remove the jealouſies entertained of him) only promiſed upon their word, to keep the three articles, which the *Norman* princes afterwards ſwore to obſerve. Nor was there the leaſt variation in the terms, wherein theſe articles were couched, till after the times of *Bracton* [5] and *Fleta* [6]; and till a new article was added at *Edward* the firſt's coronation; as another ſeems to have been at thoſe of *Richard* II and *Henry* IV [7], and perhaps on ſome other occaſions, when it became expedient to quiet the minds of the people on any particular ſubject.

Diſcourſe of coronation oaths.

VII. This variation in the forms of the *Engliſh* coronation oaths, and the late introduction of them into practice, afford ſufficient reaſons to preſume, they had nothing in them of the nature of an original contract: but were deſigned rather as memorandums to put princes to mind their duty, and a politick expedient, as well

[1] *Gul. Neubrig.* l. i. c. 1. *Chron. Wikes. Chron. Walteri Hemingford, Brompton*, col. 962.
[2] *Offic. ad ducem conſtit. in Du Cheſne's Hiſt. Norman.* p. 1050. *Godefroy's Ceremonial de France*, 4to. p. 629.
[3] *Bibl. Cotton. Claudius* A. iii. n. 3.
[4] *Leges Withredi.*
[5] L. iii. c. 9. f. 10.
[6] P. 18.
[7] See *Rot. Parl.* 1 *Hen.* iv.

to poſſeſs their ſubjects with an expectation of a juſt, mild, and happy government according to the tenor of the oath, as to engage them the more readily to obey a monarch, to whoſe elevation they had expreſsly declared their conſent. This will appear ſtill more clearly, by a ſhort hiſtorical account of the original and practice of ſuch profeſſions, promiſes, and oaths, made or taken at the inauguration or coronation of *Chriſtian* princes. When the ſtate of *Rome* was changed from a republick to a monarchy, and it was deemed good policy to continue the phantom of a ſenate, and the ancient forms of proceedings, in order to gull the people with ſome exterior appearance of their former liberty, it might naturally be expected, that the new lords of the world ſhould have given the ſubjects of their wide-extended empire ſome ſolemn aſſurance of their ruling them with juſtice and lenity: but we find nothing of this nature done by any of the *Roman* emperors, till after the diviſion of the empire, and the death of the eaſtern emperor *Zeno*. This happening in *A. D.* 491, [1] his relict, the empreſs *Ariadne*, was deſirous to raiſe *Anaſtaſius* to the throne, as well as to her bed: but found an obſtacle to the execution of her deſign, in the ſuſpicions entertained of this prince, as if he was infected with the hereſy of the *Manichees*. To remove the difficulty, *Anaſtaſius* was obliged to deliver a confeſſion of his faith in writing, to be kept, as *Cedrenus* ſays, in the patriarch's hands: and this appearing to be truly *Chriſtian* and orthodox in all reſpects, he was thereupon declared emperor. This however was no rule to his ſucceſſors; who not lying under the like ſuſpicions, had no occaſion to clear their orthodoxy by the like profeſſions: nor was any promiſe exacted from them in relation to their civil government for above an hundred years after, till a form of divine ſervice coming to be uſed at the ſolemnity of a coronation, the biſhops who compoſed it upon the model of eccleſiaſtical ordinals, to which they conformed as nearly as the nature of diſtinct offices would admit, thought fit to require from emperors, at their inauguration, certain profeſſions and aſſurances, analogous to thoſe which were made by biſhops and prieſts at their ordination.

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When *Phocas* uſurped the empire, the patriarch *Cyriacus* exacted from him a promiſe [2], "that he would adhere to the true faith, and preſerve the church free "from all troubles:" and *Leo Iſaurus* aſſuming the purple, was obliged, by the patriarch *Nicephorus* [3], to give a ſolemn aſſurance, "that he would not differ from "the holy fathers; that he would never attempt any thing to the prejudice of the "church, nor introduce any innovations." The difference, which appears in the terms of theſe promiſes, aroſe from that of the ſuſpicions entertained of thoſe emperors; the former being ſuſpected with regard to the faith in general, and the latter, though orthodox in that reſpect, being known to have an utter averſion to the worſhip of images, and in conſequence thereof to the uſe of them in churches. Orthodox emperors took occaſion hence to declare voluntarily the purity of their faith, and to ſign a profeſſion of it in writing, but without obſerving an invariable form: and about four ſucceſſions after *Leo*, about the middle of the ninth century, *Michael Rangabes* (as *Zonaras* ſays) promiſed the patriarch not only to abſtain from all innovations in the church, but alſo to exerciſe no cruelty in the empire. *Nicetas* and *Nicephorus Gregoras* obſerve expreſsly of *Alexius* and *Andronicus*, that the promiſes, which they made at their acceſſion to the empire, related as well to their civil government as to religion: and the form thereof was ſettled before the time of *Codinus* [4], who recites it at length, and ſpeaks of it as the conſtant uſage. It contained a confeſſion of the emperor's faith; a declaration that he received the ſeven general councils; and an engagement to abſtain from the blood of

[1] *Evagr. Hiſt. Eccl.* l. iii. [2] *Theophanes* in *Chronogr.* [3] *Cedrenus not. in Codin*, c. 17.
[4] *De Offic. Conſtantinop.* c. 17.

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Chriſtians; and to maintain truth, juſtice, and equity in his government: it was written with his own hand, as well as ſigned by him; and it was delivered to the patriarch in the church of *St. Sophia* at his coronation; but without any oath being taken on the occaſion.

The *Goths* in *Spain*, who were the firſt that copied the Conſtantinopolitan practice in the anointing of their princes, were as early in following the example ſet them, with regard to the aſſurances, fit to be given at their inauguration, as well of their reſolution to maintain the catholic faith, and to protect the clergy, as to govern the people in general with juſtice and equity. To render their obligation the more ſolemn, *Wambia*, *Ecgica*, and other *Gothick* kings, took an oath to make good theſe promiſes, as we learn from the ſixth [1] and fifteenth [2] councils of *Toledo*. Their monarchy was ſoon after deſtroyed by the *Moors*: and ſome ages paſſed, before any ſuch oath was taken by princes in any other part of *Europe*. *Valeſius* ſeems [3] to think, it may be preſumed from the relation of *Anaſtaſius* the *Librarian*, that Pope *Sergius* exacted ſome promiſe from *Louis the Younger*, ſon of the emperor *Lothaire*, before the ſilver gates of *St. Peter's* church were opened to him: but *John* X was the firſt, that obliged an emperor to take an oath at his coronation; *Berenger*, about *A. D.* 916, being forced to comply with the demand, in order to engage the *Pope's* favour during his diſpute for the empire. It doth not appear that any oath was taken by the kings of *France* at their coronation, till *Louis le Jeune* was crowned on *October* 25, 1131, by Pope *Innocent* II, who probably introduced the practice: and it hath ſince been conſtantly obſerved by all the ſucceſſors of that prince; who enjoined it in the [4] form, which he appointed, of the ceremonies and order to be uſed in future coronations. It conſiſted at firſt of the ſame three articles, that appear in the promiſe of our *Saxon* kings; with the addition of a fourth, which ſeems to have been dictated by the Pope; who probably might find his account in engaging the king to ſwear, "to drive all hereticks, "declared ſo by the church, out of his dominions." Others were added occaſionally at particular times by biſhops; who performed the ceremony, and arrogated extravagant powers to themſelves on that account: but theſe periſhing with the occaſion that ſuggeſted them, none of thoſe innovations are now retained; except the article obliging the king to a ſtrict execution of the laws againſt duels.

In *England*, the promiſe, expreſſed in the three articles abovementioned ſeems to have been introduced by king *Alfred*, at the ſame time with the rite of unction and the form of divine ſervice, uſed afterwards at the coronations of our *Engliſh-Saxon* princes. This form was probably drawn up by *Alfred* himſelf, with the aſſiſtance of ſome of thoſe learned men, whom he conſulted on all occaſions: it is different from thoſe of the *Ordo Romanus* and *Pontificale Romanum*; and is to be ſeen in a manuſcript of his age containing the occaſional divine offices of the church of *England*, and given to the chapter of *Rouen* by *Robert*, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, before the conqueſt. The promiſe likewiſe, made by him on the day of his coronation at *Wincheſter*, is preſerved in the regiſter of *Athelney* [5]: and runs in the ſame terms, with that made by *Ethelred* at his inauguration, and that to which *William the Conqueror* added the ſolemnity of an oath. This laſt named prince having, by his great victory near *Haſtings*, broken the power of his adverſaries, reduced ſeveral provinces of *England* in his march to *London*, and received the ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants of that city, and of the *Engliſh* nobility, one after another, all of them in their turn acknowledging his claim of the crown, as heir to *Edward the Confeſſor*: there is not the leaſt room, either from the hiſtorical paſſages preceding his coronation, or from

[1] *Can.* iii. [2] *Can.* v. [3] *In Poem. De laud. Berengarii in Hiſt. Ital.* t. ii. p. 410.
[4] *Du Tillet Recueil des Rois de France*, p. 189. [5] *Penes Car. Wyndham Baronet.* n. 43.

his conduct afterwards, to imagine that he made any contract with the nation, or that he did not receive the crown upon the ſame footing with his predeceſſors; and the oath itſelf is conceived in too general terms to be the effect of a particular ſtipulation. It was certainly a ſingularity: and our hiſtorians [1] repreſent it as a great merit in *Aldred* who crowned him, that he exacted from him an oath, obliging himſelf to perform what former kings had only promiſed upon their word; as if the oath of a conqueror and uſurper would really be of ſome uſe to reſtrain his paſſion for abſolute power. The prelate's view in thus exerting a power, which conſecrators in ſuch ſolemnities uſually claimed, and ſometimes abuſed, was not perhaps ſo much to give ſatisfaction to the nation, as to make an apology for his own conduct in putting the crown upon *William*'s head, after *Stigand* had refuſed. This at leaſt is evidently the deſign of the ſtory, related by *Malmeſbury* and other monkiſh writers, of his ſending agents to court with remonſtrances againſt the grievances which the people ſuffered under the conqueror's government; and in defect of redreſs, juſtifying the imprecations, which reſentment drew from him on that occaſion, by alledging that he might reaſonably beſtow his curſe upon ſuch as had miſbehaved themſelves under his bleſſing. Whatever was *Aldred's* motive for impoſing an oath, it was not proper for *William*, in the circumſtances of his affairs, and thoſe of the nation, to refuſe it: and he probably complied the more readily, becauſe it was agreeable to the cuſtom of *Normandie*, and he had taken it in the very ſame terms at his inauguration to the duchy. It was probably this circumſtance, which recommended it to the practice of his ſucceſſors, who have ever ſince retained it in the ceremonial of their coronation: ſo that being hallowed by uſage, though the preſent terms of the oath are of a much later original, the practice of taking one in ſuch ſolemnities ſubſiſts now upon the foot of other *Norman* cuſtoms, introduced at the conqueſt, though varied ſince in ſome particulars.

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IT ſeems in a manner needleſs to obſerve, that according to the *Saxon* form of coronation, *Te Deum* was ſung, as ſoon as the king, coming into church, had proſtrated himſelf before the altar: and this was immediately followed by the recognition of the biſhops and the acclamations of the people; which always preceded the king's promiſe of a good government, and continued to do ſo in the forms uſed after the conqueſt. It was above two hundred years after that event, before any alteration was made in the terms of the oath; and before any of the interrogatories now put to the king by the prelate officiating at his coronation, in imitation of the like queſtions put to prieſts and biſhops at their ordination, were taken from the *Roman* pontificals, and inſerted in the *Engliſh* coronation ſervice. Theſe alterations were probably made by the officiating biſhops [2] on favourable occaſions, to give countenance to the pretenſions of *Popes*, and the extravagant notions of popiſh prelates; who, becauſe kings received the regal diadem from their hands, aſcribed ſuch effects to the action of coronation, as were inconſiſtent with policy, reaſon, and religion, and prevailed ſometimes upon weak princes to commence the æras of their reigns, from the day of their coronation, rather than from the demiſe of their predeceſſor. This was perhaps done without any warrant from

[1] *Guil. Neubrig*, *Alured*, *Beverley*, l. ix. *Stubbs Acta Pontif. Ebor.* col. 1702. *Simon Dun.* col. 195.

[2] So *Bodin de Rep.* p. 105, 106, complains of the biſhops of *Reims* forming oaths for the kings of *France* at their inauguration, to countenance the like pretenſions, the vanity of which he ſhews, ſince ante unctionem ſuam rex imperii poſſeſſione ac proprietate potiatur, non quidem *hereditario* aut *paterno* jure, multo minus etiam *pontificum* aut *parium* beneficio, ſed *lege regia*: id quod jampridem ſenatus conſulto *Francorum an.* 1468, decretum eſt, ne quis regiam poteſtatem ab arbitrio principum pendere exiſtimaret, non quia ſenatus de regis poteſtate ante initiationum dubitaret, ſed ut inanes illæ *pontificum* argutiæ a ſtirpe convellarentur. Id enim ab avorum extrema memoria contrito proverbio didicimus: *nunquam reges apud nos interire*, ut omnes intelligerent, mortuo principe ad *proximum agnatum* eodem momento *imperii jus* ac poteſtatem transferri, ne eſſet incerta regni ſucceſſio, qua peſte nulla perniciоſior in republica exiſtere poteſt.

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the crown, or if the royal prerogative intervened, it was only by ſuch a reference to the archbiſhop and prelates appointed to examine and ſettle the form of the coronation ſervice, as is now practiſed with regard to the forms of prayer uſed on faſt and thankſgiving days; it being very certain that neither the original ſervice itſelf, nor any of the alterations in it, ever received the ſanction of parliamentary authority. Theſe things ſufficiently ſhew the vanity of ſuch *papiſtical* and *republican* notions, derogatory to the rights of monarchy, as are founded either on the neceſſity of the rite of coronation, or on the terms of the oath then taken. They are likewiſe plainly inconſiſtent with the fundamental and univerſally received maxims of the law of *England*; for by the deſcent of the crown, the royalty is actually conferred, and conſequently an obligation on the king's part of protection and good government, and on the people's of ſubjection and obedience according to law. The voluntary obligation ſuperadded by the king, when he binds himſelf by oath to perform what he was bound to before, and the voluntary ſubmiſſion and recognition made by the people, contribute nothing either to the right or power of the prince, or to the duty of the ſubject: but are only an open expreſſion or ſolemn declaration of what they were obliged to, antecedent to thoſe ceremonies; which were not intended to create, but purely to put the people in mind of, their duties. Even the rite of coronation is not abſolutely required: it doth not inveſt a king with any new additional authority, or with any branch of government he had not before, or put him on any new terms or footing in regard to his ſubjects: a king in his cradle one year old, when incapable of attending the coronation ceremony, hath been always deemed as eſſentially a king, as another of one hundred, who had paſſed through that ſolemnity. It always was, and ſtill is, as much high treaſon to conſpire againſt a king, before his coronation, as after it; his right to govern, and to the obedience of the ſubject, not depending on any engagements entered into at that ſolemnity; and that pompous ceremony making no addition to his real character. But of all the maxims of the *Engliſh* law, there is none to which thoſe antimonarchical principles, grounded on miſtaken notions of the coronation oath, are more directly contradictory, than to that which hath been received in all ages of this monarchy, and in other countries as well as our own, whereby it is declared, *that among us, the king never dies*; every body underſtanding by it, that whatever be the moment of any particular prince's deceaſe, all the right of command and government is veſted the ſame inſtant in the next heir by *lineal* ſucceſſion, and proximity of blood. This is a maxim to which the wiſeſt ſtates in *Europe* aſcribe their peace and welfare; it being neceſſary to prevent that uncertainty of ſucceſſion, which is the greateſt plague and calamity to which a ſtate can be ſubject: it is what all our law books aſſert to be a fundamental maxim of our conſtitution, and what our parliaments have acknowledged as ſuch; particularly in the caſe of king *James* I, the firſt prince of the line of *Stuart*, in the act of recognition of whoſe right[1] they declare themſelves "bound by the laws both of "God and man to acknowledge that immediately upon the deceaſe of queen "*Elizabeth*, the imperial crown of the realm of *England*, and all the kingdoms, do"minions, and rights belonging to the ſame, did by *inherent birth-right*, and lawful "and undoubted ſucceſſion, deſcend and come to his ſaid moſt excellent majeſty, "as being *lineally*, juſtly, and lawfully *next* and *ſole* heir of the blood royal of this "realm; and oblige themſelves, their heirs and poſterities for ever to maintain the "ſame right of deſcent and ſucceſſion, till the laſt drop of blood be ſpent."

The recognition of *William the Conqueror*, whoſe coronation oath gave occaſion to the above diſcourſe on that ſubject, had like to have proved fatal to the inha-

[1] *Stat.* 1 *Jac.* c. 1.

bitants

bitants of *Weſtminſter:* and the accidental conſequences thereof are ſaid to have given the *Engliſh* the firſt diſtaſte which they entertained againſt the *Norman* government. *William*, to guard againſt the numerous militia, and the turbulent ſpirit of the *Londoners*, had taken care to erect ſeveral ſmall fortreſſes within the city, and to put garriſons in them, ready to ſuppreſs any ſedition that might ariſe: and to prevent any diſturbance during the ſolemnity of his coronation, he had ſurrounded the abbey with a body of his forces. Theſe precautions did not make the *Normans* think themſelves abſolutely ſecure: and when thoſe without the church heard the acclamations of the people within, [1] being ſtruck with the confuſed noiſe of *French* and *Engliſh* voices, they preſently imagined that a quarrel had happened, and ſome miſchief was intended by the latter. Not allowing themſelves time to examine into the matter, they immediately ſet the next houſes on fire; which ſpreading and giving a general alarm, every body ran out of the church; the *Engliſh* to ſtop the fire, the *Normans* to plunder: the biſhops, clergy, and monks being only left within, and in ſo much confuſion, that they were ſcarce able to go through the office of crowning the king; who ſeeing the tumult, and not knowing the truth of the matter, was himſelf trembling at the foot of the altar. This paſſed for an unlucky omen at the beginning of a reign: and though no great miſchief was done by the fire, it laid the foundation of thoſe ſuſpicions which the *Engliſh* entertained of the *Normans*; whom they hated ever after, and wiſhed earneſtly for an opportunity of having their revenge.

William's meaſures for the ſecuring of his government.

VIII. As ſoon as the coronation was over, *William* retired to *Berking*; where he ſtaid till the tower of *London* was built, and the other fortreſſes he was erecting about the city, were perfected. During his reſidence in that place, the two great earls of *Mercia* and *Northumberland*, *Edwin* and *Morcar*, earl *Coxo*, *Edric Guilda*, or *Silvaticus*, great nephew to *Edric Streona*, and lord of *Wigmore*, with abundance of other conſiderable noblemen [2], repaired to him with tenders of their ſubmiſſion; and on ſwearing fealty, were confirmed in the poſſeſſion of their eſtates. He was now maſter of *Harold's* treaſury: and beſides the immenſe treaſure which was found in it, had great preſents made him by the cities, towns, and wealthy perſons of the realm; who [3] choſe to employ the vaſt riches (which a flouriſhing trade brought daily into the nation; and which they had been uſed to ſpend in luxury) rather in making court to their new lord, than in providing for the defence of their liberties. Thus was the *Conqueror* enabled to provide for the maintenance of the army, which had put him on the throne of *England*, and was neceſſary to keep the kingdom in ſubjection; to reward his followers bountifully; to diſtribute large charities among poor monaſteries, and to ſend coſtly ornaments, veſſels, and other preſents to a thouſand churches in *France*, *Aquitaine*, and *Burgundy*, which had ſaid maſſes for the ſucceſs of his expedition.

Normandie was all this while left deſtitute of troops for its defence: and *William* found himſelf obliged to haſten over thither in perſon, to prevent any attempt, which *France* or ſome other neighbouring power might, by that circumſtance, be tempted to make upon the province. It was neceſſary, before he quitted *England*, to make a proper proviſion for the ſecurity of his new conqueſt: and leſt the forces he left behind ſhould, in the unſettled ſtate of the realm, be inſufficient for that purpoſe, to take ſome meaſures for making the nobility eaſy, and keeping the body of the people quiet. A vaſt number of the nobility and gentry in the ſouth, the weſt, and the middle of the kingdom, had fallen in the battle of *Haſtings:* and their eſtates, being confiſcated, were divided among his followers;

[1] *Ord. Vital.* l. iii. p. 503. [2] *Ib.* p. 506. *Gul. Pictav.* p. 208. [3] *Ib.* p. 206.

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whoſe ſervices in the expedition had merited the rewards he promiſed, when they embarked in his quarrel. Such of the *Engliſh* gentry as ſurvived the loſs of the day, underwent the ſame fate; all their lands being given away, and the confiſcation executed in all parts with great ſeverity: but to prevent any ill effects from the reſentment of theſe, whoſe power and influence ſunk with the loſs of their poſſeſſions, he took care to remove the apprehenſions, which the reſt of nobility might naturally entertain, upon ſuch a revolution, with regard to their own; by declaring that he claimed the crown, and would govern as a legal king, and whilſt he puniſhed ſuch as had oppoſed his right, in favour of an uſurper, would maintain all others in the enjoyment of their lands and properties. This declaration was followed by a ſuitable conduct[1]: none were diſturbed in their poſſeſſions, but thoſe who had appeared againſt him in the field; which allaying the fears of the far more numerous part of the nobility, who had remained quiet during the war, kept them from joining in the deſperate meaſures, ready to be taken by ſuch as had forfeited their eſtates. To confirm them the more in their obedience, and to give them a taſte of what they might expect from his favour and bounty, he made very beneficial grants to many of the *Engliſh*; conferring more upon them than they derived either from their natural princes or parents, beſtowing even eſtates in *Normandie* upon ſome of them, though lying at a diſtance from one another, for fear of their confederating on any occaſion, to raiſe an inſurrection: and he carried this affectation of confidence and affection ſo far, that he not only confirmed *Edgar Atheling* (the perſon in the nation of whom he had the moſt reaſon to be jealous, as being the true heir to the crown) in the earldom of *Oxford*, but gave him likewiſe other lands, pretending a wonderful reſpect and kindneſs for him, as the nephew of his great benefactor *Edward the Confeſſor*. To this ſtroke of policy may be added another, which he began to take at this time, and continued to obſerve afterwards[2]; making it his buſineſs to marry ſeveral of the *Engliſh*, that he took over with him into *Normandie*, to the faireſt ladies of that country, and the richeſt heireſſes of the nobility in *England* to his *Norman* warriors; a ſtep which looked like a deſign of uniting the two nations, and of treating both on an equal foot, without any invidious diſtinction in favour of either.

To quiet the minds of the common people, who make the bulk and ſtrength of a kingdom, and without whoſe concurrence, not to be expected in the caſe of a general oppreſſion and diſcontent, it is ſcarce poſſible to raiſe a formidable inſurrection againſt any government, however weak in its title, or precarious in its ſituation, he took other meaſures, which ſucceeded to his wiſhes. The change made in the ſucceſſion of the crown, produced no alteration in their condition; they continued to enjoy their properties, the benefit of their ancient laws, the ordinary courſe of juſtice, their uſual courts for the equal adminiſtration thereof, and their admirable inſtitution of frank-pledges for their common peace and ſecurity. They were aſſured of being protected in all theſe by their new monarch; and had nothing more to hope for in another change; which could not be attempted without terrible dangers and miſchiefs to themſelves, and throwing the nation again into confuſion; and which, after all, there was very little likelihood of effecting. To give them entire ſatisfaction as to their own rights, and an earneſt of the meaſures he propoſed to purſue, *William* granted the city of *London* a[3] new charter, confirming the cuſtoms, immunities, and privileges which the citizens had enjoyed in the days of *Edward the Confeſſor*. He made a progreſs into the provinces of the *Mercians* and *Weſt-Saxons*, to ſtrike, by his majeſtick preſence, thoſe who already admired, or were enamoured of him by his fame, to raiſe the great opinion generally

[1] *Gul. Pictav.* p. 208. [2] *Matth. Paris. in Vit. Friderici abb. S. Alban.* p. 47. [3] *Stow. F.* 5.

entertained,

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entertained of him, to confirm the peoples expectations, and eſtabliſh his own reputation, by the care he took to ſuppreſs the robbers, who finding ſhelter in the woods, which in thoſe days took up a conſiderable part of moſt counties in the kingdom, infeſted from thence all the neighbourhood, and by the many wholeſome [1] regulations, which ſerving as ſo many proofs of his excellent talents for government, he made in all places through which he went, to ſave the inhabitants from rapine and violence, and to ſecure the peace of the country.

WHILST he thus courted the good-will of the nobility and people, he did not forget (well knowing the changeable temper and credulity of the *Engliſh*, and the prejudices they eaſily contract againſt a foreigner) to provide againſt the worſt; and to prevent any ill effects of their lightneſs and diſaffection. With this view, he cauſed ſtrong caſtles to be erected at *Norwich*, *Wincheſter*, *Hereford*, and in other convenient places, filling them with garriſons of his *Norman* ſoldiers; who, by means of thoſe fortreſſes, were as well ſecured themſelves againſt all ſurprizes and ſudden attempts of the natives, as ready to ſuppreſs any inſurrection or commotion that might happen. The great want of ſuch caſtles in *England*, and the uſe thereof in ſaving the people from the grievance of quartering foreign ſoldiers, rendered that ſtep leſs ſubject to jealouſy, than another precaution which *William* took at the ſame time, and which might very reaſonably alarm the nation with an apprehenſion of his deſign to enſlave it; ſince a diſarmed people ought always to conſider themſelves as ſlaves already, being no longer in a condition to defend their liberties, if they chance to be invaded. By the *Saxon* laws every landholder in the kingdom was obliged to have by him armour and weapons according to his rank and fortune, and to produce them every year at a general review, made on *Feb.* 3. in all parts of the realm, to ſhew that they were in good order and fit for ſervice. Whether this was any expence to the ſubject, or being an obligation, was conſidered as a burden, the *Conqueror*, who really hated and could not truſt the *Engliſh*, took care to eaſe them in that reſpect: and either with a deſign to enſlave them, or to diſable them from raiſing any diſturbance in his new acquired dominions, diſarmed the citizens of *London* and the people in ſome parts of the country; leaving them at the mercy of the ſtanding army of foreigners, which he thought fit to entruſt with the guard of the kingdom. The command of this army and the government of the realm, he committed, during his abſence, to his half-brother, *Odo* [2] biſhop of *Bayeux*, whom he had made earl of *Kent*, a prelate equally qualified for the management of civil, military, and eccleſiaſtical affairs, and to *William Fitz Oſbern*, a wiſe, brave, and experienced general, in whom he placed an entire confidence, and whom he had lately made earl of *Hereford*.

HAVING thus provided for his affairs in *England*, *William* embarked at *Pevenſey*: and paſſed over into *Normandie*; carrying with him not only the hoſtages which had been delivered to him upon the ſubmiſſion of *London* and the different parts of the kingdom, but abundance likewiſe of the principal nobility; whom he either ſuſpected as likely by their inclinations, or dreaded as able by their power, to raiſe an inſurrection in his abſence. The [3] chief of theſe were *Stigand* archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; *Edwin* and *Morcar*, earls of *Mercia* and *Northumberland*; the abbot of *Glaſtenbury*; *Agelnoth*, and *Waltheof* ſon of *Siward*, powerful noblemen, the one in *Kent*, the other in the north of *England*; and another more conſiderable than all theſe, *Edgar Athèling*; whom it was not ſafe or prudent to leave behind in a kingdom, to which he had an undoubted title. His pretence for taking theſe great men along with him, was to do them honour, as his inti-

[1] *Gul. Pictav.* p. 208. *Order. Vital.* l. iv. p. 506. [2] *Gul. Pictav.* p. 208. [3] *Ib.* 209. *Chron. Sax. Flor. Wig. Order. Vital.* p. 506.

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mate friends, and that they might be an ornament to his court: and he treated them indeed with all the exterior marks of reſpect; particularly *Stigand*[1], whom he ſtill accoſted with the ſtile of *Father*, roſe from his ſeat in all aſſemblies to ſalute, cauſed to be received on all proper occaſions with ſolemn proceſſions, and ſpared for no ceremonies or honours that could be claimed, as due either to the dignity of his perſon, or to the ſacredneſs of his character. This train of *Engliſh* noblemen contributed much to the ſplendor of *William's* court; who keeping his *Eaſter* in the abbey of *Feſcamp*[2], and being there viſited by count *Rodulf*, father-in-law to the king of *France*, and great numbers of *French* nobility, theſe ſtrangers could not help envying the comelineſs of the *Engliſh*, not inferior to the grace and beauty of women, nor ſufficiently admire the richneſs of their habits, and the curiouſneſs of their workmanſhip, far exceeding all they had ever ſeen before. The king and his guards, all embroidered with gold, made a fine appearance; the magnificence of his entertainments was extraordinary: and the number, ſize, and gracefulneſs of the gold and ſilver veſſels, uſed or exhibited to ſhew on ſuch occaſions, aſtoniſhed the ſpectators: ſo that they reported of them things which appeared incredible.

Diſturbances in *England*.

IX. All the meaſures taken by *William* to keep matters quiet in *England*, during his abſence, did not prevent commotions breaking out in various parts of the kingdom; which *William* of *Poictiers*[3], willing to clear *Odo* and *Fitz Oſbern* from any miſconduct in their adminiſtration, imputes to the mutinous ſpirit of the *Engliſh*; but may, according to *Ordericus Vitalis*[4], be more juſtly charged upon the haughty and rapacious temper of the *Normans*. This laſt writer repreſents the governors of caſtles and leſſer fortreſſes, as inſulting the *Engliſh* gentry; loading the people with great exactions; and treating both with various kinds of injuries and contumelies, too harſh for a free nation to digeſt; and blames the two guardians of the realm for defending their followers in their plunder of houſes, rapes of women, and other enormities, which no complaints of the *Engliſh* could prevail upon them to redreſs. Such grievances, hard to be born under any government, could not well fail of raiſing diſturbances in a new one, as yet unſettled; and that this was really the caſe, may reaſonably be preſumed from the two moſt conſiderable commotions taken notice of by hiſtorians, happening under the eye, as it were, of the chief governors.

The firſt of theſe broke out in *Kent*, a country under the immediate government of *Odo*, and the place of his uſual [5] reſidence: and was ſupported by *Euſtace* count of *Bologne*, to whom the inhabitants, notwithſtanding their animoſity againſt him ever ſince the quarrel which happened about fifteen years before at *Dover*, had applied for ſuccours. A deſign was formed for ſeizing the caſtle of this place, in the abſence of *Hugh de Montfort* the governor; who was gone with *Odo*, and the greateſt part of the ſoldiers left to guard the country, on an expedition north of the *Thames*; which afforded a favourable opportunity for the enterprize. *Euſtace* was now at enmity with *William*, and croſſing the ſea by night with a body of troops, joined the *Kentiſhmen*, and thought to ſurprize the caſtle: but found the garriſon not only prepared to receive him, but more numerous than he expected. He gave an aſſault to the place, but was repulſed by the *Normans*; whoſe reſolution riſing with their ſucceſs, they made a ſally, put the aſſailants to flight, and drove abundance of them down the cliffs headlong into the ſea; the count himſelf eſcaping to his ſhips with a few of his followers. *Euſtace's* nephew was taken in

[1] *Malmeſb. De geſt. pontif.* l. i. [2] *Gul. Pictav.* p. 211. [3] P. 212. [4] P. 507.
[5] *Gul. Pict.* p. 212.

the action, and adjudged, by the ſentence of both *Norman* and *Engliſh* nobility, to loſe all the lands which the king had given him in *England*: But his perſon was ſpared, and he was reſtored at laſt to the good graces of the *Conqueror*. WILLIAM I. A. D. 1067.

THE ſcene of the other diſturbance lay in the ſhires of *Salop* and *Hereford*. *Edric* [1], ſurnamed *Silvaticus*, or the foreſter, ſon of *Alfric*, brother to the infamous *Edric Streona*, who ruined the affairs of *Ethelred* and *Edmond Ironſide*, was lord of a conſiderable part of the former of thoſe counties. He had come to *London* ſoon after *William's* coronation, with *Edwin* [2] and other noblemen, to make his ſubmiſſion to the *Conqueror*, and had been well received: yet his lands were continually waſted by the incurſions of *Richard Fitz Scrop*, and the *Norman* caſtellans in *Herefordſhire*, the particular government of *William Fitz Oſbern*. *Edric* was a brave, vigilant, active, and enterprizing warriour, and never let thoſe invaders of his territories march off with their booty unencountered; ſo that they loſt abundance of men in theſe irruptions: but not bearing to be teazed continually with their inſults, he reſolved to attack them in his turn, and make the like havock on their lands in *Herefordſhire*. For this purpoſe, being joined by a body of *Welſh*, which *Blethyn* and *Rywallon*, the princes of *North-wales* and *Powys*, ſent to his aſſiſtance, he waſted, about the middle of *Auguſt*, all that county as far as the bridge upon *Lagge*: and returned home with a great booty in triumph. Though theſe are the onely diſturbances particularly related by our old writers, there certainly happened in other parts many more, which *Odo* and the earl of *Hereford* were obliged to join their forces to ſuppreſs: and the nation was ſo incenſed at the rapine of the *Normans*, and in ſo general a diſpoſition to riſe, that earl *Coxo*, who having ſubmitted to *William*, adhered firmly to his intereſts, was ſlain by his own vaſſals, becauſe he would not head them in an inſurrection.

THESE diſturbances, and the diſorders which reigned in all parts, where the woods, affording refuge to bands of forfeited and diſcontented perſons, enabled them to ſally thence, from time to time, to ſurprize or attack the *Normans*, abundance of which were thus cut off, brought *William* back at the latter end of the year to *England*. When he came over before, he had left the government of *Normandie* in the hands of *Roger de Montgomery*: but bringing this nobleman with him to reward his ſervices, at firſt with the earldom of *Arundel* or *Suſſex*, and afterwards with that of *Shrewſbury*, he now committed the government of the duchy to queen *Matilda* and his eldeſt ſon *Robert*. He landed at *Winchelſea* [3] on *Dec.* 6. and by his ſudden arrival defeated the meaſures agreed on by the *Engliſh* for ſhaking off the *Norman* yoke; the diſcovery of whoſe deſign ſeems to have been the reaſon which haſtened his coming over. The conſpiracy indeed was too general, and there were too many hands required for its execution, to allow it to be kept a ſecret, among a people naturally confident of ſucceſs, and apt to depend on the ſchemes which they form for futurity, with as much certainty, as if they had already taken effect. The deſign was to fall at the ſame hour upon the *Norman* forces, diſperſed in different quarters of the kingdom for its defence: and having deſtroyed theſe, they imagined it eaſy for them to oppoſe and drive out the king, if he offered to return from *Normandie*. *Aſh-Wedneſday*, when the *Normans* uſed, according to the *Chriſtian* cuſtom, and penitential diſcipline of thoſe days, to go to church barefoot, unarmed, and in the guiſe of penitents, to confeſs their ſins, was the day; and the time of divine ſervice, the hour fixed for the execution of the propoſed maſſacre. A. D. 1068.

[1] *Flor. Wig.* [2] *Order. Vital.* p. 506. [3] *Gul. Gemet.* l. vi. c. 29.

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William's return, ſooner than was expected, broke all the meaſures of the conſpirators: and the chief of them, dreading his vengeance, retired into the northern parts of the kingdom; into *Cumberland* and other counties, not as yet viſited by the *Norman* ſoldiery, full of woods and moraſſes; and taking poſſeſſion of *Durham*, fortified it ſtrongly, making it their head quarters. Whether this conſpiracy was the occaſion of the hatred which the *Conqueror* bore all his life to the *Engliſh*, it is certain that he never truſted them afterwards: and reſolved, as well to govern them with an high hand, as to give away all their lands, as opportunities offered, to his *Normans*.

It was neceſſary to conceal a deſign, which would otherwiſe have met with great difficulties in its execution, and could not have failed to produce a general inſurrection of the *Engliſh*: but he perſiſted in it conſtantly, and purſued it with great art; gaining his point by degrees, and carrying it on in the midſt of the moſt engaging careſſes, and the faireſt profeſſions of kindneſs, affection, and friendſhip; the mean cover for ill deſigns, however neceſſary for their taking effect. *William* at his coming over, compleated the diſtribution of the lands, forfeited by the partiſans of *Harold* in the battle of *Haſtings*, among the foreign adventurers, that ſhared with him in the dangers and glory of the day: but to give no umbrage to the *Engliſh* on that occaſion, he [1] reſtored to every one the lands he had been diſpoſſeſſed of in the late diſturbances. He kept his *Chriſtmas* at *London*; where he was received with great pomp, and all the exterior marks of reſpect: and the *Engliſh* prelates and nobility being aſſembled on that [2] occaſion, he treated them with the greateſt affability and kindneſs, readily granting all that they aſked, and graciouſly hearing all that they propoſed. The *Welſh* alſo attending him at that feſtival, he careſſed them in the ſame manner: but to create a diſtruſt between them and the *Engliſh*, he cautioned the latter to be on their guard againſt the others treacheries. It was in all appearance at this time, that he laid, what *Florence* and other writers call, an inſupportable tax upon the people: which ſeems to have been no other than *Danegeld*; a tax to which the nation had been formerly uſed: but it having been remitted by *Edward the Confeſſor*, the revival thereof after ſeveral years intermiſſion, gave no little diſcontent, and proved the occaſion of a new inſurrection.

Inſurrections in the weſt and north.

X. Every thing bowed before the power of the *Conqueror* in the provinces, which he had viſited in his progreſs, and filled with his garriſons: but the remoteſt parts of the weſt, and all the northern counties had not yet felt the terror of his arms, nor been awed with his preſence. This was the caſe of *Devon* and *Cornwall*, where the people broke out into a commotion: and *Exeter* [3], a wealthy city, the capital of the former of thoſe counties, refuſed either to ſwear fealty to the king, or to receive a *Norman* garriſon; though they were willing to ſubmit to the tax impoſed. *William*, refuſing to make any terms with ſubjects, marched in the midſt of winter to beſiege the place: and being advanced within four miles of it, was met by the chief of the city with offers of ſubmiſſion; profeſſing their readineſs to do whatever he commanded, and giving hoſtages for the performance of their promiſes. The populace would not ſtand to the agreement: but breaking out into a tumult, ſhut the gates againſt the king; who incenſed at their proceedings, put out the eyes of one of the hoſtages in the ſight of the defendants, and drawing his army about the place, began to undermine the walls. The inſolence of the common people ſoon gave way to the fears, which the danger they were in ſuggeſted; they were humbled enough to allow the principal citizens, whoſe agreement they had before rejected, to intercede with the *Conqueror*

[1] *Chr. Sax. Anno*, 1067. [2] *Order. Vital.* p. 509. [3] *Ib.* 510.

for mercy: and the place was ſurrendered at diſcretion. *William*, like a great and wiſe king, forgetting his reſentment againſt the rebels, that now lay proſtrate at his feet, ſuing for mercy, ſeized the opportunity of poſſeſſing his ſubjects with a notion of his clemency: he put none of them to death; and placing guards at the gates, ſaved the townſmen from being plundered by his ſoldiers. The forgiving of what had paſſed was not a more natural effect of his magnanimity, than it was of his wiſdom to provide againſt any future inſurrection; which he did by erecting a caſtle in the city to bridle it; ſtrengthening it with a numerous gariſon, and entruſting the command, with the government of the county, to *Baldwin de Molis*, ſon of count *Giſlebert*. From thence he advanced into *Cornwall*; and the fame of his clemency flying before him, he eaſily quieted the commotion there: and marching back with his army, diſmiſſed it to their uſual quarters; going himſelf to *Wincheſter*, where he kept his *Eaſter*. Thither queen *Maude* came to him from *Normandie* ſoon after the holy-days, and was crowned on *Whitſunday* by archbiſhop *Aldred*: nor did the year expire before ſhe was delivered of a ſon; who being named *Henry*, filled afterwards the throne of *England*.

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THE inſurrection [1] which now broke out in the *North*, was much more formidable than that of the *Weſt*; being headed by the moſt conſiderable perſons in the kingdom, and the likelieſt to make it general over all *England*; if it had not been the effect of their private diſcontents. The great earls, *Edwin* and *Morcar*, ſaw plainly the jealouſy which the king had of them: and reſented their being carried over into *Normandie*, to be ſhewn as it were in triumph to foreigners. *William* had promiſed the former to give him one of his daughters in marriage; an alliance which would probably have as much attached the young nobleman to the intereſt of his father in law, as his ſiſter's match had engaged him in thoſe of *Harold*: but was diſſuaded from it by the advice of the *Normans*; and when *Edwin* put him in mind of his promiſe, he gave him an abſolute refuſal. This breach of the royal word; the diſappointment of an alliance on which they had built all their hopes of ſecurity, and of gaining the king's favour and friendſhip; the deſpair of ever ſurmounting his ſuſpicions of them, or of getting into his good graces, ſeem to have been the motives that hurried them into an inſurrection, and put them upon ſending to *Swein*, king of *Denmark*, for aſſiſtance. They were both young; handſome in their perſons; noble by their deſcent; allied to the princes of *Wales*; powerful in their own country, as well by the intereſt of their relations, as by the largeneſs of their own eſtates or territories; very devout and charitable, which engaged for them the daily prayers of the monks and poor; exceeding popular all over the nation; and followed by great numbers of the *Welſh* and *Engliſh*. They ſollicited all parts of *England* to take up arms, and put themſelves at the head of an inſurrection in *Yorkſhire*; where their nephew *Blethyn*, prince of *North-Wales*, joined them with his forces. *William*, who ſeems hitherto to have kept meaſures with theſe noblemen, and to have affected the ſhew of a confidence in them, ſo far as to place no *Norman* garriſons within their governments, was now obliged to march againſt them with his army. To ſecure the country as he advanced, he built ſtrong caſtles at *Warwick* and *Nottingham*: and ſupplied them with good garriſons, under the command of *Henry de Newburg* (ſon of *Roger de Beaumont*, count of *Meulant*) whom he afterwards made earl of *Warwick*, and *William de Peverell*. *Edwin* and *Morcar* not receiving that benefit which they expected from the inſurrections, which they had encouraged by their emiſſaries in various parts of the kingdom, and which being made in ſmall parties [2], ſerved rather to make the country a terrible ſcene of rapine, burnings, ſlaughter,

[1] *Ib.* p. 511. [2] *Ib.* 512.

and

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and deſolation, than to bring them any recruits of forces: and being likewiſe diſappointed of the *Daniſh* and *Scottiſh* ſuccours, with the hopes of which they had flattered themſelves; thought it their beſt way, upon the king's [1] approach, to make up matters with him; and offering to ſubmit, obtained their pardon. This ſubmiſſion broke the force, and decided the fate of the inſurrection; putting in a manner an end to all oppoſition, whilſt every body concerned in it ſtrove who ſhould firſt follow the example. *William* advancing to *York*, the citizens opened their gates to him: and whilſt he ſtaid there to build a caſtle to curb the city, *Archillus*, the moſt potent of the *Northumbrian* nobility, made his accommodation with him, and gave his ſon an hoſtage for his future fidelity. *Egelwin*, biſhop of *Durham*, ſued for grace for himſelf, and thoſe of his city: and having obtained it, was employed, as a mediator, to make up matters with the king of *Scotland*; who, at the requeſt of the *Engliſh* earls, had levied an army for their aſſiſtance, though not ſoon enough to join them, before they were obliged, in a country where there were no towns of defence, either to fight *William*, to diſperſe their forces, or make their accommodation. *Malcolm* was on the march, when the overtures of peace met him, and ſtopped his farther advance; he readily accepting them, and ſending embaſſadors to take the oath of fealty, which he owed to the crown of *England*.

William having quieted the north [2], erected in his return thence the ſtrong caſtles of *Lincoln*, *Huntingdon*, and *Cambridge*, for the ſecurity of the neighbouring countries; which now began to be infeſted by the incurſions of the famous *Hereward le Wake*, ſon of *Leofric*, lord of *Brunne* in *Norfolk*: who returned this year from foreign parts, and finding his patrimonial eſtate ſeized by the *Normans*, ſlew the invaders of it, and waſted in revenge all the parts adjacent, with a band of reſolute warriors, which he raiſed among his tenants and relations. Theſe commotions in *England*, and the march of the *Norman* army into the north, encouraged *Godwin* [3], *Edmond*, and *Magnus*, ſons of the late uſurper *Harold*, to come out of *Ireland*, and land in *Somerſetſhire*; where *Eadnoth*, formerly maſter of the horſe to their father, oppoſing them with a body of *Engliſh*, was ſlain in battle, and his forces routed. This victory left the country expoſed to their depredations: but not being joined by any of the natives, they only ravaged it with the adjoining provinces of *Devon* and *Cornwall*, and returned with a great booty to *Ireland*. Theſe diſturbances affected ſome, that do not appear to have been concerned in them; for the jealouſies [4] of princes in unquiet times, generally extending to all perſons, who can be ſuppoſed to have the ſame views and intereſts with ſuch as have embarked openly in a cauſe; *Goſpatric* and *Merleſwain*, two potent noblemen of the north, out of an apprehenſion either for themſelves, or for *Edgar Atheling*, that they might be clapped up in priſon, as others were, carried him with his mother *Agatha*, and his ſiſters *Margaret* and *Chriſtina*, by ſea to *Scotland*, where they were well received by *Malcolm*, and paſſed all the winter.

The *Northumbrians*, a people ever reſtleſs and ripe for inſurrections, did not long remain quiet, after the ſubmiſſion or flight of their nobility, and the retreat of the *Norman* army. *William* having appointed [5] *Robert de Cumin*, earl or governor of the county of *Durham*, ſent him, with about ſeven hundred ſoldiers, to take poſſeſſion of his government, and maintain the peace of the country. When he drew near the city, biſhop *Agelwin* met him, and adviſed him to be upon his guard againſt any ſudden attempt of the people; to whom his coming was by no means grateful. *Robert*, full of pride, confidence, and preſumption, ſlighted this advice, and imagining that the people would bear any thing, without daring to attack him, ſuffered his

[1] *Ib.* p. 511. [2] *Chron. Johannis Abbat Petriburg.* [3] *Flor. Wig.* [4] *Flor. Wig. Hoveden.* [5] *Ord. Vital.* p. 512. *M. Paris. Alured Beverl.*

men, when he entered *Durham*, to ſtroll about and commit what hoſtilities they pleaſed; ſo that not only many of the citizens were ſlain, as well as plundered, but ſeveral alſo of the country people. This beginning of ill treatment gave a general alarm [1] to the *Northumbrians:* and aſſembling in great numbers, they broke into the city in the dawn of the morning, fell upon the *Normans* with great fury, putting all they met to the ſword; attacked the biſhop's palace where *Robert* was lodged, and not being able to force it, through the vigorous defence made by him and his followers, ſet it on fire, burning all that were within; ſo that all parts of the town were filled with blood, and of ſeven hundred men, that the governor brought with him, ſcarce above one eſcaped. This ſlaughter of the *Normans*, which was committed on *January* 28, animating the people of *York* to the like attempts, they fell upon *Robert Fitz Richard*, governor of the caſtle, and ſlew him with a good number of his followers. The caſtle however ſtill held out, and was well defended by *William Malet* againſt the forces which ſome noblemen of the county, elated by theſe ſucceſſes, had raiſed to attack it; though not being able to hold out long, he ſent to court for immediate relief. The king, upon this advice, marched with great expedition to *York*; routed the beſiegers with great ſlaughter, giving no quarter in his fury: and having ſtaid a week there to erect another fortreſs, and ſtrengthened it with a proper garriſon, returned to keep his *Eaſter* at *Wincheſter*. On his departure the *Engliſh* attacked both the caſtles: but were repulſed.

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In the midſt of theſe tumults, which were ſo general that ſcarce any part of *England* [2] was free from continual rapines, ſlaughters, and deſolations, or afforded a ſafe abode to the *Normans*, *William* took care to ſend his wife *Maude* back into *Normandie*. Thither alſo repaired ſeveral of the *Norman* warriors; whoſe wives, not daring to come over whilſt the nation was in ſuch a ferment, preſſed their return in the ſtrongeſt manner. The king, to keep them here, offered them lands, and promiſed them more, when he had got the better, and cleared the realm of his adverſaries: but nothing could engage *Hugh de Grentemeſnil* and *Humfrey de Tilleul*, governors of *Wincheſter* and *Haſtings*, with many others, to ſtay; a ſtep which being taken in a juncture when he ſtood moſt in need of their ſervice, was ſo reſented by their prince, that he confiſcated their eſtates, nor could their heirs prevail with him to be reſtored to the honours they quitted.

The good reception which *Edgar Atheling* found in *Scotland*, and the marriage of his ſiſter *Margaret* with king *Malcolm*, drew thither abundance of the *Engliſh* nobility, who had either been turned out of their eſtates, or were diſcontented with the *Norman* government: and gave great encouragement to their friends in *England*. Others had retired to *Denmark*, and ſollicited *Swein*, king of that country, to ſend a body of *Danes* to ſecond the efforts, which the *Engliſh* were reſolved by a general concert to make for throwing off the heavy yoke of the *Normans*. The like application was made to *Ireland:* and had the attempts from theſe ſeveral quarters been made at the ſame time, they might poſſibly have proved ſucceſsful; but ſucceeding, as they did, one another, they were all in their turns defeated. The firſt was made by the ſons of *Harold*; who coming again with a fleet [3] from *Ireland*, landed, about the middle of *June*, at the mouth of the *Tawe*, in the north of *Devonſhire:* but being worſted in ſeveral actions by *Brian*, ſon of *Eudo*, count of *Bretagne*, with the loſs of one thouſand and ſeven hundred of their men, and ſome *Iriſh* chieftains; they were glad to make their retreat by night, and return home with the remains of their forces. Not long after, the *Daniſh* fleet of two hundred and forty ſail, ſent by *Swein*, under the command of his brother earl *Oſbern*, to aſſiſt the *Engliſh*, and having his two ſons *Harold* and *Canute* on board,

[1] *Sim. Dun. Hoveden.* [2] *Ord. Vital. ib.* [3] *Flor. Wig. Ord. Vital.* p. 513. *Gul. Gemet.* l. vi. c. 40.

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appeared off the eaſtern coaſt of *England:* and landing a body of men at *Dover* and *Sandwich*, met with a repulſe in both places. The *Danes* next made a deſcent at *Ipſwich* in *Suffolf*, and ravaged the country; but being worſted in ſome engagements in that county, and near *Norwich*, were forced to re-imbark: and met with the ſame fate in *Lincolnſhire*, where they afterwards landed. But coming[1] at the latter end of *Auguſt* to the mouth of the *Humber*, they were there joined by *Edgar Atheling*, *Waltheof*, *Goſpatric*, *Merleſwain*, *Adelin*, *Siward Bearn*, and other noblemen, with a fleet, and a body of land forces from *Scotland:* and paſſing up the river, were ſtill further reinforced by the troops, which *Gaius*, *Marius*, *Archill*, and others, had raiſed in *Yorkſhire* and *Northumberland*. With this united force they advanced to form the ſiege of *York:* the news of which, with a diſmal apprehenſion of the ruin of his country, put, on *September* 11, an end to the life of archbiſhop *Aldred:* and coming before the town eight days after, they became maſters thereof, and of the two fortreſſes the ſame day, by means of an unexpected accident. The *Norman* garriſons, conſidering the city as not tenable by reaſon of the diſaffection of the inhabitants, applied themſelves onely to the defence of the caſtles: and as theſe might be incommoded by ſome houſes that lay near them, and would probably be made uſe of by the *Danes* to fill up the ditches, they ſet them on fire, not intending any further miſchief; but the flames ſpreading, the whole city was burnt, with the cathedral and monaſtery of St. *Peter*.

This diſaſter ſurprizing them, occaſioned an horrible confuſion, and the *Danes* breaking in, whilſt the flames were ſtill raging, attacked the caſtles, in conjunction with the citizens, made deſperate by the loſs of all their ſubſtance, with ſo much fury, that they carried them both; and put three thouſand *Normans* to the ſword; *Malet* the governor, with his wife and two children, *Gilbert de Gand*, and a very few others of the beſt rank, being all that were ſpared. With theſe priſoners, a great treaſure, and a vaſt booty of all kinds, the *Danes* retired to their ſhips in the *Humber*.

The king, upon advice of this diſaſter, put himſelf immediately at the head of his army: and[2] marched with great expedition into the north; giving, by his march into ſo remote a quarter of the realm, a favourable opportunity to the diſcontented in other parts to execute their deſigns of an inſurrection. They accordingly ſeized it: and, animated by *William's* abſence, the *Engliſh* in *Somerſet* and *Devonſhire* roſe in arms, and beſieged *Montacute*; but were defeated by the chief juſticiary *Geffrey*, biſhop of *Coutances*, who attacked them at the head of the *London*, *Hants*, and *Wiltſhire* forces. *Edric* the forreſter, a gallant warrior, very powerful by his vaſſals and intereſt in the county of *Salop* and the marches of *Wales*, being aſſiſted by a body of *Welſh* and *Cheſhiremen*, inveſted *Shrewſbury:* but finding the place too ſtrong by its ſituation and fortifications to be eaſily taken, drew off his forces, and quitted the enterprize. *William Fitz Oſbern* and earl *Brient* advanced to the relief of the town: but finding the ſiege raiſed, and the enemy retired, did not amuſe themſelves in ſeeking him out; their aſſiſtance appearing much more neceſſary in another quarter. The defeat of the *Dorſet* and *Somerſet* inſurgents had not diſcouraged their neighbours of *Devon* and *Cornwall* from riſing and inveſting *Exeter:* it was the danger of this city, the moſt conſiderable of any in the weſt, which made the two *Norman* generals ſo haſtily quit *Salop*, and advance to its ſuccour. But before they came up to the place, they found the ſiege likewiſe raiſed by the bravery and fidelity of the citizens; who not content with defending their walls, had, in a vigorous ſally, ſlain ſo many of the beſiegers, that they were forced to retire, and ſoon after diſperſed; ſuch were the good effects of that generous

[1] *Flor. Wig. Chron. Sax. Chr. J. Abb. Petrib. Annal. Waverl.* [2] *Ord. Vital.* p. 514.

clemency, which *William* had ſhewn the inhabitants of this city, after their late inſurrection. It was about this time, that *Turold* a foreigner [1], whom, on *Brando's* deceaſe, the king had made abbot of *Peterborough*, was taken, and all his ſoldiers cut in pieces by *Hereward:* but this chieftain, notwithſtanding his wonderful ſtrength of body, his undaunted courage, perfect intrepidity, enterprizing genius, and great reputation, never could get a body of forces together, ſufficient to make the face of an army, or capable of overturning a government; ſo that all he could do, was to harraſs the *Normans* in the country of the *Eaſt-Angles*, and in the ſhires bordering on the *Fenns*, and the *Iſle of Ely*; which ſerving him for a fortreſs, he made his head quarters. There were many of theſe petty inſurrections, which cauſed a great deal of blood to be ſhed in all parts: but they contributed little to decide the fate of the nation. The caſe would probably have been very different, had *Edwin* and *Morcar* taken the field, and put themſelves at the head of the malecontents: but they, either ſelfiſh enough to be ſenſible only of their private wrongs and particular grievances, without any regard to thoſe of the nation, or ſtill perſiſting in their averſion or envy to *Edgar Atheling*, whoſe perſon was ſo agreeable to the people of *England*, and whoſe right to the crown, ſupported by an alliance with *Scotland*, the aſſiſtance of *Denmark*, and the efforts of moſt of the northern nobility, ſeemed likely to take place, and put him in poſſeſſion of the throne; or elſe perhaps out of a dread of *William's* power and good fortune, and to recommend themſelves to his favour and confidence, by their conduct in a juncture that put every one's fidelity to a trial, kept themſelves quiet all the time of this inſurrection.

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WILLIAM, in his march to the north, had an opportunity [2] of routing one of thoſe ſmaller bodies of malecontents at *Stafford:* and the counts of *Mortain* and *Eu*, whom he employed to take care of *Lindſey*, cut off a party of *Danes*; who had landed in that country, and roved about for plunder in great ſecurity, thinking it deſtitute of all defence. The king, in the mean time, continued his march towards *York*, with great eagerneſs, to prevent the *Danes* keeping their *Chriſtmas* in that city: but was ſtopped three weeks at *Pontefract* by the depth of the water, which waſheth the place, and appeared unpaſſable, till *Liſois*, one of his officers, diſcovering a ford, the army at laſt got over the river. Upon his approach to *York*, the *Danes* quitted it; and retired to their fleet in the *Humber*; leaving the defence of the place to *Waltheof* and the *Northumbrians*. This retreat of theirs is, by *Florence* of *Worceſter*, aſcribed [3] to the influence of *Engliſh* money, and the corruption of the *Daniſh* general, count *Oſbern*, whom *William* bribed to that ſtep by the preſent of a large ſum, and the offers of leave for him to plunder the ſea coaſt for victuals to ſubſiſt his forces, and of quartering them where he ſaw convenient; provided he would return home without a battle, or further hoſtilities, when winter was over. This account is fully confirmed by the circumſtances which followed *Oſbern's* retreat; for having quartered his troops between the *Ouſe* [4] and the *Trent*, and remained there all the winter unmoleſted, he returned the year following, about *Midſummer*, to *Denmark*; where he ſoon felt his brother's indignation; *Swein* diſgracing and baniſhing him for his corruption, and deſerting the *Northumbrians*.

IT was now an eaſy matter for *William* to reduce them thus deſerted; they being in no condition to make head in the field againſt a royal army of veteran ſoldiers: all they could do, was to make a ſtand at *York*, and defend the place, which they did with great reſolution and bravery. The king tried at firſt to take it by force,

[1] *Gunton's Hiſt. of Peterbur.* p. 17. *Chron. Johannis Abb. S. Pet. de Burgo.* [2] *Ord. Vital. ib.*
[3] *Sim. Dunel. De geſt. reg. an.* 1069. [4] *Chr. Sax. an.* 1069. *Sim. Dun. an.* 1070.

and

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and made ſeveral fruitleſs aſſaults; in one of which it is obſerved of *Waltheof*, that he planted himſelf in the breach, which did not allow ſeveral to enter at a time, and as the *Normans* attempted to mount it, he cleft abundance of them down, one by one, with his battle-ax; ſhewing himſelf the true heir of his father *Siward's* ſtrength and courage. The ſiege was turned [1] into a blockade: and *York*, impregnable by force, yielded at laſt to famine; the defendants, in want of proviſions, being obliged to ſurrender the town and caſtles to the *Conqueror*; who in admiration of *Waltheof's* valour, and to gain him [2] over to his intereſts, not only confirmed him in his former poſſeſſions, particularly the earldom of *Northampton* and *Huntingdon*, but gave him likewiſe other lands, with his niece *Judith* in marriage. *William*, having repaired the fortifications of the caſtles of *York*, erected ſome fortreſſes on the *Humber*, and placed good governors with garriſons in them all, advanced into the country between [3] the *Teeſe* and *Tyne:* which he found a mere deſert; the inhabitants being fled away through the woods, or lurking in the mountains. The biſhop and his clergy had carried away St. *Cuthbert's* ſhrine from *Durham*; and when the king came thither, he found none but poor, infirm, and ſick people in the place: being pleaſed however with its ſituation, he built a ſtrong caſtle there for defence of the country; and *Goſpatric* coming thither to make his ſubmiſſion, he thought it politic to gain over ſo a great a man to his party, and accordingly received him into favour. He [4] marched from thence to *Hexham*, through terrible roads and over hills covered with ſnow; abundance of horſes dying of the fatigue; his troops ſuffering great hardſhips in the march; and he himſelf being, through the miſtakes of the guides, who knew not where they were, loſt in the night, with ſix perſons only in company. It was perhaps this taſte or experience of the nature of the country, which induced him to grant, for a ſum of money [5], the earldom of *Northumberland*, then a ſcene of great diſorders, to *Goſpatric*; whoſe mother *Algitha* was daughter to earl *Uchtred* formerly mentioned, and who not long after his return ſouthward, in the beginning of the year following, did him good ſervice in that command. For *Malcolm* having raiſed an army of his ſubjects, too late to ſuccour his allies in *England*, and fallen upon the biſhoprick of *Durham* [6], making horrible ravages in *Teyſdale*, *Cleveland*, and the parts adjacent; *Goſpatric*, to make a diverſion, entered *Cumberland* (through which the other had paſſed in this expedition, and which was part of his territories) and having made great depredations there, retired with his booty to *Bamburg:* where he fortified himſelf, and by frequent ſallies from time to time, weakened the enemies forces to ſuch a degree, that *Malcolm* was forced to retire home in a rage; which put him upon treating the *Engliſh* cruelly, and carrying vaſt numbers away captive. It was during this expedition of *Malcolm*, that *Edgar Atheling*, *Marleſwein*, *Siward Barn*, and other nobles, who had hitherto ſtaid with the *Daniſh* forces, ſeeing their inactivity, and being convinced of *Oſbern's* agreement with *William*, thought fit to quit them: and getting aboard their ſhips returned to *Scotland* [7], after touching in their way at the port of *Wiremouth*.

William reſolving to paſs his *Chriſtmas* at *York*, ſent for his crown and other *Regalia* [8] from *Wincheſter*, that he might keep the feſtival, and hold his court, with the uſual pomp and ſolemnity. During his ſtay there he made ſeveral wiſe regulations for ſecuring the peace of thoſe parts; confiſcated the eſtates of the nobility and gentry, who had been in arms, and had not made their ſubmiſſion; and ſent detachments of his army every way to waſte the country and deſtroy all proviſions north of the *Humber*, that no foreign enemy or body of forces whatever, which could

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[1] *W. Malmſb.* l. iii. [2] *Ingulf. anno* 1056. *Chron. Walter. de Hemingford*, c. 4. *Brompton.* [3] *Sim. Dun.* [4] *Ord. Vital.* p. 515. p. 966. [7] *H. Hunt. Hoveden. Sim. Dun.* &c. [5] *Sim. Dun. anno* 1072. [6] *Sim. Dun.* [8] *Ord. Vital.* p. 514, 515.

be got together, might be able to find ſubſiſtence. His orders were executed with the utmoſt vigour; ſtrange cruelties committed upon the innocent as well as guilty; houſes burnt, and even the tools of huſbandry deſtroyed: as if the land was never to be tilled again, and the people were to be forced into foreign parts to ſeek for a livelihood. Such havock was made in this devaſtation, that between *York* and *Durham*[1], there was not a village inhabited: the ground for above ſixty miles in length remained untilled for nine years; the country was a perfect deſert, and ſerved only for the dens of beaſts, and receptacles of robbers. The more ſouthern parts of *Yorkſhire* ſuffered in the ſame manner; and in the *Eaſt Riding* both man and beaſt were deſtroyed, except ſuch as took ſanctuary in the church of St. *John* of *Beverley*; the privileges whereof were confirmed by the *Conqueror*; who, out of reverence to the ſaint, made preſents and grants of land to the church, and without violating any of its rites, withdrew his forces. All ſorts of wholeſome or uſual food being deſtroyed, there enſued ſuch an horrible famine in thoſe parts, that, *Ordericus* ſays, an hundred thouſand perſons of all ages and both ſexes periſhed in it: it was a ſhocking ſpectacle to ſee multitudes lye upon the ground unburied for want of hands; and for near two years, the few ſurvivers were forced to eat horſes, dogs, cats, and even human fleſh, to keep themſelves from ſtarving. Theſe devaſtations drove vaſt numbers of the common people into *Scotland*, to the better peopling and cultivating of the Lowlands: abundance alſo of the *Engliſh* gentry, whoſe eſtates were confiſcated, or who could not bear the *Norman* yoke, retired thither to ſettle in the country, and found a kind protector in queen *Margaret*; whoſe huſband *Malcolm* gave many of them lands of good value; and from theſe ſeveral of the moſt ancient and beſt families in that kingdom derive their original[2].

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THE king, ſome time after the holidays, marched with his army from *York* againſt the *Welſh* and *Cheſhire* forces, that, under the command of *Edric Silvaticus* had beſieged *Shrewſbury*, and continued ſtill in a body unſuppreſſed. He had mountainous and deep countries to paſs through in his way to attack them: and his men underwent ſuch hardſhips in this expedition, that his ſoldiers of *Anjou*, *Maine*, and *Bretagne* deſired to be diſmiſſed. Regardleſs of their complaints, he ſtill went on, ordering his faithful troops to follow him: and at laſt got his forces over dangerous rocks and through miry valleys, with incredible labour, to *Cheſter*. *William* ſhewed the generoſity of his nature and the nobleneſs of courage and virtue in nothing more, than in loving and honouring them in his enemies: he conſidered *Edric*, as the life and ſoul that animated his party; and reſolved to make a friend of a man, whom he eſteemed for his bravery, military ſkill, and other great qualities. Nor could he have taken a more uſeful ſtep; for *Edric* being encouraged to make his ſubmiſſion, the commotion in thoſe parts of *Mercia* was immediately quelled: and ſo[3] eaſily is a friendſhip created between great minds, that the king treated him ever after with an entire confidence, and *Edric* lived to do him eminent ſervices. To prevent any future diſturbance in that quarter of the realm, *William* built caſtles at *Cheſter* and *Stafford*: and having ſupplied them with good garriſons, marched to *Saliſbury*; where he diſmiſſed his ſoldiers, that had ſerved well, with honourable rewards, but kept thoſe that were ready to mutiny and deſert him, forty days longer by way of puniſhment. From thence he went to keep his *Eaſter* at *Wincheſter*, where the crown was put on his head by *Ermenfroy*, biſhop of *Sion*, and the cardinals *John* and *Peter*, the pope's legates, and

[1] *W. Malmſb. Chr. Sax. Sim. Dun. Hoveden. Flor. Wig.* [2] *Leſly* biſhop of *Roſs* has given a long liſt of theſe in his book *De origine & geſtis Scotorum.* [3] *Flor. Wig.*

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the firſt of this character, that ever pretended to exerciſe any juriſdiction in *England*.

Stigand and the *Engliſh* prelates deprived by the Popes's legates.

XI. Nothing eſtabliſheth a precarious government, like an unſucceſsful attempt to ruine it: *William's* had been hitherto in a tickliſh ſituation, but he now found it ſettled on a firm foundation. He had ſuppreſſed an inſurrection, that ſpread itſelf into moſt parts of the kingdom, and had been very formidable in the north: he had made it impracticable for ſome years to raiſe any other in this quarter, by the deſolation to which he had reduced the country; he had provided againſt the raiſing of any in other parts, by the ſtrong caſtles, which he had either erected himſelf in the moſt convenient ſituations, and had ſecured by proper garriſons, or had encouraged his *Norman* lords to erect upon their territories. He had broke the power of the *Engliſh* nobility by the confiſcation of moſt of their eſtates, and had by their ruin aggrandized his foreign followers, whom he rewarded with their lands, and put into all offices of truſt and power. There was no power left in the nation, that either dared to diſpute his will, or was able to oppoſe his force: and he ſaw himſelf abſolute maſter of the kingdom. In theſe circumſtances, he thought himſelf at liberty to take ſome ſteps, which it would have been dangerous to have taken earlier: and he ventured to diſoblige the clergy, who had hitherto been his friends, and a principal means of his eaſy getting poſſeſſion of the throne of *England*. The firſt he took of this kind was, the ſeizing not only of all the [1] riches and valuable effects, which the *Engliſh*, during the late troubles, had lodged in the religious houſes throughout the kingdom, as a ſafe and inviolable repoſitory; but even the charters, chalices, ſhrines, and treaſures belonging to the monaſteries themſelves. This he is ſaid to have done by the advice of *William Fitz Oſbern* earl of *Hereford*, who ſoon after loſt his life in an action in *Flanders*; but it was certainly agreeable to his own inclinations, and the reſolution he had formed of never truſting the *Engliſh* [2], and of depreſſing them as much as poſſible. It was perhaps this deſign of his which made him ſuſpect them all, and to reſolve, particularly with regard to the monks and clergy, who had given him no offence by their conduct, unleſs perhaps by lamenting the miſeries of their country, that none of them ſhould ever be promoted to any dignity. Preferments are matters of grace and favour, and a prince may diſpoſe of them to whom he pleaſeth: but it was certainly a great injuſtice to deprive the moſt conſiderable prelates of their ſees and abbeys, for no offence, either contrary to the laws of the land or the canons of the church, and merely becauſe they were *Engliſhmen*. This however was what *William* reſolved to do, and to begin with *Stigand*, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

This prelate ſeems to have been of noble birth, perhaps of *Daniſh* race; for the bulk of his vaſt poſſeſſions lay in the country of the *Eaſt-Angles*, and (as appears from *Domeſday* book) he had, before the conqueſt, the beſt eſtate of any man in *England*, except *Harold* and *Edwin*. He was not ſo much verſed in the knowledge of books, as he was of men; learning not being the favourite taſte or diſtinguiſhing character of the *Engliſh* in thoſe days: but he had great natural parts, improved by reflection, exerciſe, and experience, and directed by a clear head and ſolid judgment. His capacity [3], magnanimity, firmneſs, and prudence are generally acknowledged: he was artful, inſinuating, perſuaſive, and (as far as can be judged by what is recorded of his actions) generous, and magnificent. He knew the world, and underſtood buſineſs perfectly well; wanted no talents to qualify him

[1] *Flor. Wig. Sim. Dun. Annal. Waverl. Alured. Bev. &c. Chron. Sprot.* p. 114. *Chr. W. Thorne*, col. 1787. [2] *W. Malmſb.* l. iii. [3] *Antiq. Britan.* c. 32. *Hiſt. Elien.* l. ii. c. 41.

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for the tranſacting of great affairs, and was very *adroit* in managing the humours of perſons: and (to mention what made him moſt obnoxious to the *Conqueror*, and was the real ſource of all that prince's jealouſy and perſecution of him) he was a true *Engliſhman*, very zealous for the intereſts of his country, of which he had deſerved very well, and in which by his large fortune, abilities, reputation, dignity, and character, he had a mighty influence over perſons of all ranks and ſtations. He had been chaplain to *Edward the Confeſſor*; over whom he had ſo great an aſcendant, that, when all his nobility had failed in their application, he prevailed with him to make an accommodation with *Godwin*, and conſent to the expulſion of the *Norman* prelates and nobility. It was [1] this king that either made him biſhop, or (if he had been ſo appointed in the reign of *Harold* the ſon of *Canute)* reſtored him to the poſſeſſion of the ſee of the *Eaſt-Angles*, and that tranſlated him afterwards to that of *Wincheſter*. Upon *Robert's* being baniſhed by the ſentence of a great council of the prelates and nobility of the nation, *Stigand* was promoted to the ſee of *Canterbury*, to the great indignation of the monks; who could not [2] bear that a *ſecular* clergyman ſhould be advanced to the higheſt dignity in the church; and who, being the only writers of thoſe times, mixing their paſſions with their writings, and painting the virtues and vices of perſons in what colours they pleaſed, according to the degree of favour or prejudice wherein they ſtood with them, have, on that account, loaded his memory with ſome reproaches, which he ſeems to have deſerved as little as many of their favourites, and others who bear fairer characters in hiſtory. His retaining the ſee of *Wincheſter*, after he had taken poſſeſſion of *Canterbury*, hath furniſhed thoſe writers with a pretence (for there doth not appear any other ground) to charge him with avarice; though his conduct in that reſpect may be fairly accounted for in another manner, and from his known principles. He had an heart entirely *Engliſh*, and exerted himſelf on all occaſions to advance the *Engliſh* intereſt; learning was then at a very low ebb in this country, and very few of the clergy underſtood ſo much as [3] grammar: and this was the pretence, if not the reaſon, for filling ſo many ſees and abbeys with foreigners. *Stigand*, a wiſe and ſagacious prelate, ſaw plainly the inconveniencies of this method: and dreaded the dangers to which his country, in its ſituation at that time, might be expoſed by ſuch a multitude of ſtrangers, whoſe talents, revenues, and dignities, put them at the head of all affairs, and gave them a mighty influence in all councils both in church and ſtate; as the nation in general diſcovered ſoon after by fatal experience at the conqueſt. For this reaſon, when abbeys fell vacant, and proper ſubjects to be put at their head did not readily offer among the natives, he made uſe of his credit with the king to keep the adminiſtration thereof in his own hands for a ſhort time, till he could fill them with *Engliſhmen*, truly affected to the intereſt of their country: ſuch were *Turſtan* and *Egelſin*, whom he made abbots of *Ely* and *St. Auguſtine's* in *Canterbury*; as ſufficiently appears from their conduct in the time of the *Conqueror*. That money was not ſo much his view in this point, may appear from his employing the revenues, which he received during the vacancies, for the ornament, honour, and benefit of thoſe monaſteries; for *Thorne* [4] owns, he was a benefactor to *St. Auguſtine's*; and the many ſumptuous preſents which he made to *Ely* [5] were in a manner ineſtimable.

He might perhaps have the like view, in holding the ſee of *Wincheſter* jointly with that of *Canterbury:* and he did nothing therein but what was warranted by venerable examples in the church of *England*; it being too much the practice in thoſe days for one perſon to hold ſeveral prelacies [6]. So *Leofric*, abbot of *Peter-*

[1] *Dicet.* f. iv. [2] *Gervaſ. Acta*, col. 1652. [3] *Malmeſb.* l. iii. [4] Col. 1785. [5] *Hiſt. Elien.* l. ii. c. 41. [6] *Chr. Sax. an.* 1066.

borough,

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borough, nephew to the great earl of *Mercia* of the ſame name, held likewiſe with it the abbeys of *Burton*, *Coventry*, *Thorney*, and *Croyland*: ſo St. *Dunſtan* held the ſees of *Worceſter* and *London* together; and his three ſucceſſors in the former of thoſe ſees, St. *Oſwald*, *Adulf*, and *Wulſtan* held it for a ſeries of above ſixty years with the archbiſhoprick of *York* [1]; and *Aldred*, who crowned *William*, would fain have held them both (as he had done *Hereford* with *Worceſter*) if he might have been permitted; and he yet retained twelve manors of the ſee, when he was forced to reſign *Worceſter*. It muſt be obſerved further, that the occaſion of *Stigand's* continuing to hold *Wincheſter* was, his being named to *Canterbury* upon the exile of his predeceſſor, and whilſt *Robert* was yet living; till whoſe death, he probably acted in this laſt ſee as adminiſtrator only. *Robert* was baniſhed at the latter end of the [2] ſummer, *A. D.* 1052, and fled abroad for fear of a worſe treatment: he went afterwards to *Rome*, to complain of the hardſhip done him, and to intereſt the Pope in his quarrel. How long he ſtaid there, is uncertain; but conſidering the delays of that court, that *Leo* IX died in *April* 1054, and that after the ſee had been a year vacant, *Victor* II was choſen in the year following, it is likely enough that he would not depart till he had tried what this laſt Pope would do in his behalf. His application proving fruitleſs, he returned to his native country of *Normandie*: and died (according to the author of *Neuſtria Pia*) in the abbey of *Jumieges*, of which he had been formerly abbot, in the beginning of the year 1058, probably on *May* 26, which is celebrated in that abbey, to which he was a benefactor, as his anniverſary. *Benedict* X had been elected to the papacy on the fifth of the precedent month, and continued in poſſeſſion [3] of it without a rival, till the beginning of the year following, when he was depoſed for intruding into the ſee without the emperor's mandate, and *Nicholas* II was choſen in his ſtead; ſo that nothing was more natural than for *Stigand*, coming in that interval of time to the full poſſeſſion of the ſee of *Canterbury*, to apply for his pall, as perhaps ſome others did, to the onely *Pope* that was then in being; and whatever is to be ſaid of ſome other acts, there could be no occaſion to repeat ſuch as were merely honorary; eſpecially [4] ſince *Benedict* acquieſcing readily in his depoſition, and ſubmitting himſelf to his ſucceſſor, none of his acts were ever reſcinded or declared invalid.

However naturally this affair of the pall may be accounted for in this manner; it is not ſo eaſy to explain another point in relation to *Stigand*, and to ſhew how he came to [5] continue in the ſame favour and credit with *Harold*, as he had enjoyed before with *Edward*. There is no room to doubt of the fact: nor would there be any difficulty in the matter, if what *William* of *Poictiers* and *Ordericus Vitalis* ſay, were true, that he put the crown on *Harold's* head: but this is contradicted by our old *Engliſh* hiſtorians, and even by *Ingulf*; who unanimouſly aſſert that *Harold* was crowned by *Aldred*. Whether thoſe two foreign hiſtorians, unacquainted perhaps with the *Engliſh* cuſtoms, might not miſtake (as other foreigners have done in the like caſes) *Stigand's* putting the crown upon his head, after he had been ſome time in the exerciſe of his royalty, at one of the feaſts of *Eaſter* or *Whitſunday* (which was conſtantly done to our kings with great ſolemnity at the three chief feſtivals) for his firſt coronation, muſt be left to conjecture. But as it was certainly the archbiſhop of *Canterbury's* right to put the crown upon the king's head on all theſe occaſions, it cannot be ſuppoſed that *Harold* ſhould apply to *Aldred* for performing that office, till he had firſt been refuſed by *Stigand*; who was undoubtedly in the way at that time, ſince he [6] ſigns as a witneſs to *Edward's* charter to *Weſtminſter-Abbey*. Such a refuſal indeed doth honour to his character, and muſt give

[1] *Stubb's Acta Pont. Ebor.* col. 1700, 1701, 1702. [2] *Gervaſ. Cant.* col. 1657. [3] *Baron. Annal. an.* 1058. [4] *Ib. an.* 1059. [5] *Hiſt. Elienſ.* l. ii. c. 41. [6] *Concil. M. Brit.* tom. i.

every body a great opinion of the virtue, integrity, and conſtancy of the man: but it leaves us at a loſs to account for his credit with *Harold*; unleſs by ſuppoſing either that he performed that ceremony at one of the feaſts ſubſequent to the *Epiphany* (when that prince was crowned by *Aldred*, and got into poſſeſſion of the throne) and conſequently after *Edgar Atheling's* acknowledgment of *Harold*, or acquieſcence in the uſurpation; or that the uſurper, in the precarious condition of his affairs, thought it prudent to ſmother his reſentment of the affront, and to make his court to a perſon of *Stigand's* dignity, power, and intereſt in the nation. However this was, *Stigand* was certainly very hearty in his endeavours, after *Harold's* death, to ſet *Edgar Atheling* on the throne, and to oppoſe the duke of *Normandie*: and *William Thorne's* [1] ſtory of the tranſaction at *Swanneſcombe* is founded upon the well-known averſion, which this prelate and abbot *Egelſin* had to the *Norman* government. They were both the object of the *Conqueror's* jealouſy and hatred, notwithſtanding their peaceable demeanor for ſome years; till *Egelſin* ſeeing it impoſſible to get over them [2], fled about this time to *Denmark*: and *William*, after carrying *Stigand* over into *Normandie*, keeping him in his ſight, and watching him for the ſame time, reſolved (now his government was firmly ſettled, and he had no longer any meaſures to keep with the *Engliſh*) to have him deprived of his ſee, and another put into it, in whom he had an entire confidence.

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THE *Engliſh* biſhops had ever entertained the profoundeſt veneration for their primate: and from the time that the *Chriſtian* religion had been received in this nation, there had not been a [3] ſingle precedent of a proſecution, much leſs of a deprivation, of an archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. The forms of proceedings were in ſuch a caſe to be borrowed from the practice of other countries: and notwithſtanding that moſt of the prelates were foreigners, it was ſtill uncertain, whether they could be brought to degrade a primate to whom they had all ſworn canonical obedience; and to ſacrifice the conſtitution of the church to the king's paſſions. There was no pretence for charging *Stigand* with any offence againſt the canons and uſages of the church of *England*: and to paſs the ſevereſt of cenſures upon their acknowledged ſuperior, without ſome legal pretence or other, was too much, to be expected from a ſynod of *Engliſh* prelates; at leaſt without the terror of the regal power, and ſuch preſſing ſollicitations on *William's* part, as would be a flat contradiction [4] to his great profeſſions of friendſhip to *Stigand*, and repeated aſſurances of his protection. It was not politick to irritate a prelate of his dignity, capacity, authority, and credit, without ruining him and putting it out of his power to revenge the injury: and if he made the attempt, it behoved him of all things to make it ſucceſsful. *William*, reſolved to ruine *Stigand*, and making all laws divine and human give way to his will, took his meaſures effectually for that purpoſe: and carried his point in ſuch a manner, as to have a pretence for laying the blame upon another; though the method he took, trampling on all the rights, and deſtroying the independency, of the church of *England*, could never have ſucceeded, if it had not been ſupported by the abſolute power of a conqueror, and the dread of a foreign army, which had ſo lately ſubdued the nation.

HE had formerly tried the like method with ſucceſs in *Normandie*: *Mauger*, archbiſhop of *Rouen*, uncle to *William* by the half blood, and brother to *William* of *Arques*, who diſputed his right to the dutchy [5], had incenſed him extremely by excommunicating him for marrying *Maude*, daughter of *Baldwin* count of *Flanders*, his near relation, contrary to the canons of the church: and had done this, notwithſtanding a papal diſpenſation for the marriage. It was probably this prelate's

[1] Col. 1786. [2] *Ib.* col. 1787. [3] *Eadmer*, p. 29. [4] *Brompton*, p. 968.
[5] *Gul. Pictav.* l. i. *Ord. Vital.* l. vii. *Hiſt. des Archev. de Rouen*, c. 45.

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vexation, to ſee his brother's hopes of ſucceeding to the dutchy deſtroyed by that match, which put him on ſo raſh a ſtep, as at once to incenſe his ſovereign, and to inſult the ſee of *Rome*; already provoked by the contempt he had ſhewn her, in refuſing to come to the councils of *Rome* and *Reims*, to which he had been ſummoned by *Leo* IX. This was the more imprudent, becauſe he had, by the irregularity of his life, and by waſting the goods of the church, rendered himſelf obnoxious to eccleſiaſtical cenſures; ſo that *William* eaſily prevailed with *Victor* II, *Leo's* ſucceſſor, to ſend *Ermenfroy*, biſhop of *Sion*, to preſide in the ſynod of *Liſieux*, *A. D.* 1055; where *Mauger* was condemned, and in virtue of the legate's authority from the Pope, degraded. There was indeed a great difference in the two caſes on account of the perſons, becauſe no ſuch crime could be objected to *Stigand:* and a much greater with regard to the power and regularity of the judicature, becauſe the papal authority had never been received and exerciſed in *England*, as it had in *Normandie*. But *William* had no other method to take: and was ſure of bringing the court of *Rome* into his meaſures, were it only for the ſake of introducing the papal juriſdiction into this kingdom. It was probably what he had undertaken, when he engaged *Alexander* II in his intereſts, and got him to denounce his cenſures againſt all that ſtood by *Harold:* for what the *Norman* hiſtorians ſay of his promiſing that Pope to hold the crown of *England* of him, in caſe he ſucceeded in his enterprize, can be underſtood only of a ſubjection in ſpirituals, not in temporals; ſince in his letter to Pope *Gregory* VII, he expreſly denies that he ever made any promiſe of fealty. Whether he had engaged, or deſigned before, to eſtabliſh the papal juriſdiction here; he now found it would be ſubſervient to his purpoſes, and reſolved to introduce it into this kingdom: it had been exerciſed in the neighbouring countries on the continent, and riſen there to a great height upon the ruins of the liberties of their churches; and he was now become ſo abſolute a maſter of his realm, that he was ſure of making it be ſubmitted to in *England*.

Ermenfroy was thought the fitteſt perſon to be charged with the execution of an enterprize, which the court of *Rome* had equally at heart with the king of *England*; the former being to gain as much advantage by it, as the latter could propoſe ſecurity to his government. He was now to ſerve *William* in the deprivation of *Stigand*, as he had done in that of *Mauger:* and was ſent over with the cardinals, *John* and *Peter*, deputed by Pope *Alexander* II, as his legates, to take proper meaſures in the affair, and be ready to exert the papal claims of authority, whenever that prince ſhould think it convenient [1]. They had waited here a year [2] before there happened a favourable juncture, in which the attempt might be made with ſafety: but the *Conqueror* having at laſt quelled the northern inſurrection, and entirely ſubdued all his enemies, the legates iſſued out writs, ſummoning the biſhops to bring the abbots of their dioceſe with them to a council [3], which was to meet three days after *Eaſter*, at *Wincheſter*. It was neceſſary to find out ſome pretence for their proceedings; a matter of no great difficulty with the court of *Rome*, ever fruitful in expedients for executing its purpoſe: and in defect of any other crime, it was objected to *Stigand*, that he had retained the ſee of *Wincheſter* [4], together with that of *Canterbury*, as well after, as before his predeceſſor's death; that he had wore *Robert's* pall, when he officiated in this laſt church; and that he had received

[1] *Ord. Vital.* p. 516.

[2] They ſeem to have been kept here two years, before they durſt execute their deſign; for the cardinals, *John* and *Peter*, ſign as witneſſes to *William's* charter, granting *St. Martins Le Grand* to the church of *Weſtminſter*, dated *June* 5, 2 *W. Conq.* *A. D.* 1068.

[3] *MSS. Fr. Junii in Bibl. Bodl.* n. 99.

[4] *Brompton*, col. 967.

ceived his own pall from *Benedict* X, who had been declared an invader of the papacy. Some writers ſay, that he had on this laſt account been ſuſpended by Pope *Alexander*; but this was an act that might more naturally be expected from his predeceſſor *Nicholas*, than from him: and nothing of that kind appearing, it ſeems plainly a miſtake, grounded upon, or deduced by inference from, the cenſures denounced in *Alexander's* bull at the time of the conqueſt, in favour of the duke of *Normandie*, not againſt *Stigand* in particular, but againſt all prelates and others that ſupported *Harold*, and oppoſed *William*. The firſt of the pretences abovementioned, hath been already ſhewn to be too agreeable to the practice and uſages of *England*, to be made a crime there: and if they had another notion of it at *Rome*, the utmoſt penalty inflicted for it was, to oblige the pluraliſt to quit his former biſhoprick, as was done in the caſe of *Aldred*; who, before he got his pall for *York*, was obliged to promiſe he would reſign his ſee of *Worceſter*. The ſecond, if really ſupported by any fact, was yet a mere trifle; the wearing of an honorary veſtment, firſt indulged by the favour of princes to the biſhops of *Rome*, and by their canal communicated to other metropolitans: a matter which ſeems in itſelf as little to merit deprivation, as the wearing of a ſcarf, for which he is not legally qualified, would now in an ordinary clergyman. But the great ſtreſs was laid upon the laſt article; with how little reaſon hath been ſhewed already: it may be proper however to obſerve, that Pope *Nicholas* never objected to *Stigand* the receiving of the pall from his rival, or predeceſſor *Benedict*; that *Stigand* was univerſally acknowledged and ſubmitted to by all the *Engliſh* biſhops, even by the primitive and diſintereſted *Wulſtan*, as their rightful primate [1], before the conqueſt, without the leaſt ſcruple, and his acts of juriſdiction at that time ſerved for a warrant to *Anſelm's* afterwards; and that *Alexander* himſelf had no objection to him in thoſe days upon this account; for he took no exception to *Aldred's* ſwearing (as all other *Engliſh* biſhops did) canonical obedience to him [2]; and *Wulſtan*, when he was conſecrated biſhop of *Worceſter*, *A. D.* 1062, made his profeſſion of the like obedience to *Stigand*, in the preſence of that very Pope's legates, of which this very *Ermenfroy*, who preſided in this ſynod of *Wincheſter*, was one, without any reprimand from them, or objection on that account: and ſo undoubted was *Stigand's* right to this obedience, that *Alfred*, having conſecrated *Wulſtan*, was obliged at his inſtance to profeſs before the king, and all the nobility of the kingdom, that he claimed no eccleſiaſtical right or obedience from *Wulſtan*, either on account of his being conſecrated by him, or having been his monk before. It is very plain, that *William*, after his acceſſion to the throne, acknowledged him as the rightful primate of all *England* [3], and treated him agreeably to that character: nor had he any notion of there being the leaſt defect in his conſecration, or right to the ſee of *Canterbury*, till afterwards. Every thing conſpires to ſhew that theſe pretences were framed in the court of *Rome*, in order to give a colour of juſtice to the proceedings againſt *Stigand*; though the king's paſſions, the ſecurity of his government, and the intereſts of the papacy had cauſed it to be previouſly reſolved to condemn him at any rate: and the monkiſh writers of the ſucceeding age, and others who copy from them, devoted to that ſee, and living under its ſubjection, have taken care to convey them down to future times, without any examination or cenſure, and even without entering into any detail of the proceedings.

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IT doth not appear from them, whether the council, which ſat on the octaves of *Eaſter*, took any cognizance of the affair, or diſcuſſed theſe articles; whether *Stigand* was heard in his defence, or ſo much as preſent, when he was depoſed; though it

[1] *Eadmer*, p. 23. [2] *Sim. Dun. De geſt. reg. an.* 1062. *Flor. Wig. Stubbs*, col. 1701. *Brompton*, col. 952. *Hoveden.* p. 445. [3] *Gul. Neubrig.* l. i. c. 1. *Chron. Walteri de Hemingford*, c. 2.

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is clear from *Brompton* [1] and *Malmeſbury*, that he was forth-coming: or whether this was done by the intervention, ſentence, or concurrence of the council. All that they ſay of the matter is, that he was depoſed at that time, by Pope *Alexander*, as *Gervaſe* [2] of *Canterbury*, and *Malmeſbury* [3] expreſs themſelves: or by the Pope's legates, as *Ingulf*, the *Chronicle* of *Mailroſs*, and *Ordericus Vitalis* ſay; all which different writers may be reconciled by underſtanding them in the ſenſe which *Florence* of *Worceſter* and *Hoveden* deliver more diſtinctly; affirming that he was deprived by the legates, with the conſent and by the authority of Pope *Alexander* [4]. Theſe accounts ſeem to exclude the council from any ſhare in the ſentence, and the members of it probably were glad to have no concern in it; though the legates, for the greater ſolemnity of the affair, and in defect of any other conſiſtory, thought fit to pronounce it in the preſence of an aſſembly of prelates, called together by their writs, contrary to the laws and conſtitution of the church of *England*. That this was the caſe, appears further from *Stigand's* demanding *William's* protection, according to his ſolemn repeated promiſes, and that prince's apology for himſelf, that it was purely the *Pope's* [5] doing, whoſe mandates he could not oppoſe. What little regard was had to juſtice in this affair, may reaſonably be judged, from the king's immediately ſeizing all *Stigand's* vaſt eſtate in the *Eaſt-Angles* and other parts of the kingdom, and keeping him in priſon the reſt of his days upon a very ſcanty allowance out of the exchequer. The author of the *Antiquitates Britannicæ* thinks he died of want; but the time of his deceaſe is not particularly mentioned, though *Malmeſbury* ſeems to hint it was about the time of *Lanfranc's* taking poſſeſſion of his ſee: it is generally agreed, that he did not long ſurvive his diſgrace; and with him expired the liberties of the people, and the independency of the church of *England*.

William's jealouſy was not ſatisfied by the removal of *Stigand*: he reſolved to turn all the *Engliſh* prelates out of their dignities, and fill up their ſees and abbacies with *Normans*. There were at this time in *England* only four biſhops, that were natives of the country, all the reſt being foreigners: a circumſtance, which will make people leſs wonder, either at the conduct of the clergy, when *William* invaded the kingdom, or that the papal power was now admitted. Theſe four were *Agelmare* biſhop of *Elmham*, *Agelric* of *Seleſey*, *Wulſtan* of *Worceſter*, and *Egelwin* of *Durham*. Of theſe, *Agelmare* was deprived at the ſame [6] time with his brother *Stigand*, and by the ſame arbitrary and uſurped authority; as well as ſeveral abbots of the moſt conſiderable monaſteries; it being unreaſonable to ſuppoſe that the council, which ſeems only to have been called for form's ſake, and the members whereof were all trembling with apprehenſions of the ſame fate, ſhould join in doing ſo flagrant an injuſtice to the moſt eminent prelates, "without (as all "hiſtorians agree) any apparent cauſe, without being guilty of any act condemned "either by councils, the canons of the church, or the laws of the land." However unjuſt or invalid theſe ſentences of the *papal* legates were, the civil power with the like injuſtice and violence took care to put them effectually in execution; *William* immediately impriſoning all the deprived prelates, keeping them confined all their lives, and filling their prelacies with *Normans*. The cardinals *John* and *Peter* having thus diſpatched the principal part of their legation, returned to *Rome*;

[1] P. 968. [2] Col. 1310. [3] *De geſt. Pont.* l. i.

[4] In the ſynod of *Liſieux Ermenfroy* pronounced the ſentence of deprivation againſt *Mauger*, in virtue of the apoſtolical authority of the holy [a] ſee without taking any notice of the ſynod's; which I conceive to be an uſual practice in the like caſes, the Popes probably thinking it below them to have any other authority joined with their own, as if they were both co-ordinate.

[5] See *Eadmer*, p. 29. *a ſolo Papa.*

[6] *Flor. Wig. Sim. Dun. Hoveden.*

[a] *Hiſtoire de Guillaume le Conquerant par Eademere*, vol. i. p. 120.

leaving the biſhop of *Sion* behind, to finiſh what was further to be done for the enſlaving of *England* to a foreign and papal power; a work which was carried on with great expedition. For the king keeping the feaſt of *Pentecoſt* at *Windſor*, on which occaſion he was conſtantly attended by his prelates and nobility, named, on *Whitſunday*, *Thomas*, a canon of *Bayeux*, to the ſee of *York*; and *Walchelin* one of his *Norman* chaplains, to that of *Wincheſter*; and the former being reſerved, in honour of the ſee of *Canterbury*, for the conſecration of *Stigand's* ſucceſſor, the latter was upon the *Sunday* following conſecrated by *Ermenfroy*. This legate holding the next day what is called a ſynod, proceeded in the ſame arbitrary and uncanonical manner; depriving, without any fault or accuſation, *Agelric*, biſhop of *Seleſey*, and abundance of abbots. *William*, according to his cuſtom, impriſoned all that were thus degraded, to prevent any oppoſition to the ſentence: and filled up the ſees of the *South-Saxons* and *Eaſt-Angles* with his chaplains *Stigand* and *Erfaſt*, as he did the abbacies with *Norman* monks. There were now only two *Engliſhmen* left among the biſhops; of whom *Wulſtan* was one, a man of primitive ſimplicity, and not of this world; for which reaſon he was charged with inſufficiency, and it was propoſed to turn him out of his ſee: but he was ſaved, either on that account, or by his reſolute ſuſtaining the rights of it, and bold demand of the twelve manors, which had been diſmembered from it by *Aldred*, or rather by his zeal for monkery, in all the practices whereof he was extremely auſtere, and becauſe he was deemed incapable of giving any diſturbance. *Egelwin* biſhop of *Durham*, not able to bear the tyranny of foreigners, was fled, after he had excommunicated the *Norman* ſoldiers concerned in the plunder of his church; and on that account had been baniſhed or proſcribed; but being taken the next year at *Ely* [1], was kept in priſon all his life at *Abingdon* or *Weſtminſter*, and his ſee given to *Walcherus*, a canon of *Liege* and native of the *Lower Lorraine*, who took poſſeſſion of it in *March A. D.* 1071, before his predeceſſor was taken. Such was the violent and illegal manner, in which the church of *England* was ſubjected to the ſee of *Rome:* and ſuch the firſt exerciſe of the *papal* juriſdiction in this kingdom.

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XII. THE filling the ſee of *Canterbury* with a proper perſon, able and ready to execute all his commands, was a point of the greateſt conſequence: and the king had one in his view for it; of whoſe ſpirit, vigour, talents, wiſdom, and attachment he had a great opinion, and in whom he placed an entire confidence. This was *Lanfranc*, a native of *Pavie* in the dutchy of *Milan*; who being bred to letters, and having made a great progreſs in moſt parts of [2] learning, had ſettled in his youth at *Bec* in *Normandie*, and ſet up a logic lecture in that monaſtery; where his reputation roſe ſo high, that he had great numbers of the moſt conſiderable perſons of that age and country for his ſcholars. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf there by his writings againſt *Berengarius* archdeacon of *Angers*; who (if we may believe his adverſaries) had by his doctrines reduced *Chriſt's* preſence in the *Euchariſt* to an empty ſign, and afterwards fell into another extreme, *impanation:* and who being condemned in a ſynod at *Rome* held under *Nicholas* II, was forced to make a retractation [3] according to the form directed by that Pope and ſynod; wherein he profeſſed to believe, "that the elements, after conſecration are not only the *ſacra-*"*ment*, but the *very body and blood of Chriſt*" (*i. e.* both the ſign and the thing ſignified) and "that this body and blood of Chriſt is ſenſibly, not only in the ſacra-"ment, but in truth handled and broken by the hand of the prieſt, and bruiſed by

Lanfranc made archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

[1] *H. Hunt.* l. 7. *Sim. Dun. M. Paris, an.* 1070. *Sim. Dun. Hiſt. Eccl. Dur.* c. 59. [2] *Vit. Lanfranc. inter opera Ord. Vit.* p. 19. [3] *Annal. Baron. A. D.* 1059. c. 13.

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"the teeth of the faithful." Such was the doctrine which the church of *Rome* introduced at this time, and which, though in one part it plainly asserts the oral manducation afterwards condemned; and in another looks like *consubstantiation*; having been since cooked up in another manner, hath been called *transubstantiation*. This doctrine, which hath been the source of numberless disputes, was first introduced into *England* by *Lanfranc*: who set his chaplain *Osbern* to write the legends or lives of several prelates, full of senseless pretended miracles, contrived in an age of ignorance and credulity, to recommend it to the belief or reception of the *English*. *Lanfranc* was prior of the abbey of *Bec*, when he was sent by the duke of *Normandie* to *Rome*, to transact the affair of his marriage with *Matilda*, who was related to him within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity: and he managed it so well, that *William* made him abbot of the monastery of *S. Stephen* at *Caen*, which he was obliged to found, as his wife did the nunnery of *St. Trinity*, upon the grant of a dispensation on that occasion. He had conceived a great esteem for this prelate: and consulted him in all his affairs with such success, and so continual an experience of his capacity, judgment, and affection, that he was not satisfied, till he had fixed him in the see of *Canterbury*[1]. He was there consecrated by eight bishops on *August* 29: and *Thomas* named to the see of *York*, coming thither soon after to receive consecration from his hands, went away without it, for want of making upon oath a profession of his obedience to the primate and see of *Canterbury*. It is said to have been the custom for archbishops of *York*, to make it in that manner: but a dispute now arising, it was not determined, till *Lanfranc*, upon *Gregory* VII making it a rule not to send the compliment of a pall to any body that did not appear before him in person to ask it, was obliged to go the year following to *Rome*; and *Thomas* attending him thither, the matter depending upon the usages of this country, was referred to the judgment of an *English* synod. At last, in the synod of *Windsor*, *A. D.* 1072, a sentence was given, something in the nature of a compromise; whereby the rights of the see of *Canterbury* being confirmed[2], *Lanfranc* dispensed with the oath of *Thomas*; who only delivered his profession in writing, though all his successors were obliged to swear to theirs: and their right of consecrating the new archbishop of *Canterbury*, when the see fell vacant, being affirmed; it was decreed that the archbishops elect of *York*, when presented by the king to that dignity, should repair to *Canterbury* to be there canonically consecrated. *Thomas* likewise gave up all his pretensions to any authority over the dioceses[3] of *Worcester*, *Lichfield*, and *Lincoln*: and in his profession of obedience, acknowledged that the archbishops of *York*, with their suffragans, were obliged to obey the mandate of the primate of *Canterbury*, whenever he required them to attend him in a council, wherever it should be summoned.

William's measures to make the clergy of *England* dependent.

XIII. William probably imagined, when he established the papal power in *England*, that he could always make it subservient to his purposes; and that he could at any time get rid of it with the same ease as he had introduced it: but his successors found it otherwise by fatal experience, and he himself, in a short time, had reason to be on his guard against the Pope's encroachments. He had shewn his firmness formerly in maintaining *Osbern* in possession of the abbey of *St. Evroul* in *Normandie*, against Pope *Alexander's* bulls for restoring *Robert* the former abbot, whom he had outed, and the censures of the two cardinal legates sent to put them in execution: and had declared on that[4] occasion, "that if any monk, who was "his subject, should offer to dispute his will, he would cause him to be hanged im-

[1] *Ord. Vit. ib.* [2] *Concil. M. Brit.* t. i. p. 325. [3] *Malmesb. De gest. pontif.* l. i.
[4] *Eudemare's Hist. de Guil. le Conquer.* t. i. p. 172.

"mediately."

"mediately." He was very jealous of the rights of his crown: and to ſecure them as well againſt the attempts of the court of *Rome*, as the clergy of his own realm, he would not ſuffer any of his ſubjects, to acknowledge[1] any one for Pope without his orders, or to receive letters from him, unleſs they were firſt ſhewed to himſelf; nor any of his prelates to go out of his dominions, upon any papal ſummons to attend ſynods at *Rome*, without his expreſs leave and conſent. To keep his own eccleſiaſticks in order, he would not allow the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, or the ſynods in which he preſided, to paſs any conſtitutions or canons, but what were agreeable to his will, and he had firſt approved or ordered; nor any of his biſhops to excommunicate or denounce any eccleſiaſtical cenſure againſt any of his barons or officers for inceſt, adultery, or other ſcandalous crimes, without his being previouſly acquainted therewith, and ſignifying his permiſſion by a warrant. *Gregory* VII, an enterprizing Pope[2], zealous to advance the papal power upon the ruins of the civil, complained in vain of theſe orders, particularly of that which reſtrained the *Engliſh* prelates from repairing to *Rome*, as a failure of reſpect to that ſee: he ventured to ſummon two out of each province to appear at a *Roman* ſynod, and even required the *Conqueror* to do him homage for the crown of *England*; but his ſummons were ſlighted, and his demand abſolutely refuſed. This king had too much ſpirit and capacity to ſubmit to ſuch demands, and was too much maſter of his ſubjects to ſuffer any inconvenience from his refuſal: but ſome of his ſucceſſors were forced on occaſion to comply; and the diſputes they were obliged, in behalf of their regalities, to have with the court of *Rome*, proved a continual ſource of infinite diſorders and miſchiefs to the kingdom.

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WHOEVER conſiders the conſtitution of the church of *England* in the *Saxon* times, and the conduct of her prelates before the conqueſt, will eaſily ſee, that theſe regulations, made by the *Conqueror*, could not be deſigned to guard againſt any inconvenience ariſing from either: they ſeem to me plainly calculated for oppoſing the encroachments of the court of *Rome*, and to have been ſuggeſted by the violent meaſures taken in thoſe days by the Popes, and the *German* prelates adhering to them, to eſtabliſh their uſurpations upon the rights of the *emperors*. But there was one thing in the *Saxon* conſtitution, which *William* miſliked, as rendering the clergy leſs dependent than he wiſhed them, and leſſening the forces of the realm to a greater degree, than was perhaps proper for the good of the nation, or, at leaſt, more than was conſiſtent with the ſecurity of his government. They all held their lands and poſſeſſions by a different tenure from the laity, called *Frank Almoine*, ſubject to no ſecular ſervice, to no rents, duties, or impoſitions, but what they conſented to lay upon themſelves in their ſynods or in the councils of the nation: and their eſtates, derived from the great bounty of the *Saxon* kings and their nobility, were ſo very great, that they poſſeſſed near a third part of the kingdom: it being computed that they held twenty-eight thouſand and fifteen knights fees, out of ſixty thouſand two hundred and fifteen, into which the whole kingdom[3] was, in the *Conqueror's* days, diſtributed. They had likewiſe other riches, plate, jewels, treaſures of various kinds: and their wealth was continually increaſing by new benefactions. All this, with the prodigious number of their vaſſals, tenants, ſervants, and other dependants, made them maſters of a very great ſecular power; which added to their eccleſiaſtical authority, and the veneration paid to their character, gave them a wonderful influence over all ſorts of men throughout the nation. They had likewiſe all the learning of the age, which the leſs generally it is diffuſed, is the more admired in the few that have it, and gives them great advantages and weight, on all occaſions, of haranguing and diſcourſing with the people: and being united in all exigencies,

[1] *Eadmer.* p. 6. [2] *Baron. Annal. A.* 1079. [3] *T. Sprotti Chron.* p. 114.

when

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when the good or danger of the church is in queſtion, or it can be pretended that its intereſt is affected, they were the chief arbiters in all national diſputes; turning the balance on what ſide they pleaſed, as appeared at the *conqueſt*, and hath been ſince verified by abundant experience. *William*, envious of their riches, jealous of their power, and perhaps ſuſpecting their affections, or apprehenſive of a change in their ſentiments, reſolved to make them dependent on the crown: and with this view reduced all their lands[1] to the common tenure of knights-ſervice and barony. In conſequence hereof the king became entitled to the profits of the lands of biſhopricks and abbatial manſes, during the vacancy of ſees and abbacies; the new prelates were obliged to take an oath of fealty, and do homage, before they could be admitted to the poſſeſſion of their temporalties: and all were ſubjected to an attendance upon the king in his court of barons, to follow him in his wars with their knights and *quota* of ſoldiers, to pay him the uſual aids, and to perform all other ſervices, incident to ſuch a tenure. A roll was drawn up, ſpecifying the quantity of fees held by each biſhop and abbey, and the number of knights and ſoldiers they were to furniſh the crown upon any invaſion, war, or inſurrection: and was laid up in the exchequer, for a rule to the judges, in ſuits and proſecutions about the non-performance of the appointed ſervices, and, as *M. Paris* ſays, for a monument of eccleſiaſtical ſervitude. The clergy in general exclaimed horribly againſt this new inſtitution, as a manifeſt injuſtice, a ſhameful indignity offered to their order, and even as an impious violation of the ſacred rights of the church; but all in vain; they found no redreſs or mitigation; the *Conqueror's* will was irreſiſtible, and ſuch as attempted to oppoſe it, were baniſhed the kingdom.

Feudal law and tenures eſtabliſhed.

XIV. This oppreſſive treatment of the prelates, and great change in the condition of the whole body of the clergy, which might in another juncture have ſet the nation in a flame, produced no diſturbance at a time, when a general inſurrection was juſt quelled: and it took place with the leſs difficulty, becauſe the laity were pleaſed, to ſee the clergy reduced to hold their lands upon the ſame footing with themſelves. The chief of theſe laſt, who governed all the reſt, had ſuch vaſt eſtates given them, conſiſting of ſo many hundreds of manors, that what they had in *Normandie* was but a trifle in compariſon with their *Engliſh* territories, and they might well be glad to accept them upon any conditions. [2] *William Fitz-Oſbern* had the *Iſle of Wight*, as well as the earldom of *Hereford*; and *Walter de Lacey*, lord of *Ewyas*, had great poſſeſſions in the marches of *South-Wales*, in order to enable them to repreſs the incurſions of the *Welſh*: which they did effectually by invading *Brecknockſhire*, and routing their princes *Rhees*, *Cadowgan*, and *Meredith*. For a like reaſon, *Gherbode*, and, upon his captivity in *Flanders*, *Hugh d'Avranches*, a man very corpulent, but active, and always at the head of his troops, had the county palatine of *Cheſter* given him; as *Roger de Montgomery* had that of *Salop*, to make head againſt the princes of *North-Wales*. *Walter Giffard*, count of *Longueville*, was made earl of *Bucks*; *William de Warrene*, of *Surrey*; and *Ralph de Guader*, of the *Eaſt-Angles*: *Odo de Champayne*, nephew of *Thibaut*, count of *Blois* and *Chartres*, married the counteſs of *Aumale*, the king's ſiſter, and had the county of *Holderneſs*; and that of *Cornwall* was granted to *Robert*, count of *Mortain*, half-brother to the *Conqueror*. *Geffrey*, biſhop of *Coutances*, was made juſticiary of *England*, and had two hundred and eighty manors given him, which he diſpoſed of to his nephew *Robert de Mowbray*: and with the like bountiful grants of lands, honours, and offices, were all the principal *Normans* rewarded at this time for their ſervices. The forfeitures of *Edwin*, *Morcar*, and *Waltheof* did not indeed happen

[1] *M. Paris*, *A. D.* 1070. [2] *Ord. Vit.* p. 522.

till

till a year or two afterwards; and when these were disposed of to *Alan Fergant*, count of *Bretagne*, and others, all the lands in the kingdom (except some inconsiderable parcels belonging to such *English* as had been, in the *Confessor's* reign, employed in the management of the crown lands and revenue, and were necessarily to be continued afterwards in the same employments) became vested in the hands of foreigners; who holding them immediately of the crown, granted them out either to their own followers, or to such of the natives [1], as having enjoyed them before in property, had the good fortune to recommend themselves to their favour, and were content to hold them in vassalage. These lands were all held in the same manner as their estates in *Normandie*, where the feudal law prevailed in all its rigour; subject to the like forfeitures, and descending in the same course and order of succession: and that law being now introduced here, laid the foundation [2] of what is now called the *common law* of *England*, the terms of which are all *French*; it being, at least so far as relates to estates and tenures, evidently derived from the *Norman* customs. WILLIAM I. A. D. 1070.

By these customs, the barons, holding immediately of the crown, had all kinds of jurisdiction in their own manors; they gave laws and administered justice in their courts baron, to their vassals, tenants, and all that lived within them: suits between the tenants of different lords were tried in the hundred or county courts, and the king's court took cognizance only of those between the barons themselves. In all these courts the judges were now *Normans*; the lawyers were so too, and, in consequence thereof, all the pleadings were made in the *French* language. It is easy from hence to imagine, how little redress could be expected by the *English*, if they attempted to complain of the oppressions, depredations, inhumanities, and other grievances which they suffered [3] continually from the great *Norman* lords and the lesser castellans; of which our old historians give an uniform and melancholy account.

XV. This insupportable usage, naturally to be expected from the insolent, oppressive, and rapacious temper of the *Normans*, made the *English* weary of their lives [4]: and their hardships being represented to the *Conqueror* by *Guasmund*, a pious monk, afterwards cardinal and archbishop of *Aversa*, and by some prelates [5], particularly *Frederick*, abbot of *St. Albans*; he consented to allow them the benefit of some of the old laws, by which they were governed in the reign of *Edward the Confessor*. These laws or customs, at least the first fifty thereof, which were carried to *Croyland* [6] by *Ingulf*, are chiefly penal laws [7], fixing forfeitures, fines, and amerciaments in criminal matters, and the rates of reliefs or mortuaries due to superior lords: and seem, with the rest (either relating to some *Saxon* usages in the points of harbouring guests, vouchers for goods sold, and distresses, or regulating the succession of intestate estates, and the payment of *Peter-pence)* to have been established for the sake of the *English*. The others, to the number of one and twenty, passed in a great council at *London*, and preserved in the *red book of the Exchequer*, are most of them calculated for the *Normans*, and other foreigners possessed of the lands of *England*; declaring "all the freeholders of the realm exempt from all taillage and "unjust exactions, and bound only to the usual services due from the lands, as set-"tled in a common council of the kingdom, upon the king's making them grants "thereof in the way of inheritance; but obliging them likewise, as well as the

William's measures to keep the *English* quiet.

[1] *Dialog. de Scaccario.* [2] *Spelm. Gloss.* fol. 218, and *Reliq. Spelm. Hist. Elienf.* l. ii. c. 44. [3] *Ib.* [4] *Ord. Vit.* p. 523.
[5] *M. Paris in Vit. Friderici.*
[6] See *Lambard. Archaion &, seq.* 159. *Ingulf.*
[7] As appears likewise from the charter of *Henry* I, who pardoning all murders before his coronation, provides also, that all to be committed afterwards should be amerced according to the law of king *Edward*, which he re-established with his father's emendations. *M. Paris, A. D.* 1100.

William I. A. D. 1070.

" knights and barons, to take an oath of fealty to the king, to be always ready with " arms and horſes to do the ſervice incident to their fees, and to unite together like " ſworn brothers, with all their power and fortunes, to ſupport his government, to " maintain the peace and dignity of the crown, and to defend the kingdom. The " reſt ſeem deſigned for the common benefit both of *French* and *Engliſh*, and to " promote a good correſpondence between them: taking both under protection, " forbidding all injuſtice, and ſettling the methods of accuſation and purgation in " ſuits between them; providing for the peace of the realm by appointing watch " and ward to be kept throughout it; and encouraging the commerce thereof, by " the regulation of weights and meaſures, by the prohibition of buying and ſel- " ling, except with vouchers, and in cities, walled towns and caſtles, where markets " and fairs were held; and by ſecuring the freedom of ſlaves who had lived a year " and a day in thoſe places of trade, without being reclaimed by their maſters."

These were followed by other meaſures which the king took at this time, as well to ſecure the peace of the country, as to reconcile the *Engliſh* to his government. Of the firſt kind was his ordinance, that all the common people in the country towns and villages ſhould put out their fire and candle, and go to bed at ſeven a clock, upon the ringing of a bell, called the *couvre feu bell*, on pain of death [1]; a regulation, which having been made in an aſſembly of the eſtates of *Normandie* at *Caen*, in *A. D*, 1061, to prevent the debauches, diſorders, and other miſchiefs frequently committed in the night, had been practiſed with good ſucceſs in that country. Of the latter kind were, his care for the adminiſtration of juſtice in the ancient courts of the kingdom, and preſervation of the borough law; his promoting marriages between the *Normans* and the *Engliſh*; his preventing the open rapines and oppreſſions of the one, and the inſidious revenge of the other, and his affecting to learn *Engliſh*, in order to be better informed of the grievances of the country: but though he took a good deal of pains in this laſt reſpect, he was forced to give the attempt over; being too far advanced in years to be able to maſter the language.

His care of the crown revenue.

XVI. It appears from the rolls of the ſervices due from the lands of the prelates and other eccleſiaſticks, being entered of record in the exchequer; that this court [2] was now erected, for examining and paſſing the accompts of all officers employed in collecting the revenue of the crown; for determining all actions relating to it; and for puniſhing, as well the exactions and irregular proceedings of thoſe officers, as the delays and defaults of debtors in their payments. This revenue conſiſted of ſeveral branches, beſides the old demeſne lands, which were reſerved for ſupplying the king's houſhold with oxen, ſheep, corn, hay, and all ſorts of proviſion, according to the nature of the lands, and in the quantities neceſſary; the overplus remaining being compounded for in money. One was a kind of land-tax, called *Hidage*, firſt levied in the *Saxon* times on account of the *Danes*, and for that reaſon termed *Danegelt*; but collected (as appears from *Domeſday book* [3]) in *William's* time as an ordinary tax, in all appearance at the rate of twelve pence, as ſettled by the laws of *Edward the Confeſſor*. There was alſo a quit-rent [4] paid before the *conqueſt*, out of all the lands of the ſubject throughout the kingdom: and continued likewiſe upon the knights fees eſtabliſhed afterwards. Another branch lay in the profits of wardſhip, reliefs, and fines; as well for livery of hereditary lands, aſſignation of dower, licenſes of marriage, and leave to ſue in the king's court, generally termed *Oblata*; as of a penal nature, for marrying without

[1] *Du Moulin*, p. 160.

[2] The dialogue of the exchequer ſays, it was erected from the time of the conqueſt, and upon the plan of a like court in *Normandie*.

[3] C. 12.

[4] *Dial. de Scacc.* See *Madox's Hiſt. of the Exchequer*.

licenſe,

licenſe, and other miſdemeanors, which amounted to large ſums; beſides the forfeitures, mulcts, and pecuniary penalties, with which all ſorts of crimes were before, and for ſome time after, the *conqueſt*, puniſhed. There were likewiſe an infinite number of tolls and cuſtoms paid for paſſage, pontage, freedom of markets and fairs, protection in going and returning, liberty of buying and ſelling; beſides the duties laid upon merchandize, or paid for leave to enter or go out of the ports of the kingdom. Theſe general branches, with the occaſional aids due from the fees of thoſe who held of the crown by knights ſervice, and the taillages that the king had it in his power to levy upon the ſoccage tenants in his own demeſnes, and upon the trading towns of the realm, produced an immenſe revenue to *William*. *Ordericus*[1] ſays, that ſetting aſide the *Oblata*, fines, and forfeitures, he had one thouſand and ſixty pounds ſterling, thirty ſhillings, and three half-pence every day in the year; which amounting to above three hundred eighty-ſeven thouſand pounds a year, and a pound at that time, not being barely ſo in denomination, but a pound of ſilver in weight, his annual fixed income in rents muſt be computed at three times that value: and conſidering the price of things in thoſe days in compariſon with what it is now, may reaſonably be deemed worth now at leaſt ten times more than that higher valuation. Beſides this revenue, he had a ſtanding army to defend his realm, without any charge iſſuing out of his exchequer; having ſo diſtributed or ſettled the lands of the kingdom, that he had conſtantly ſixty thouſand knights under his command, ready to follow him in any expedition whatever.

Inſurrection of *Engliſh* ſupported by the king of *Scotland*.

XVII. This mighty ſtanding army, and immenſe revenue, did not put an end to all *William's* apprehenſions of diſturbances being raiſed in *England:* he was not eaſy as long as there was any of the *Engliſh* nobility left in the nation, capable of heading an inſurrection. Such were *Edwin* and *Morcar*, whoſe peaceable conduct, during the late troubles, had not gained them his friendſhip: and either out of a ſuſpicion of their diſaffection, entertained by himſelf, or ſuggeſted (as *Ordericus*[2] ſays) by his *Norman* councellors, who wanted to ſhare in the confiſcation of their eſtates, or in purſuance of a maxim adopted by politicians, which puts them upon guarding themſelves, as well againſt ſuch as have it in their power, as thoſe that have it in their will, to hurt them, he reſolved to ſeize upon their perſons. The two brothers, apprized of their danger, fled from court, to avoid an impriſonment, which they had reaſon to fear would not end but with their lives: *Edwin* retiring probably to his own eſtate in *Richmondſhire*, and *Morcar* to the *Iſle of Ely*, a place, in thoſe days, of great ſtrength by its natural ſituation; where his uncle *Hereward* was at the head of a ſmall party of reſolute men, and had been joined by *Siward Barn*, and *Agelwin* biſhop of *Durham*, with ſome followers from *Scotland*. The king was not without apprehenſions, that *Edwin* might call in the forces of *Scotland* and *Denmark* to his ſuccour; but thought it neceſſary to provide againſt the neareſt danger; which might, if neglected, increaſe by the popularity of *Morcar*, to a formidable degree in the middle of his realm: and reſolving to improve the ſummer, in which ſeaſon only it was practicable to attack the iſle with any hopes of ſucceſs, marched thither immediately with his army. It was more difficult to approach the malecontents, than it was afterwards to reduce them: and *William* having built a ſtrong fort at *Wisbech*, blocked up the iſle with his forces, and beleaguered it on the eaſt with a great number of flat-bottomed boats, made on the weſtſide a cauſeway or bridge over the fenns for two miles in length, with incredible labour and diligence. This was done with ſuch expedition, as both ſurprized and terrified his enemies; who being thus deprived of their defence, deſpaired of

[1] *Ord. Vital.* p. 523. [2] *Ib.* p. 521.

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being able to make further reſiſtance [1]: and the monks of the convent, being diſtreſſed by the king's ſeizing their lands which lay out of the iſle, they all agreed to ſubmit to his mercy; except *Hereward*, who bravely fought his way through the *Normans*, and eſcaped with his followers. This intrepid warriour ſtill maintained a footing, and carried on a ſort of piratical war in thoſe parts, till *A. D.* 1076, when having taken *Ivo Taillebois* [2], the *Conqueror* ſiſter's ſon, who poſſeſſed that part of *Hereward's* eſtate which lay in the *Holland* diviſion of *Lincolnſhire*, he made terms, for the ranſome of his priſoner, with *William* (who admired him for his invincible courage and daring actions) had his pardon, and was reſtored to his eſtate. The monks of *Ely* paid a thouſand marks for the reſtitution of their lands: *Agelwin*, *Morcar*, and ſome others were impriſoned for life; and the reſt, having had their hands cut off, and their eyes put out, were ſuffered to go at liberty. *Ordericus* [3] clears both the brothers from any ill deſign, and *Morcar* from any ſhare in the rebellion: and repreſents it as a breach of faith, to condemn him to perpetual impriſonment, after he had been by the aſſurances of the faithleſs meſſengers, which the king ſent to him, trapanned into a voluntary ſurrender, truſting to his innocence. It was this uſage, which (as the ſame hiſtorian adds) made *Edwin* reſolve to revenge it, or to get his brother's liberty: and having with that view, for ſix months together, ſollicited the *Engliſh*, *Scots*, and *Welſh* to join him, was at length betrayed to the *Normans*, by ſome of his own followers, three brothers, whom he moſt truſted, and generally employed in his affairs. He was on the road (perhaps towards *Scotland)* with a ſmall party of twenty horſe, when he was on a ſudden attacked by a much ſuperior body of *Normans*; againſt whom however he would have made good his retreat, if the tide ſwelling a river had not hindered him from paſſing it: but that means of ſafety failing, he was ſlain with all his followers after a brave defence. He was the handſomeſt man of his time: and being univerſally beloved, his death was lamented by the *Normans* and *French*, as well as by all the *Engliſh*. *William* is ſaid to have wept on the occaſion: and whatever benefit he derived from the treachery, he did an act agreeable to all the world, in baniſhing the traytors, that had contrived his murder.

The king was now freed from all his apprehenſions of diſturbances in *England:* but as what moſt encouraged them, was the expectation of aſſiſtance from *Scotland*, and *Malcolm* [4] had actually fallen upon the northern provinces, and made terrible havock on the borders, he reſolved to march thither with a ſtrong army, and to ſecure himſelf on that ſide, either by peace or victory. *Malcolm*, being by *Edwin's* death deprived of all hopes of any inſurrection in *England*, or of being joined by any body of diſcontented *Engliſh*, thought fit, upon *William's* advance into the north, to retire home, to raiſe more forces, and act on the defenſive. *William*, after a long, difficult, and fatiguing march, advanced with his forces into the borders of *Scotland* (probably into *Nithiſdale)* where he found the *Scotch* army well entrenched and poſted to great advantage: and encamped his own near them, as well to refreſh his men after their fatigue, as to obſerve the countenance, and diſcover the condition and motions of the enemy. The two armies lay facing one another for ſome days, prepared for action, yet not eager to begin an attack: which could not well be done by either, without ſome diſadvantage; they being not much unequal either in the number or bravery of their forces. Both kings were valiant and warlike, had been trained up in arms, and inured to dangers: but were wiſe too, and conſidered well the uncertainty of the event of a battle, and the fatal conſequences, which the loſs of it might produce. Theſe reflections occaſioned a

[1] *Hiſt. Elienſ. Bibl. Cotton. Titus*, A. 1. [2] *Gunton's Hiſt. of Peterborough*, p. 262.
[3] *Ib.* p. 521. [4] *Sim. Dun.* col. 203.

treaty; which ended in a peace [1], concluded upon equal conditions, unleſs in the articles of homage, which *Malcolm* was obliged to pay, and of the hoſtages which he delivered to *William*. It is not eaſy to aſcertain on what account this homage was paid, *William* being at this time poſſeſſed of all *Cumberland*, which he had ſome time before divided between *Ranulf*, *Galfrid*, and *William de Meſchines*: the firſt of which, having founded a pretty town at *Carliſle* [2], the king coming thither in his return, liked the place, and fortified it ſtrongly for the defence of the country. *Northumberland* too was in his hands; for he now took it away from *Goſpatric*, whom he ſuſpected of intelligence with *Edwin* and the *Scots*: and gave the earldom of it to *Waltheof*; upon which the former retiring to *Scotland*, had the earldom of *Dunbar* given him by *Malcolm*; and was afterwards infeoffed of all *Allerdale* by *Ranulf de Meſchines*, and of ſome other lands by the *Conqueror*. *Fordun* [3] ſays, that *Malcolm* did this homage for twelve towns or manors which he had in *England*, but doth not mention where they lay: it was however in all probability on that account; or elſe for the *Lothians*, which had been granted to his predeceſſors by *Edgar*, upon that condition. The hoſtages were probably given for the performance of ſome of the articles on *Malcolm's* part, perhaps that relating to *Edgar Atheling*; who was to return home, make his ſubmiſſion to *William*, and renounce his claim to the crown, being in that caſe to be reſtored to his former poſſeſſions, and to be ſupplied for life with an honourable maintenance. This was executed the year following, when *Edgar*, coming to the king in *Normandie*, was received with kindneſs, and had a mark a day ſettled upon him: but ſuch was the eaſy ſimplicity (as *Malmeſbury* [4] obſerves) of this laſt of the *Saxon* line of princes, that taking a fancy to a fine horſe of *William's*, he purchaſed it by the ſurrender of his penſion.

WILLIAM I. A. D. 1071.

A. D. 1073.

XVIII. THE peace with *Malcolm* reſtoring tranquillity to *England*, and deſtroying all the hopes which the diſcontented *Engliſh* might entertain of being able to ſhake off or diſtreſs *William's* government, he took the opportunity, which this calm ſeaſon of ſecurity afforded him, to viſit his foreign dominions; being called thither by a revolt of the *Manceaux*. *Hebert*, count of *le Maine*, had been ſo haraſſed by *Geffrey Martel*, count of *Anjou*, who was continually ravaging his country in order to ſubdue it, that he reſolved to throw himſelf into the arms of the duke of *Normandie*: and owning him for his lord, declared him alſo his heir, in caſe he died without children. *Hebert*, at his death, having no iſſue, renewed this declaration: but the nobility of the country, not liking to be under the *Norman* government, invited and received for their lord, *Walter* count of *Mante* and *Pontoiſe*, who had married *Biota*, the eldeſt ſiſter of *Hebert's* father; and put him in poſſeſſion of *le Mans*, with all the reſt of the province. *William*, with a great army, entered the country, took ſeveral places, and at laſt *le Mans*, after an obſtinate defence: but *Godefroy* of *Mayenne*, ſupported by others of the *nobleſſe*, did not ſuffer him to have a quiet poſſeſſion, either of the town or country, till his caſtles of *Hambieres* and *Mayenne* were taken; when he was obliged with the reſt to ſubmit to the *Conqueror*. To reconcile the people of the province to his government, and promote an union between them and the *Normans*, *William* propoſed a marriage between his eldeſt ſon *Robert*, and *Margaret*, ſiſter to the late count *Hebert*; whom he ſent for from *Germany*, whither ſhe had retired: but this lady died before *Robert* was of age to marry. This happened about three or four years before the conqueſt of *England*: and the province had from that time remained quiet in its ſubjection to *William*, till this year; when *Fulk*, count of *Anjou*, having ſome pre-

William recovers *le Maine*.

[1] *Chron. Walt. Hemingford*, c. 6. *Annal. Waverl.* [2] *Gibſon's Camd. Brit.* p. 1059.
[3] *Scotichron.* l. v. c. 16. [4] *Malmeſb.* l. iii.

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tenſions to the county, in the right of his wife *Herembourg*, daughter of *Helie*, late count of *Maine*, ſpirited up the people to a revolt. The town and citadel of *le Mans* were taken: and *Godefroy de Mayenne*, with moſt of the gentry, joining in the inſurrection, the *Normans* were entirely driven out of the country.

William [1], upon advice of this revolt, paſſed the ſea with a great army, compoſed of *Engliſh*, which made up fifty thouſand men, when reinforced by ſome levies which he made in *Normandie*: and after he had reduced the caſtles of *Freſnay*, *Beaumont le Vicomte*, and *Silly*, coming before the capital, threatned to burn the town, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword, if they offered to make any reſiſtance. The townſmen of *le Mans*, terrified with his menaces, ſurrendered the place the next day: and being pardoned, the whole country followed their example. *Fulk*, unable of himſelf to oppoſe the united forces of *England* and *Normandie*, applied to *Hoel* count of *Bretagne*, for aſſiſtance: and at the head of a brave army of *Bretons* and *Angevins*, inveſted *la Fleche*, the lord of which place was in alliance with *William*. This prince advancing to the relief of the town, and both armies being ready to engage, two cardinals, then in the country, interpoſed with their mediation to prevent a battle: and a peace was made at *Bruyeres* with *Anjou*, upon the rebels on each ſide being pardoned, and *Fulk's* quitting to the *Conqueror's* ſon *Robert* all his pretenſions to *le Maine*, except the right of homage, which *Robert* did to him immediately.

The valour of the *Engliſh* in this war is much celebrated by our old hiſtorians, who lament on that occaſion the ill-fated employment of it in the ſubduing of foreign countries, when they had declined exerting it in defence of their liberties, and had ſhewed ſo much poorneſs of ſpirit in tamely ſubmitting to a foreign yoke at the time of the *conqueſt*. They had now the honour to be employed in conquering for a man, that had enſlaved their country; that had ſtripped them of all their eſtates, and deſtroyed, baniſhed, or reduced their nobility to a ſtate of vaſſalage under his own followers: and yet in this abject ſtate of theirs at home, they were ridiculouſly fond of making a figure abroad; and found an odd ſort of vanity gratified, in fighting for the particular intereſts of their enſlaver, in triumphing over the independence of other countries, and in making acquiſitions to increaſe his foreign dominions, even at the expence of their own blood and treaſure. *England*, happy in her ſituation, if ſhe knew how to be content with, and make a right uſe of, its advantages, had ever hitherto enjoyed the benefit of being an iſland; had always lived in peace and amity with all her neighbours; had never, from the time ſhe became a nation, been embarked in any foreign war upon the continent: and thus at liberty to carry on her commerce with all the world, had heaped up thoſe immenſe riches; which, though they were the ſource of the luxury, debauchery, and corruption, that fitted the nation for ſlavery, at the time of the conqueſt, were, at the ſame time, the amazement of foreigners. This expedition into *le Maine*, the natural effect of her being under a foreign prince, whoſe patrimonial dominions lay on the continent, was the firſt eſſay of the *Engliſh* armes abroad, and the beginning of thoſe foreign wars, which, for the ſpace of near four hundred years, as long as the kings of *England* had any territories beyond ſea, were a continual drain to the treaſure of the nation, and brought upon it terrible calamities of various kinds; beſides the loſs of infinite numbers of the braveſt of her youth, ſlain in the purſuit of foreign conqueſts, or in the defence of foreign dominions.

A. D. 1074. Conſpiracy of the *Normans* in *England*.

XIX. Whilst *William* was detained in *Normandie*, a dangerous conſpiracy was formed againſt him in *England*, by perſons from whom he could leaſt ſuſpect

[1] *Ord. Vit.* p. 528. *Flor. Wig. Sim. Dun.*

it; by ſome of the great *Normans*, who owed the moſt to his bounty; but who, either diſſatisfied with their ſhare of his favour, or repining at the arbitrary power which he exerciſed over all that were his ſubjects, entered into meaſures for diſpoſſeſſing him of his kingdom. *William Fitz-Oſbern* [1] had left two ſons; the elder of which, bearing his father's name, had ſucceeded to *Breteuil*, *Paſſy*, *Yvry*, and all his lands in *Normandie*: and the younger, named *Roger*, enjoyed all his eſtate in *England*, with the earldom of *Hereford*. *Roger* had a mind to marry his ſiſter to *Ralph de Guader*, earl of the *Eaſt-Angles*; who ſeems to have been the ſon of *Ralph*, earl of that country in the *Confeſſor's* and *Harold's* days, a nobleman of *Daniſh* race, by a *Breton* heireſs; who brought him the caſtles of *Dol*, *Guader*, *Montfort*, and other lands near *Rennes* in *Bretagne*. [2] The marriage being ſettled between the parties, *Roger* had applied to the king, before he went over into *Normandie*, for his conſent; either by way of compliment to his ſovereign, or in compliance with ſome obligation, which the rigour of the feudal law exacted from a vaſſal: but met with a flat refuſal. The young lady was no heireſs to render the ſuperior's conſent abſolutely neceſſary: the match went on, and the nuptials were ſolemnized with great [3] pomp at *Exning*, near *New-Market* in *Suffolk*; all their friends being invited, and a great number of biſhops, abbots, barons, and military officers being aſſembled on the occaſion. Whether *Roger* and *Ralph* conſidered *William's* denial, or prohibition, as a ſtretch of the royal prerogative, or reſented it as an intolerable affront to themſelves, they reſolved to be revenged: and ſeized the opportunity to embark all the company in their quarrel, particularly *Waltheof*; whoſe great intereſt among the *Engliſh*, and reputation with all the world for his military ſkill and valour, rendered him ſo conſiderable, that it behoved them above all things to engage him in their party.

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With this view, they began to open their minds in the jollity of the entertainment; inveighing againſt *William's* tyrannical government, and recounting various acts of oppreſſion [4] and cruelty which he had committed in *Normandie*. "They "particularly inſiſted on his baniſhing *William de Warlenc*, count of *Mortain*, for "a ſingle word, and giving his lands and county to *Robert*, his mother *Arlette's* "ſon by *Herluin de Conteville*; his poiſoning *Walter*, count of *Mante*, nephew to "*Edward the Confeſſor*, and his wife *Biota*, in *Falaiſe*, and *Conan*, count of *Bre*-"*tagne*, at *Vimontier*: and having added to theſe his uſurpation of the crown of "*England*, his putting to death and baniſhing the nobility of the kingdom, ſtrip-"ping them of their eſtates, and impoveriſhing all his ſubjects; repreſented it as a "thing unworthy of men of ſpirit, courage, and honour, to ſuffer all this from a "baſtard, embroiled in foreign wars, and hated by his own children, who were "ready to take up arms againſt him to free themſelves from his oppreſſion." The company, warmed with liquor, reliſhed theſe diſcourſes: and agreeing that *William's* abſence afforded them a favourable opportunity to ſhake off his yoke, hurried on one another to engage in the undertaking. *Waltheof* alone oppoſing the motion, was offered all the north for his ſhare of the realm; the reſt being to be divided between *Ralph* and *Roger*: he ſtill refuſed his concurrence on account of his great obligations to the *Conqueror*, but promiſed to keep an inviolable ſecrecy. Meaſures were ſettled for the execution of the enterprize: it was reſolved to ſend to *Denmark*, where *Ralph* had probably many friends and relations, to procure an army of *Danes*; which king *Swein's* known enmity to *William*, and conſtant reſolution to diſtreſs him, ſhewn in his conduct on all former occaſions, did not leave them any room to doubt, but would be ſent immediately to their aſſiſtance. They hoped

[1] *Ord. Vit.* p. 527. [2] *Alured. Beverl.* l. ix. *Flor. Wig. Sim. Dun. Diceto.* [3] *M. Paris*, *A. D.* 1074. [4] *Ord. Vital.* p. 553.

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the more from theſe ſuccours, becauſe the *Danes* had ſuch numerous alliances in *England* (a great part of the inhabitants being deſcended of their blood) that they could not fail of being well received and joined by the people: and the conſpirators were all to riſe in their ſeveral quarters, and unite their forces, when the *Daniſh* fleet appeared off the coaſt to give ſtrength and reputation to the inſurrection.

These meaſures might have ſucceeded, could they have been executed immediately; but it was neceſſary to wait the arrival of the *Danes*; for which ſome time was of courſe to be allowed: and as it depended on the uncertainty of wind and weather, beſides other accidents, more might be required than was expected. Hence aroſe delays, always fatal to conſpiracies entruſted to many hands; in which caſe, conſidering the weakneſs, vanity, unſteadineſs, fears, and other paſſions of human nature in different perſons, it is as well impracticable to keep, as unreaſonable to expect, ſecrecy. The conſpiracy was diſcovered before the *Danes* arrived to ſupport it, perhaps by ſome other of the conſpirators, but in the general opinion of writers [1], by *Waltheof*; who, either out of a ſcruple of conſcience, in which he was very delicate, or by the perſuaſions of his wife, to whom he might perhaps in confidence impart it, and upon whom his ruin is poſitively charged, revealed the whole deſign to *Lanfranc:* and by his advice, having done penance for his oath of ſecrecy, went over to *Normandie* to acquaint the king with it, in full expectation of a pardon for ſuch a ſeaſonable ſervice. Whether this voyage gave any alarm to the conſpirators, or the ſeizure of ſome of them, by the orders of *Lanfranc* and the two juſticiaries, made the reſt apprehenſive that their plot was diſcovered; their chiefs were hurried on to raiſe their followers, and take the field before the *Daniſh* ſuccours arrived [2]. *Roger* put himſelf on the march with his forces to paſs the *Severne:* but was prevented by *Wulſtan*, biſhop of *Worceſter*, *Urſo*, high ſheriff of the county, *Agelwin*, abbot of *Eveſham*, and *Walter de Lacey*, a great baron in *Herefordſhire*; who, apprized of his deſign, were ready with their troops to oppoſe his paſſage of the river. *Ralph*, levying a body of forces in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, advanced to the neighbourhood of *Cambridge:* but being there met by *Odo* and *Geoffrey*, biſhops of *Bayeux* and *Coutances*, as our *Engliſh* writers ſay, or, according to *Ordericus*, by *William de Warenne*, and *Richard de Bienfaite*, juſticiaries of the realm, was defeated at *Fagadun*; many of his followers being ſlain, and abundance of priſoners taken, who had all their right foot cut off, as a puniſhment for their rebellion. *Ralph Brito* eſcaped to his own caſtle; as *Ralph de Guader* did to *Norwich*; from whence he went to *Denmark*, in hopes of returning ſoon with ſuccours, having entruſted the caſtle to the care of his wife, and put in it a brave governor, with a ſtrong garriſon of *Bretons*. The *Daniſh* fleet of two hundred ſail, under the command of *Cnut*, *Swein's* ſon, and earl *Hacco*, appeared ſoon after off the coaſts: but the commanders, either finding all the meaſures of the conſpirators broke, their party diſheartened by the diſaſters that had happened, and the king's forces aſſembled in all parts ready to oppoſe them; or elſe bribed by *William's* money [3], for which *Hacco* was baniſhened upon his return home, they either durſt not, or would not attempt to make a deſcent, and retired to the ports of *Flanders*. *Ralph* went from thence to his eſtate in *Bretagne*; where his wife and the garriſon he had left in *Norwich* came to him ſoon after, having held out three months, till reduced to extremity by famine, and then made an honourable capitulation for the ſurrender of the caſtle; which was probably granted them out of an apprehenſion of the *Danes*, and ſeems to be the onely benefit he derived from their ſuccours.

[1] *Order. Vital.* p. 536. [2] *Flor. Wig.* [3] *Malmeſb.* l. iii.

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WILLIAM had reaſon at this time to expect ſome troubles to break out in *Normandie:* but the news of this inſurrection, the dread which he always had of the *Daniſh* power and intereſt in *England*, and his ignorance, or uncertainty, how deep the conſpiracy was laid, and where it would end, made him haſten to return thither. He came over in autumn, and found a ready ſubmiſſion from all the conſpirators; who before ſtood upon their defence, and whom his juſticiaries had not dared to attempt, or had not been able to reduce: among whom was *Roger* [1], earl of *Hereford*, who confeſſed to him the whole affair. Moſt of theſe were puniſhed either by hanging, cutting off their hands, or putting out their eyes: but the chiefs being reſerved for the judgment of his court, which he held during the feſtival of *Chriſtmas* at *Weſtminſter*, *Ralph* being abſent was ſentenced to a perpetual exile, and a forfeiture of his lands and honours. *Roger*, being very nearly related to *William*, and his father's merits pleading ſtrongly for him, was condemned only to the like forfeiture, and to impriſonment during the king's pleaſure: who would, in all appearance, have enlarged him ſoon after the *Eaſter* following, when he ſent him a ſilk waiſtcoat, a cloth coat embroidered with gold, and a mantle furred with ermines, if the proud earl had not, in the fury of his reſentment, thrown them into the fire, in the preſence of the bearer, and talked very diſhonourably of his prince; who, incenſed at this outrageous behaviour, ſwore he ſhould never have his liberty as long as he lived. There was more difficulty in the caſe of *Waltheof*, and much more odiouſneſs in the proſecution; it being upon his wife *Judith's* [2] information that he was accuſed, not only of being conſcious to, but alſo of favouring, the conſpiracy: nor did he make any difficulty of owning that he knew of it; though he maintained, that he had abſolutely refuſed his conſent. The judges, appointed to examine his caſe, met ſeveral times at different intervals to hear it, without coming to any determination: *Waltheof* being all the while kept in priſon at *Wincheſter*, where he paſſed his time in an exemplary manner, like a good *Chriſtian* and true penitent, and *Lanfranc* pleading earneſtly in his behalf. But it was his misfortune to be an *Engliſhman*, and conſequently obnoxious to *William's* diffidence and hatred; to have a vaſt eſtate, which *Ivo Taillebois* and other *Normans* were eager to ſhare among themſelves; and above all, to have a wife that wanted to get rid of him, in order to another match, which ſhe had in view, and exceedingly affected. His innocence (which *Ingulf* vehemently aſſerts, and was, as he atteſts, proved by miracles) could not protect him againſt the malice of his enemies; he was at laſt condemned to loſe his head for not diſcovering the conſpiracy againſt the king's life: and after a long confinement was taken out of priſon very early in the morning, on *April* 29, by the *Normans*, who dreaded his eſcape; carried out of the walls of *Wincheſter* before people were up, and beheaded on an hill, where *St. Giles's* church was ſoon after erected. He was the laſt *Engliſhman* that retained any power or conſiderable intereſt in the nation; his courage and ſtrength of body have been already mentioned: he was big made, yet well ſhaped; daring, but with judgment; pious, devout, and religious, generous and liberal, charitable to the poor, beneficent to the monks, extremely beloved, and every body wiſhed his freedom. It was this popularity, and the fear of his being reſcued, which made his enemies take the precautions abovementioned for his execution. His corpſe was at firſt thrown into a ditch; but in a fortnight afterwards was removed from the place, where it had ſome earth thrown over it: and was interred honourably in the chapter houſe of *Croyland*. His relict *Judith* became the abhorrence of all the world: and ſoon fell unpitied into misfortunes, by incurring the diſpleaſure of her uncle. *William* would have married her to *Simon de Senlis*, a noble *Norman*, lame of a leg;

A. D. 1075.

[1] *Ord. Vital.* p. 535. *Sim. Dun.* [2] *Ord. Vital.* p. 536.

William I. A. D. 1075.

leg; and upon her refuſal, either becauſe ſhe deſpiſed the man for that imperfection, or perhaps becauſe ſhe was pre-engaged to another, ſeized her lands, and gave them to *Simon*, with the titles of earl of *Huntingdon* and *Northampton*. *Judith*, dreading the king's wrath, fled with the two daughters which ſhe had by *Waltheof*; wandering about from place to place, every where deſpiſed, remaining all the reſt of her life a widow, and affected with a continual remorſe; whilſt *Simon*, marrying her elder daughter *Matilda*, enjoyed the greateſt part of her late huſband's eſtate.

William having ſettled his affairs in *England*, and puniſhed the conſpirators whom he had got into his power, paſſed the ſea into *Normandie*, with a reſolution to purſue *Ralph de Guader* [1] into *Bretagne*, and ravage his lands in that country. *Dol* was the place which he firſt attacked, and making no doubt of taking it, ſwore that he would not riſe from before the place, till he had it in his power: but the garriſon making a gallant defence, all his efforts were fruitleſs; and hearing that *Philip*, king of *France*, was advancing to the relief of the town with the united forces of his own kingdom and *Bretagne*, he raiſed the ſiege, in which he had loſt abundance of men, and retired in ſuch haſte, that he left his tents and baggage behind. Finding little likelihood of ſucceſs in his attempts againſt *Hoel*, count of *Bretagne*; and to prevent this prince's giving encouragement to the troubles which he apprehended in *Normandie*, he ſoon after treated with him about a peace: which was concluded at *Bayeux*; the principal article being the marriage of his daughter *Conſtance* with *Alain Fergant*, *Hoel's* eldeſt ſon; which was ſolemnized at *Caen* with great magnificence.

Councils of *London* and *Wincheſter*.

XX. It was probably, whilſt *William* was abſent upon this expedition, that the national council, generally [2] aſſigned to *A. D.* 1075, was held at *London:* in which the precedency of biſhops was ſettled according to the priority of their conſecration; except with regard to ſuch ſees, as had particular privileges annexed to them by ancient cuſtom. It was on this laſt account, that the archbiſhop of *York* taking his ſeat on the right-hand of the primate of *Canterbury*, the biſhop of *London* was placed on the left of the latter, and the biſhop of *Wincheſter* on the right of the former: and in this order ſigned the acts of this ſynod; which agreeably to the decrees of the councils of *Sardica* and *Laodicea*, provided for the removal of ſees from ſmall towns and villages, where biſhops, in the *Saxon* times, affected to reſide for the ſake of retirement, to cities; and expreſsly enjoined thoſe of *Sherburn*, *Seleſey*, and *Lichfield* to be removed to *Saliſbury*, *Chicheſter*, and *Cheſter*. There is another canon paſſed in this council, which deſerves notice, becauſe it ſeems to have given occaſion to a practice very different from the cuſtom of the *Saxon* times: in which, as may be verified by many inſtances, the biſhops kept their ſeats in the great councils, and judged in capital caſes. It was now ordained, "that no biſhop, abbot, or clergyman, ſhould judge any perſon to the loſs of life "or limb: or give his vote or countenance to any others for that purpoſe." To comply with this canon of their own, the prelates have ſince withdrawn from the houſe of lords in ſuch caſes, entering a proteſt in favour of their right of ſitting.

A. D. 1076.

There was another ſynod [3], held the year following at *Wincheſter:* in which endeavours were uſed to introduce the decrees of Pope *Gregory* VII, made in the two precedent years, and forbidding the clergy [4] to marry; excommunicating ſuch as did not part with their wives, declaring the cohabiting with them to be fornication, ſuſpending all that did not comply with his decrees from the exerciſe of

[1] *Ord. Vital.* p. 543, 544. [2] *Concil. M. Brit.* t. i. p. 363. [3] *Ib.* p. 367. [4] *Flor. Wig. Sim. Dun. M. Paris. Dicet. an.* 1074, 1075.

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their function, and prohibiting all the laity from being preſent at divine ſervice when they officiated. Theſe decrees, calculated not for the honour of religion, but for the aggrandizing of the papacy, the main view of all *Gregory's* meaſures, by taking the clergy off from all other attachments, but what they had to the papal authority, the monkiſh writers of thoſe times exclaim vehemently againſt, as raſh, unprimitive, iniquitous, and the ſource of terrible diſorders, miſchiefs, and inconveniencies. For the clergy were generally married in other countries of *Europe*, as well as *England*; and theſe decrees were not eſtabliſhed there without ſtrong oppoſition and warm remonſtrances: neither were they received here without ſome qualifications, notwithſtanding the *Pope's* eagerneſs in preſſing their execution. The utmoſt length the *Engliſh* church could be brought to go in this ſynod was to decree, "that no canon of a cathedral or collegiate church ſhould be ſuffered "to have a wife; that pariſh prieſts, having their cures in country villages and "caſtles, ſhould not be allowed to marry, if they were ſingle, though, if they were "married already, they were not obliged to part with their wives; and that for the "future, the biſhops ſhould take care not to ordain any prieſts or deacons, without "taking from them a ſolemn promiſe and declaration that they would not marry." William I. *A. D.* 1076.

XXI. William had hitherto been ſucceſsful in all his enterprizes, and triumphed over all his enemies: the difficulties and dangers he had met with had only ſerved to exerciſe his wiſdom and other great qualities, to increaſe his empire, to ſtrengthen his power, and to raiſe his glory. But now a different ſcene is opening to our view, and we ſhall ſee him, in the decline of his life, embroiled in domeſtic quarrels; which could not bring him any advantage, nor contribute in the leaſt to his glory, to make ſome amends for the anxiety and uneaſineſs of mind, which they muſt neceſſarily occaſion. We ſhall ſee him attacked by his own children, oppoſed by his natural born ſubjects, and after repeated revolts on their part, and making their native country, the favourite part of his dominions, for ſome years an horrible ſcene of diſorder, rapine, devaſtation, and bloodſhed, forced to have recourſe to ſtrangers, to reduce them to duty and obedience. His eldeſt ſon *Robert*, called from his ſhort legs *Gambaron* or *Courtes-huſes*, is, by ſome writers, ſuſpected to have been the ſecret author of the late revolt of the *Manceaux*, and to have inſtigated ſome *Norman* gentlemen to join them, in order to oblige the king his father to put him in poſſeſſion of the county of *Maine*, and the dutchy of *Normandie*, and to content himſelf with the kingdom of *England*. When the nobility and people of *Maine* made their firſt ſubmiſſion to *William*, a few years before the *conqueſt*, one of the conditions was, that *Robert* ſhould marry *Margaret*, ſiſter to their late count *Hebert*, and in her right enjoy the county. When the *Conqueror* was at the court of *France*, ſolliciting ſuccours for his *Engliſh* expedition, he had promiſed, in the preſence of king *Philip*, that in caſe he ſucceeded in that expedition, and came to be quiet poſſeſſor of the crown of *England*, he would reſign *Normandie* to *Robert*; which probably was done, in hopes of removing the jealouſy and apprehenſions, which the *French* council had of one of the vaſſals of *France* growing too powerful [1] for their monarch to controll. He had afterwards in a fit of ſickneſs, which appeared dangerous, renewed this promiſe; declared *Robert* his heir; and made the barons of *Normandie* and *Maine* do him homage. *Robert*, after the *conqueſt*, at the inſtigation of thoſe about him, called upon his father to perform theſe promiſes: but was put off with pretences of the unſettled ſtate of *England*, the diſcontents of the nobility, the invaſions threatened by the *Danes*, and *Scots*, and other dangers which rendered it neceſſary for Rebellion of *Robert Curcboſe*.

[1] *Ord. Vit.* p. 545.

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the king to keep *Normandie* for a ſure retreat, in caſe of any great diſaſter or revolution in *England*. *Robert* ſeemed to allow of theſe reaſons for delay, ſo long as there appeared any diſturbances or ſigns of danger in that kingdom: but when the whole nation was abſolutely ſubdued, the nobility extirpated, and his father's government too firmly eſtabliſhed to be ſhaken by any inſurrection at home or attempt from abroad, he grew impatient: and meeting ſtill with delays, imagined that they were to laſt for ever; not without reaſon, if what ſome writers ſay be true, that *William* told him plainly, "he ſhould not undreſs himſelf before he "went to bed, and his ſon ought to wait till after his deceaſe."

Robert, as to his perſon, was full faced, fat, and ſhort, but very robuſt: as to his qualities and talents, he was imperious, full of ambition, fond of glory to the laſt degree, unquiet, and reſtleſs; eloquent, but talkative; brave, daring, but unſteady; generous in his nature, but laviſh in his expences; good-natured, courteous, and obliging to all. He was an excellent archer; very adroit in all the exerciſes of arms; and his greateſt pleaſure was to command an army; in which he was thought to ſurpaſs all the princes of his time. *William's* ſecond ſon *Richard*, a young prince of great hopes, had been unfortunately killed by a ſtag, or the branch of a tree, as he was hunting in the *New-Foreſt*: but he had ſtill two younger ſons, *William*, called from his yellow hair *Rufus*, and *Henry*; who were ſubmiſſive to their father's will, as depending more abſolutely on his favour and bounty for their ſhare in his ſucceſſion. Whether they had any reaſon or no to think that their elder brother had a mind to engroſs it all to himſelf, they were certainly jealous of his entertaining ſuch a deſign: and the common circumſtances of their condition, and in ſome reſpects their common intereſt, uniting them cloſely together, that union inſpired a like jealouſy of them into *Robert*. A ſmall matter made minds thus diſpoſed break out into an open quarrel; which had like to have cauſed a war between the crowns of *France* and *England*.

A. D. 1077.

The king [1], in an expedition againſt *Courbon*, ſtopping at the town of *Richer* (called *l'Aigle*, from an eagle's neſt there found in an oak by one *Foubert*, as he was building it) *William* and *Henry*, proud of their father's favour, and willing to ſhew how little they valued their elder brother, went to the houſe of *Roger de Cauchois*, where he lodged: and going up ſtairs to a room that looked over a terras, where he, with ſome of the principal nobility of *Normandie*, who conſtantly attended him, were walking; they there firſt fell to dice, the ſoldiers diverſion, and then to ramps and monkey tricks, making a troubleſome noiſe, and proceeding at laſt ſo far, as to throw water deſignedly upon *Robert* and his company. Whatever was *Rufus's* intention in this proceeding, it could be conſidered only as a boyiſh action on the part of young *Henry*: and in this light *Robert* laughed at it, till *Ivo* and *Alberic*, ſons of *Hugh de Grente Meſnil*, who had been deprived by the *Conqueror* of their father's honours and eſtate in *England*, repreſented it to him as an intolerable inſolence; telling him, it was done on purpoſe to inſult him, and that he was obliged in honour to revenge the affront, if he would not be trampled on and deſpiſed by all mankind. This put *Robert* immediately into a fury; and drawing his ſword, he mounted with them to the room where his brothers were, whom he attacked: and great miſchief would have followed, if their father, upon the noiſe which this occaſioned, had not run haſtily from his own quarters at *Gunnier's* houſe, and put an end to the diſorder. Though the quarrel was thus ſtopped, reſentment ſtill fired the breaſt of *Robert*; and quitting the army in the middle of the night, he went to *Rouen*, with a view of ſeizing the caſtle: but was prevented by *Roger de Ivery*, the governor, who ſuſpecting ſome rebellion, took his

[1] *Ord. Vital.* p. 545.

measures so well, as to baffle all the designs of *Robert* and his partizans. The king, upon advice of this presumptuous attempt, sent orders to have all concerned in it seized and punished: some accordingly were taken; and the rest flying, were received by *Hugh de Neuf-Chatel* into his castles; from whence they made excursions all over the country. Besides the young *Grente-Mesnils*, *Robert de Belesme*, *Ralph de Conches*, *Robert de Mowbray*, *Robert*, son of *Richard de Bienfaite*, the barons *Des Moulins*, and *de la Perriere*, with the young nobility in general adhered to *Robert*: and had their lands confiscated. The gentlemen of *Bretagne*, *Anjou*, and *Maine* took up arms to engage in the quarrel, without well knowing which party to take: some siding with the son, others with the father; so that the country was horribly wasted during the three or four years that, with some short intervals of accommodation, this unnatural war lasted. WILLIAM I. *A. D.* 1077.

THE enterprizes and conflicts, which happened in the course of these troubles, are passed over in silence by our old historians: who neglect every thing else, to take notice of that remarkable action at *Gerberoy*; which produced a reconciliation between *William* and *Robert*. *Philip*, king of *France*, envious of the former's glory, jealous of his greatness, and repining at the prosperity of a vassal, now become his equal in power and dignity, was a secret fomenter of their quarrel: and is generally supposed to have had the chief hand in putting the latter upon demanding the principalities of *Maine* and *Normandie*, and in inflaming his discontent at the refusal of that demand. He had encouraged *Robert* by promises of support to assert his claim: and when the quarrel broke out, had given him some assistance; enough to enable him in conjunction with his friends in *Normandie*, where he was well beloved, to keep the war alive; but not sufficient to make him master of the dutchy. *Robert* received likewise supplies of money from his mother, whose favourite he was: which *William* discovering, was highly incensed, and not a little uneasy; scarce knowing, in the embroiled state of his affairs, and in the confused interests and affections of families and relations in a civil war, whom to trust among the *Normans*. In this distress, he brought over a brave army of *English* to reduce and pacify *Normandie*; as he had formerly made use of the *Normans* to conquer *England*. This was a force too great for *Robert* to oppose in the field: nor were the castles, which he and his partizans held in *Normandie*, in a condition to hold out against such a power; so that upon his application to the court of *France* for a place of retreat, where he might be in safety, *Philip*, not caring to come to an open rupture with *William*, engaged the vidame *Helie*, lord of the place, to receive him into *Gerberoy*, a strong fortress in the *Beauvoisis*. There *Robert* assembled a great number of soldiers, and was joined by many of the *French* nobility; some making the succours he received from *France* amount to two thousand men of arms: and from thence ravaged all the *Vexin Normand* and the *Pais de Caux*, putting all that opposed him to the sword, burning towns, and raising contributions.

WILLIAM, to stop these incursions, assembled his army in the depth of winter, and invested *Gerberoy*, lying before it three weeks[1]: during which, there happened many signal encounters and acts of chivalry; many vigorous assaults given to the place and bravely repulsed; many sallies conducted with judgment, and made with success. In one of these, *Robert* had the misfortune to meet his father: and running against him with his lance, wounded him in the arm, and dismounted him; so that he fell to the ground, and crying out, made himself known by his voice. *Robert* (such is the force of nature) struck at once with remorse for his crime, and awakened to a sense of his duty, leaped immediately from his horse; raised up his *A. D.* 1079.

[1] *Ord. Vital.* p. 572.

William I. *A. D.* 1079.

father from the ground; fell upon his knees; and with a flood of tears, aſked pardon for his offence; offering to lay down his arms, and return to his obedience. This generous and filial behaviour made no impreſſion upon the father; he was perhaps in pain with his wound, or out of humour at the foil he received; he had loſt abundance of men, and his favourite ſon *William* was wounded in the action: he had been incenſed (it ſeems) too long, and too continually againſt *Robert*, to forgive him eaſily; and made him a return, that neither doth honour to his character, nor raiſes any advantageous opinion either of the generoſity of his mind, or of the goodneſs of his nature. When *Robert* had mounted him upon his own horſe, and let him go back to his camp, he was ſo little maſter of his paſſions, and ſo little affected by his eldeſt ſon's conduct on this occaſion, that he gave him his curſe at parting: he thought fit however to raiſe the ſiege, and return to *Rouen*. This action (the time whereof is by ſome miſtaken, and placed very early in a war of which they have ſcarce any thing elſe to ſay) happened at the end of *January*, in the beginning of the year 1079; as appears from the teſtimonies of *Florence*, *Simeon*, *Hoveden*, the *Chronicles* of *Mailros*, *John abbot of Peterborough*, and others; as well as from the circumſtances of the relation.

What reaſon and fatherly affection could not work in *William*, the inſtances[1] of his queen, and the intreaties of *Roger*, earl of *Shrewſbury*, *Hugh de Grentemenil*, *Roger de Beaumont*, and other *Norman* barons, brought about in a ſhort time: he was reconciled to *Robert*[2]; invited him to *Rouen*; and they both came over from thence into *England*, which had been infeſted by the incurſions of the *Scots* in his abſence. They had haraſſed the borders the year before; and at the latter end of *Auguſt* this year[3], *Malcolm*, with a royal army, fell upon *Northumberland*, and ravaged it as far as the *Tyne*; *William* being then taken up with an expedition into *Wales*, and in receiving the homages of the princes and nobility of the country. The *Scots* were tempted to a like invaſion the year following, by the diſcontent of the people of that county, and the diſturbances raiſed in it on the following occaſion.

A. D. 1080. Troubles at *Durham*.

XXII. Walcher, biſhop of *Durham*, had, after the death of *Waltheof*, bought the earldom of *Northumberland* of the king: and ſuffered his officers, knights, and ſervants to govern[4] it in a tyrannical manner, without ever offering to reſtrain them in the intolerable licenſe that they uſed, and the hoſtilities to which they proceeded. They were continually exacting money from the people illegally, to their utter impoveriſhment; their inſolence went ſo far, as to plunder abundance of them openly, and even murder ſome of the nobility: and theſe iniquities being daily perpetrated, without any interpoſition or cenſure on the biſhop's part, rendered him infinitely odious to the *Northumbrians*. This is all that *Simeon*, in his *Hiſtory of the church of Durham*, ſays of the occaſion of the following ſad *cataſtrophe*; though, in his *Chronicle of the kings of England*, he relates particularly the murder of *Ligulf*[5], one of the moſt conſiderable of the *Engliſh* nobility in the north, and a great benefactor to the church of *Durham*; whither he had retired to avoid the rapines, and be protected from the inſolence, of the *Normans*. This wiſe, devout, and charitable nobleman was highly eſteemed by the biſhop; who frequently conſulting him in his affairs, and acting by his advice, contrary to the ſentiments of *Leofwine* his chaplain, and *Giſlebert* his relation and deputy in the government of the county, this exaſperated them ſo highly, that they murdered *Ligulf*. *Walcher* was a good man, regular in his life, mild in his nature; and exceedingly lamented the

[1] *Ord. Vital.* p. 572. [2] *Chr. Hemingford.* c. 8. [3] *Hoved. M. Paris, an.* 1079.
[4] *Sim. Dun. Hiſt. Eccl. Dun.* c. 58. *M. Paris. Malmeſb.* l. iii. [5] *Flor. Wig. Brompton.*

death of his friend: but the murderers had got ſuch an aſcendant over him, that he received them into his houſe after the fact, and was governed by them as much as ever; thus involving himſelf either in the guilt, or at leaſt in the odium, of their iniquities. He took pains indeed to clear himſelf from having had any hand in the murder: but his connivance at it, his countenancing the agents, who were known to be his chief miniſters, councellors, and directors, were ſuch appearances in the eyes of an incenſed people, that he was generally reputed guilty. Had he puniſhed them as they deſerved, he might probably have ſaved his own life: but propoſing to compound the matter by making ſome ſatisfaction to the relations of the deceaſed, in a county-court held at *Gateſhead* on *Thurſday*, *May* 14, the nobles and people of *Northumberland*, too much enraged, either to ſacrifice their vengeance to a bribe, or to leave themſelves ſtill expoſed to the like aſſaſſinations, or other oppreſſions, under the government of ſuch inhuman wretches, fell upon the prelate and his followers; putting them all to the ſword, with *Leofwine* and *Giſlebert*, to the number of an hundred perſons. They afterwards marched to *Durham*, and attacked the caſtle: but were forced, on the fourth day, to raiſe the ſiege, by the vigorous defence of the garriſon. WILLIAM I. *A. D.* 1080.

ODO, biſhop of *Bayeux*, chief juſticiary of the kingdom, was ſent down with an army to puniſh the authors[1] of this maſſacre: but moſt of thoſe concerned in it, having left their poſſeſſions and fled into exile, the ſtorm fell upon thoſe that ſtaid at home, truſting to their innocence. Some of theſe were either beheaded, or had their hands cut off, as if they had been guilty: and others were falſly accuſed, that they might redeem their lives by money. *Odo* having reduced all the country to a ſtate of deſolation, and ſtripped the church of one of its richeſt ornaments, a paſtoral ſtaff made of ſaphires, curiouſly wrought, returned with his forces; having left a ſtrong garriſon in the caſtle. This calamity was followed by another in autumn, when *Malcolm* having invaded *Northumberland* again, *William* ſent his eldeſt ſon *Robert* with a body of forces, to drive him out of the country. Upon his approach, *Malcolm* retired home[2]: and the prince having advanced as far as *Eagleſuret* in *Scotland*, waſting all before him, and ſeeing no enemy to encounter, marched back again to the *Tyne*; on the banks of which river he erected a fortreſs at *Monk-ceſter*, ſince called from thence *New-caſtle*. *Robert* upon his return to court did not find himſelf at all better in the king's favour, than he had been for ſome years before: and this rendering his ſtay there diſagreeable, he reſolved to travel abroad; with a full reſolution, however, never more take up arms againſt his father. His[3] firſt deſign was to go into *Italy* in hopes of marrying a daughter of the marqueſs *Bonifacio*: but being diſappointed of that match, he wandered about from one prince's court to another's, viſiting his uncles *Robert le Friſon* count of *Flanders*, and *Udo* archbiſhop of *Treves*; and thence paſſing to others of his relations in *Gaſcogne*, *Lorraine*, and *Germany*. In this manner he ſpent five years; having received every where very great preſents, which he ſquandered diſſolutely, and being attended in all his travels by *Robert de Beliſme*, and the reſt of the young *Norman* nobility who had adhered to him in his firſt revolt. At laſt he fixed his reſidence in the court of *France*: and continued in that country till his father's death, without raiſing any diſturbance in his territories.

XXIII. AMONG other talents which diſtinguiſhed *William*, and fitted him for government, he was an excellent manager of his revenue: and took care to have always a large fund of treaſure in his coffers, ready to ſupply his occaſions in any *A. D.* 1081. A general ſurvey of *England*.

[1] *Sim. Dun. ib. Malmeſb.* l. iii. [2] *Chron. Mailroſ. Chron. Joh. abb. de Petriburgo.* [3] *Ord. Vital.* l. 5.

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William I. A. D. 1081.

ſudden emergence or difficulties that might happen. It was at this time that, to get a true account of the value, as well of his own demeſnes, as of his lands held by his tenants *in capite*, he ſent ſome of the moſt eminent of his prelates and nobility, as commiſſioners, into the counties reſpectively allotted them, to make a general ſurvey of the kingdom. This was given in by the verdict of juries, ſworn in every hundred, wapentac, or county, before the commiſſioners, to enquire and ſpecify, what arable land, paſture, meadow, and wood, every man had, and what was the extent and value thereof, as well at preſent, as in the time of *Edward the Confeſſor*. The ſurvey was made by counties, hundreds, towns, or manors, hides, carucates, virgates, and acres, and the portions of theſe quantities of different kinds of ground: and took notice likewiſe of what mills and fiſheries, and in ſome counties, how many freemen, ſocmen, villains, cottagers, borders, ſlaves, cattle, ſheep, hogs, working horſes, and other animals, were in each town and manor, and to whom they belonged. It [1] was ſix years in taking, not being finiſhed till *A. D.* 1086: and was drawn up in two books; the leſſer deſcribing the counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Eſſex*; the great one containing all the reſt of the kingdom, except the three *northern* counties of *Weſtmorland*, *Cumberland*, and *Northumberland*. It was called *Domeſday Book*, becauſe every man was to receive his doom, or be judged by it, in caſe any diſpute about the value, tenure, payment, or ſervices of his lands, ſhould ariſe upon the collection of the king's ordinary revenue, or the raiſing of extraordinary taxes. This valuable record, having ſerved ever ſince for a deciſive evidence in ſuch diſputes, is lodged in the office of the chamberlains of the *Exchequer*; and ſeems to have been deſigned by the *Conqueror*, not ſo much for his own ſervice, as for the benefit of his ſucceſſors.

A. D. 1082. *Odo* biſhop of *Bayeux* impriſoned.

XXIV. The care obſerved in making this ſurvey did not do more honour to his œconomy, than the ſeizing of *Odo* biſhop of *Bayeux* [2] and earl of *Kent*, notwithſtanding the papal claims of having the cognizance of crimes of biſhops and the exemption of their perſons from the civil power, did to the vigour of his adminiſtration. This prelate being, as chief juſticiary, the ſecond perſon of the realm, had, during his government thereof, amaſſed immenſe ſums of money by the moſt oppreſſive and illegal methods: and upon an idle prediction of ſome aſtrologer or fortune-teller, that *Gregory* the preſent Pope ſhould be ſucceeded by one *Odo*, reſolved to employ them in a purchaſe of the papacy. With this view [3] he had bought a palace at *Rome*, furniſhed it very magnificently, and employed agents there to engage by preſents and promiſes the intereſt of the great men in his behalf at the next election. It behoved him to be himſelf on the ſpot, when the time came; and [4] being by his parts, elocution, experience, learning, and knowledge of various kinds very well qualified for any negociation, he ſeems to have made no queſtion of ſucceeding in his deſign, and even to have perſuaded others into the ſame notion. Full of theſe hopes, and in order to appear at *Rome* with a ſplendid equipage, he engaged *Hugh* earl of *Cheſter*, and a great part of his principal tenants, to attend him into *Italy*, and aſſiſt in the affair; which it ſeems they had ſo much at heart, as well as ſo much confidence in his promiſes, that they deſigned to ſell their eſtates in *England* and ſettle in *Italy*; where they expected much greater honours and fortunes. The king having advice of theſe proceedings, and apprehending that his realm might ſuffer greatly by loſing the ſervice of ſo many *Nor-*

[1] *Little Domeſday*, fol. 45. [2] *Chron Sax. Flor. Wig. Chron. Mailroſ.* [3] *Ord. Vit.* p. 646.
[4] *Gul. Pictav.* p. 209.

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WILLIAM I. A. D. 1082.

mans of figure, and by the exportation of ſo much treaſure as *Odo* was carrying with him, came over haſtily from *Normandie* to prevent his deſigns: and met him unexpectedly in the *Iſle of Wight*, as he was ready, with all his train, to embark. There ſummoning his nobility about him: and having charged his brother with breach of truſt in his adminiſtration of the realm, with oppreſſing the ſubject in an arbitrary manner, robbing churches of their eſtates and treaſure, oppreſſing the poor, and debauching the forces, which ſhould defend the country, from his ſervice, and carrying them away to *Italy* on chimerical projects, he deſired their advice on the occaſion. They [1] being afraid of *Odo's* greatneſs, and not caring to deliver their opinion in the caſe; he told them, "no man's quality ought to be a "protection for his crimes, nor ought any ſingle perſon to be ſpared in prejudice "of the public:" and then ordered them to apprehend his perſon, and keep him in ſafe cuſtody. None of them daring to lay hands on a prelate, the king ſeized him with his own hands; and upon *Odo's* inſiſting that he was a biſhop, and as ſuch could not be tried by any body but the Pope, he replied, that he ſeized him not as biſhop of *Bayeux*, but as earl of *Kent*; in which laſt capacity, he was certainly ſubject to his courts of juſtice, and obliged to give an account of his adminiſtration. *Odo* was ſent away into *Normandie*, and impriſoned in the caſtle of *Roüen:* nor could all the [2] inſtances, remonſtrances, and intimations of reſentment, uſed by Pope *Gregory* in his particular behalf, and in favour of eccleſiaſtical immunities in general, prevail for his releaſe, during the life of the *Conqueror*.

William makes foreſt-laws.

XXV. THIS prince made a [3] longer ſtay in *England*, than in all probability he had propoſed at his coming over: this was owing to a plague or peſtilential diſtemper, which reigned at this time in *Normandie*, and diſpeopled the towns and villages of the country. During this ſtay he exerciſed himſelf much in hunting; a paſtime which he loved exceedingly, and had ſuch a fury for gratifying, that he depopulated above thirty miles of country in *Hampſhire*, turning out all the inhabitants, deſtroying the houſes, gardens, and even churches, which ſtood in that tract, in order to make it a deſert, fit for the habitation of wild beaſts, that ſerved for his diverſion; this part of the country being thereupon called the *New Foreſt*. Mr. *Selden* [4], after *Polydore Vergil*, is apt to fancy that another reaſon concurred in influencing him to this ſtep, and that he did it with a political view, for the better landing of forces out of *Normandie*, in caſe of any exigence, and to prevent any ſufficient number of *Engliſh* from getting together in a body, early enough to oppoſe their deſcent. The ſituation indeed of the place is favourable enough to this notion, and there were ſo many foreſts already in *England*, that there is little appearance of his being under a neceſſity to make another for his pleaſure: but ſtill this new one lay very convenient for *Wincheſter*, the uſual place where our kings in thoſe days reſided; and if it had been made for the political reaſon aſſigned, it ought to have been made earlier in his reign than is generally ſuppoſed, before *England* was entirely ſubdued, and the nobility ruined, baniſhed, or deſtroyed; all which was effected in his firſt five years; a ſpace of time full of troubles and difficulties; which he was too wiſe a prince to encourage and encreaſe by a ſtep, that muſt render him odious, and raiſe a general clamour. Whenever it was that he made this foreſt, hiſtorians have generally placed it at the latter end of his reign; though perhaps their reaſon for doing ſo might be, becauſe his foreſt-laws were about this time publiſhed.

[1] *Wace*, p. 582. [2] *Annal. Baron*, *A. D.* 1084. [3] *Du Moulin's Hiſt. de Normandie*, p. 226. [4] T. vi. p. 1857.

William I. *A. D.* 1083.

Hunting had always been the favourite exerciſe and diverſion, as well of the *Saxons* as the *Britains*; they were careful to preſerve conveniences to gratify their paſſion for it: and in the diſtribution of lands, ſuch only as were fruitful, and fit to be cultivated, being ſhared among particular proprietors, there ſtill remained large tracts of barren, wild, or woody lands undiſtributed. The whole country was full of all ſorts of game in the times of the *Britains*; who lived in a wild manner, roving from place to place with their flocks and herds; never troubling themſelves with incloſing and improving lands, but uſing them in the condition that nature offered them; and derived a great part of their ſubſiſtance from hunting, which they all enjoyed in common. Upon the encloſure or improvement of the fertile lands by the *Saxons*, the wild beaſts, naturally avoiding neighbours from whom they dreaded and felt harm, fled into the woody and deſert tracts, where they found ſhelter, and met with leſs diſburbance in their feeding: and theſe coming to be filled with great plenty of all ſorts of game, formed all thoſe extents of ground, which were afterwards called *Foreſts*. Theſe having never been diſpoſed of in the diſtribution of lands among the *Saxons*, and having no certain proprietor, were all deemed to belong to the crown, for the ſame reaſon that all wrecks at ſea and eſcheats of lands, for which no heir or owner appeared, were reputed to be ſo veſted. This right was never diſputed: but our *Saxon* kings only made uſe of it for their pleaſure; never offering, till the time of the uſurper *Harold*, to reſtrain (except only as to their own deer) either the nobility and gentry bordering on the foreſts, from taking the diverſion of hunting in them, and amuſing themſelves in the queſt of the ſuperfluity of that game, which it was their intereſt, and neceſſary for their ſport, to preſerve; or the farmers in adjoining villages, from uſing the herbage thereof for the paſture of their cattle. But *William* claiming an abſolute right and property in theſe foreſts, to which none of his nobility, who derived all their poſſeſſions from his grants, could advance any pretenſions; and being very ſtrict in reſerving all hunting and ſporting therein to himſelf, or to ſuch as he might think fit to indulge and favour with a permiſſion; the *Norman* barons were thereby debarred of a liberty, which the *Saxon* nobility had always enjoyed. This reſtraint ſat the more uneaſy upon them, as well becauſe it debarred them in the uſe of their favourite pleaſure, the onely one which in that illiterate age they had to amuſe or relieve the tediouſneſs of their vacant hours; as becauſe it reduced them to the level of the commoners, for whom the king ſhewed more tenderneſs, in not curtailing them with regard to the paſturage of their cattle, which they continued to enjoy as formerly. They looked upon it, not only as an indignity to themſelves, but as an act likewiſe of arbitrary power in the prince: and if we conſider the new laws, ever unknown before in this nation, and very different from the mildneſs of the *Saxon* government, which he inſtituted upon this occaſion[1]; the killing of a deer being puniſhed with putting out the eyes of the guilty, and a like prohibition iſſued with regard to hares, as well as wild boars, we ſhall be at a loſs whether to aſcribe them to the imperiouſneſs of the *Conqueror's* nature, to his inordinate paſſion for hunting, or to the avarice of his temper; which the exceſſive fines, appearing vaſtly to outweigh either the offence or the damage, impoſed upon treſpaſſes committed within the foreſts, ſeem calculated to gratify. Thus whilſt the depopulating a large tract of country, to make the *New Foreſt*, appeared an horrid grievance, and rendered him odious to the *Engliſh*, he took care at the ſame time to diſoblige his *Normans* by the ſeverity of the laws which he made to reſtrain them in what they had moſt at heart; a conduct not to be reconciled to his uſual prudence, which directed him always to take

[1] *Chr. Sax. A. D.* 1086.

the moſt proper ſeaſons for the execution of his meaſures; unleſs by ſuppoſing all this to be done towards the latter end of his reign, when (as the *Saxon Chronicle* inſinuates on this occaſion) he was abſolute maſter of the kingdom. It is certain, that theſe foreſt-laws were executed with the utmoſt rigour; that they were ever deemed by the nobility as an inſupportable grievance; that they were the ſource of an infinite number of oppreſſions; that a mitigation thereof was as much contended for, as a relaxation of the rigours of the feudal law; the *Charta de Foreſta* being, equally with *Magna-Charta*, the great objects which the barons had in their view, when they took up arms in the reigns of king *John* and his ſon *Henry* III, and made this country a ſcene of blood for many years, till they were gratified with the eſtabliſhment of thoſe charters.

WILLIAM I. *A. D.* 1083.

XXVI. DURING the king's ſtay in *England*, there happened a tragical affair in the convent of *Glaſtenbury*; where, upon the depoſition of abbot *Ailnod*[1] (who was too much an *Engliſhman* to be ſuffered to enjoy his dignity) about ſix years before, he had put in *Thurſtan*, a monk of *Caen* in *Normandie*, to be his ſucceſſor. This man having all the haughtineſs of a *Norman* in him, without any judgment or prudence to qualify or manage it, acted in an arbitrary, oppreſſive, and violent manner towards the monks of the monaſtery; taking all occaſions to aggrieve them, and even ſeeking them, when they were not offered. Among other hardſhips which he put upon them, he ordered them to leave off the *Gregorian chant*, and to adopt another manner of ſinging lately invented by one *William*, a religious of *Feſcamp*: which the monks conſidering as a dangerous innovation in divine ſervice, and reſolving to ſtick to their old rule, abſolutely refuſed. *Thurſtan*, incenſed at their diſobedience, brought a party of *Norman* ſoldiers, with arms in their hands, into the chapter houſe, to force them to a compliance: and upon their flying in a fright into the church for refuge, purſued them thither, killed two of them at the foot of the altar, and wounded about fourteen others. The king, examining into the affair, diſperſed the monks into other convents: and ſent the abbot to his old monaſtery in *Normandie*; where he remained for the reſt of this prince's days, but was afterwards, upon a preſent of five hundred pounds, reſtored to his dignity by *William Rufus*.

Tumult at *Glaſtenbury*.

XXVII. THE king was, in the latter end of the autumn, called over into *Normandie*, by the ſickneſs or death of his queen *Matilda*[2]; who having been married to him thirty-three years, died, after a lingring illneſs, on *November* 2, and was buried with great magnificence in the church of *S. Trinity* at *Caen*, a monaſtery of her own foundation. He had by her four ſons, *Robert*, already mentioned; *Richard*, who receiving his death's wound in the *New-Foreſt*, was interred in the cathedral of *Wincheſter*; *William*, and *Henry*, who ſucceeded in their order to the crown of *England*; and four or five daughters. Theſe were, *Cecilia*, the ſecond abbeſs of the nunnery of *S. Trinity* of *Caen*; *Conſtance*, married to *Alain Fergant*, duke of *Bretagne*, but dying without iſſue, and buried in the abbey of *St. Edmund's Bury*; *Agatha*, or *Adelides*, contracted firſt to *Harold*, and afterwards to *Alphonſo*, king of *Galicia*, but married to neither, and dying on the road to *Spain*, her corpſe was brought back, and interred at *Bayeux*; *Alice*, a young lady of great beauty, virtue, and accompliſhment, which ſhe owed to the inſtructions of *Roger*, count *de Beauvais*, who had the care of her education, but died about the fourteenth year of her age, unmarried, like her ſiſter laſt mentioned, and probably the very ſame perſon, though two names, ordinary in thoſe times, make them be thought different; and

Q. *Maude's* death, and children.

[1] *Flor. Wig.* [2] *Du Moulin's Hiſt. de Normand.* p. 226.

Adela,

William I. *Adela*, wife of *Stephen*, count of *Blois* and *Chartres*; after whoſe deceaſe, ſhe profeſſed herſelf a religious in the nunnery of *Marcilly*. *William* was ſo exceedingly afflicted at the death of his wife [1], that he is ſaid to have abſtained ever after from his uſual recreations: and the four years he ſurvived her were embittered with a ſeries of troubles.

A. D. 1084. Inſurrection in *Maine*.

XXVIII. The firſt broke out in *le Maine*, the nobility of which province were not eaſily reconciled to the *Norman* government. *Hubert*, *Vicomte de Beaumont* [2], ſupported by his father-in-law, *William* count of *Nevers*, took up arms in a fit of reſentment at ſome ill uſage he had received from the *Conqueror*, who either hated or ſuſpected him: and retired with his wife and family to his caſtle of *S. Suſanne*; a place, in thoſe days, deemed impregnable, and from whence he made incurſions into *le Maine*, ſurprizing parties of the *Norman* garriſons, and ravaging the open country. The king, upon advice of this inſurrection, levied a body of troops in *Normandie*, and marched directly to *S. Suſanne*: but finding the place not eaſy to be taken, did not beſiege it in form; chuſing rather to erect a fort in the valley of *Beugy*, to curb the excurſions of the rebels, and to return himſelf to *Roüen*. The forces left in this fort, under the command of his ſon-in-law *Alain Fergant*, were at firſt ſuperior to thoſe of the enemy: but theſe laſt being reinforced by great numbers of *Hubert's* friends and allies out of *France* and *Burgundy*, came every day to inſult the *Normans* at the very gates of their fort; taking abundance of priſoners, and enriching themſelves by the booties which they took continually. The war laſted in this manner for three years, to the great diſadvantage of the *Normans*; *Robert de Vieupont*, *Robert de Uſſey*, *Hervey Brito*, *Richer Baron de l'Aigle*, being ſlain in it, with abundance of other valiant knights; who fell in the ſkirmiſhes that happened continually. *William de Warenne*, *Baudry de Cintre*, *Gilbert de l'Aigle*, and others, deſirous to revenge theſe loſſes, gathered all the ſtrength they could raiſe together to attack the rebels: but had the misfortune to be defeated with conſiderable loſs, being purſued to the walls of their fortreſs, and *William* count of *Evreux* taken priſoner. The *Normans*, diſcouraged by theſe diſaſters, and finding it impracticable to reduce *Hubert* by force, propoſed to make his peace with the king, and to reinſtate him in his good graces, if he would return to his duty. *Hubert*, though he grew rich, and raiſed his reputation greatly by the war, hearkened to their propoſals; went with a paſs, at their requeſt, into *England* to wait upon the *Conqueror*, was received into favour; reſtored to all his father's eſtate; and continued ever after faithful to the oath which he now took of allegiance.

Alarm of a *Daniſh* invaſion.

XXIX. The long continuance of this war was probably owing to the king's being obliged to go over into *England* [3] to provide for the defence of the realm againſt an invaſion, which *Canut*, king of *Denmark*, was preparing to make, with the aſſiſtance of *Robert le Friſon*, count of *Flanders*; whoſe daughter he had married. It was upon this occaſion, that *William*, fond of any pretence that would bring money into his coffers, laid an exorbitant tax of ſix ſhillings an hyde upon the kingdom, the heavieſt of any taken notice of in our *Engliſh* annals. *Canut's* preparations for his expedition were extraordinary, having fitted out a fleet of a thouſand ſail; he was two years in making them; but when he had aſſembled all *A. D.* 1085. his force in the year following, and his fleet lay ready to ſail, in order to make a deſcent on the coaſt of *England*, he was prevented from doing ſo, either by contrary winds, or by ſome diſturbances in his own country. This prince had very

[1] *W. Malmeſb. Ord. Vital.* p. 648. [2] *Ord. Vital. ib.* [3] *Flor. Wig. Chron. Mailroſ. Chron. Saxon.*

ill

ill luck in his deſigns upon this iſland; for when he reſumed them in the time of *William Rufus*,, and every thing was ready for the expedition, he was aſſaſſinated by his own brother *Olaus* at the foot of the altar, as he was at his laſt prayers before he embarked; upon which all his armament diſperſed. WILLIAM I. *A. D.* 1085.

WILLIAM, who dreaded no enemy but the *Danes*, and was always apprehenſive of their intelligences, alliances, and intereſt with the *Engliſh*, made unuſual preparations to oppoſe them: but choſe to depend upon the fidelity of foreigners; having aſſembled a mighty army of mercenaries out of *Spain*, *France*, *Burgundy*, and *Germany* for that purpoſe. Some thouſands of theſe he ſent into the *Northumbrian* territories: and expecting the *Danes* would there make their firſt attempt, and would probably be beſt received by the people, he gave orders to have thoſe countries waſted, that the enemy might find no proviſions for their ſubſiſtance. The reſt he diſperſed over the kingdom, obliging his grandees and officers to ſupply them with proviſions, and quartering great numbers upon the monaſteries; that of *Croyland* being burdened (as *Ingulf* ſays) with ſix knights, and twenty-eight archers. But when he had certain advice of the *Daniſh* deſign being diſappointed, he diſmiſſed half his troops; keeping the reſt till the winter was over, and he ſaw what the next ſpring was likely to produce. It was at *Glouceſter* [1], where he paſſed his *Chriſtmas* holidays (holding his court for five days, as the archbiſhop of *Canterbury* did afterwards a ſynod of the clergy for three more, according to cuſtom) that he diſpoſed of the vacant ſees of *London*, *Thetford*, and *Cheſter*, to his three chaplains *Maurice*, *William*, and *Robert*.

XXX. IT was in this year, that biſhop *Remigius* [2] removed the ſee of *Dorcheſter* to *Lincoln*; among the records of which laſt church is preſerved the famous charter, by which the *Conqueror*, ſeparating the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction from the civil, abrogated the judiciary power excerciſed by the biſhops during the *Saxon* times in each county: where they and their archdeacons, or other delegates, conſtantly ſat in court with the earls and ſheriffs, for the adminiſtration of juſtice, and received a ſhare of the fines inflicted on offenders. The charter provides, "that "no biſhop or archdeacon ſhould any longer hold eccleſiaſtical pleas in the hundred "court, nor ſuffer any cauſe of a ſpiritual nature, relating to the cure of ſouls, to "come under the cognizance of ſecular perſons: but whoever was guilty of any "offence againſt the canons of the church, ſhould come to the place appointed by "the biſhop of each dioceſe to be there tried according to the eccleſiaſtical laws; "and if he declined doing ſo, he was, after three ſummons, to be excommuni-"cated. In caſe the criminal ſtill perſiſted in his contumacy, the ſecular arm was "to be called in for aid: and the ſheriff was obliged to give his aſſiſtance; per-"haps to levy the fine payable to the biſhop for each contempt of his ſummons. "There was likewiſe a ſtrict inhibition laid upon all ſheriffs, royal officers, and "lay perſons whatſoever, not to encroach upon the epiſcopal juriſdiction; not to "try any man, whoſe cauſe was cognizable before the biſhop; nor intermeddle in "eccleſiaſtical affairs." Such was the purport of this famous charter, eſtabliſhing a new method of judicature in eccleſiaſtical matters, and containing regulations, paſſed in a general council of the nation, with the conſent of the biſhops, abbots, and all the principal nobility. Separation of the eccleſiaſtical court from the civil.

THE prelates and noblemen, being all *French*, *Flemings*, *Bretons*, or *Normans*, it is no wonder, that they ſhould eaſily be brought to give up any part of the old *Engliſh* conſtitution, the benefits whereof they had ſcarce experienced; and to introduce the uſages of their own countries, in favour of which they were naturally

[1] *Flor. Wig. Chron. Sax.* [2] *Concil. M. Brit.* t. i. p. 368, 396.

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prepoſſeſſed. It would elſe appear unaccountable, how an aſſembly of wiſe men, ſuppoſing they acted as free agents, unconſtrained by the arbitrary power of an imperious prince, ſhould agree to aboliſh an ancient inſtitution, under which the nation had flouriſhed for many hundreds of years, and had conſtantly enjoyed the bleſſings of peace and order, in a degree that might well render it an object of the envy of its neighbours on the continent. There was no complaint of any abuſe, no pretence of any grievance, ariſing from the union of the eccleſiaſtical and civil judicatures: and the miſchiefs, that immediately enſued from their ſeparation, ſhould ſerve for an eternal caution to all perſons, and reſtrain them from ever conſenting to alterations in old uſages, conſecrated, in a manner, by the conſtant practice and happy experience of many ages. In ſuch caſes, there muſt be always ſome pretence found out to gloſs over the conduct of thoſe, who, out of ſelfiſh, corrupt, or wicked views, are for breaking through old rules: and thus in the preamble to the charter in queſtion, it is alledged, "that the eccleſiaſtical laws had not till then "been well ordered or adminiſtered in *England*, according to the holy canons," *i. e.* they had been enacted in mixed aſſemblies, compoſed both of clergy and laity, and executed by eccleſiaſtical and civil magiſtrates, ſitting together in judgment, and acting with a perfect harmony. This ſhews plainly enough, that the new regulation was owing to the intrigues of the *court of Rome*; which was labouring at this time in *Germany*, and other countries abroad, to exclude the civil power from intermeddling in eccleſiaſtical matters, and the laity from exerciſing their undoubted right of patronage, incident to them, as founders of churches: and could not uſurp, as ſhe deſigned, upon the eccleſiaſtical authority in *England*, till ſhe had firſt got it ſeparated from the civil, with which it had hitherto acted in concurrence.

The ſeparation of the two judicatures proved of no advantage to either: the county-court, deprived of the biſhop's preſence, loſt much of its dignity, and declined daily in its authority. Perſons of the greateſt quality and conſideration in the county began to think it no longer worthy of their attendance; all pleas of the crown, and cauſes between ſubjects of a more than ordinary value, were ſoon taken from its cognizance, and reſerved to the determination of the king's juſticiaries, and of itinerant juſtices, ſent at certain terms to adminiſter juſtice in the provinces: and the ſimple, natural, cheap, and expeditious method of deciding controverſies in that court, gave way to the quirks, ſubtleties, delays, and artifices of *Norman* lawyers, affecting to puzzle a cauſe, and to render a ſuit, as well uncertain in its iſſue, as expenſive in its litigation. But it proved vaſtly more prejudicial to the church; whoſe ſervice was urged as a motive for making this new regulation: which was ſoon made uſe of by the court of *Rome* to undermine the ſovereignty of the crown, and to ſubvert the liberties of the people; conſequences, which the *Conqueror* probably, in his devout attachment to that ſee, did not expect or apprehend. Before his time, the *Pope's* writs did not run in *England*; he did not pretend to diſpoſe of prelacies or preferments in this kingdom; no bulls of excommunication or proviſion, no monitories or citations, were ſent hither, nor any appeals made from hence to *Rome*: all eccleſiaſtical cauſes were adjudged and determined at home, without any interpoſition of the *papal* authority. *Rome* had indeed been always reſpected by the *Saxons* as the chief ſeat of learning; as a place of the greateſt note in *Europe* for learned divines, qualified by their ſtudies and knowledge to give advice and inſtructions in new and doubtful caſes; for which reaſon, and not on account of any authority over this church, *Kenulf*, king of *Mercia*, with his biſhops and nobility [1], conſulted *Leo* III, in the caſe of the

[1] See their letter in *Malmeſb.* l. i. c. 4. Ut nobis de multimodis inquiſitionibus, ſuper quibus maximam *ſubtilitatem* veſtram dignum duximus perquirere, benigne reſpondeas—Excellentiam veſ-

archi-

archiepiſcopal chair at *Lichfield*. But neither did this friendly communication between the two churches, nor the honorary compliment of a pall, ſent from the weſtern patriarch to the *Engliſh* metropolitans, afford any colour for the exerciſe of a foreign juriſdiction here, or for the coming over of any papal delegates, with legatine powers, to call councils, to paſs cenſures, or judge in eccleſiaſtical cauſes; till the *Conqueror* invited them over to ſerve his own ends in the deprivation of archbiſhop *Stigand*.

William I. A. D. 1085.

This giving the *Pope* a pretence to meddle in the cauſes of prelates, he was minded to extend his authority over the reſt of the clergy, and to draw all other eccleſiaſtical cauſes to his own cognizance in the *dernier reſſort*: but could not execute his deſign, till a ſeparation was made between the eccleſiaſtical and civil judicatures. The mixed aſſembly of the ſpiritual and temporal nobility, which eſtabliſhed this ſeparation, provided effectually for its obſervance by civil penalties, as well as eccleſiaſtical cenſures; by puniſhing contumacy with excommunication and the like fines or amerciaments, as were laid on thoſe that did not attend at the hundred and county-courts; not conſidering what a blow they thereby gave to their own authority. The *Pope* now, inſtead of being ſubject to the canons of the church, began to be thought above them, and to have an abſolute power of diſpenſing with them, of ſuſpending their obligation, of repealing them, and of impoſing his own decrees as binding laws upon all nations, without their conſent [1]: and whether the canons were of his own making, or the decrees of ancient councils, he ſtill ſet up in both caſes to be the ſupreme judge of all breaches thereof. This laid the foundation of thoſe appeals to *Rome*, which began to be ſet on foot and diſputed in the very next reign: and notwithſtanding all the oppoſition of our kings, who ſtood up for a time in defence of the juriſdiction of the crown, and of the rights of the kingdom, ſtill gained ground, till they were at laſt ſo warranted by uſage, as to become ordinary, to the infinite detriment of the realm; which was drained of its treaſure to enrich the court of *Rome*, and the very bodies of its ſubjects drawn out of it by citations thither, and the neceſſity of attending the tedious proceſſes, which that court knew how to make expenſive, intricate, and uncertain. Hence aroſe continual quarrels between the crown and the papacy; which embroiled the nation, and produced terrible diſorders: and as the former was generally forced to truckle to the latter, the prelates, finding that princes were either unable or afraid to protect them, made no difficulty of diſobeying the laws of the land, whenever they interfered with the canons of the church. Thus were the moſt wholeſome ordinances defeated; the ancient cuſtoms and franchiſes confounded; the rights of patrons to ſees, abbeys, and churches, invaded by papal bulls and proviſions; the royal prerogative inſulted; and the ſubject in general moleſted and impoveriſhed. Nor was the ſeparation of the two judicatures of any advantage to the eccleſiaſtical; for though it made a ſhift to bear up, by the

tram exoramus, quibus a Deo merito ſapientiæ clavis collata eſt, ut ſuper hac cauſa cum *ſapientibus veſtris* quæratis, et quicquid vobis videatur, nobis poſtea ſervandum, reſcribere dignemini.

[1] We ſee in the [a] letters of Pope *Gregory*, who died this year, after having ſat on the papal throne from *A. D.* 1073, among the maxims which he laid down for the plan of his government theſe following, *viz.* "that the *Pope alone* can deprive and "reſtore biſhops, and can do ſo without aſſembling "any council for that purpoſe; that the *Pope* alone "can make new laws according to the exigence of "the times; that he can make new dioceſes, diſ"member and unite biſhopricks as he ſees fit; alter the nature and rules of monaſteries; oblige "biſhops to quit their ſees, and tranſlate them "to others in what part of the world he pleaſeth; "that whatever ſentence he pronounceth, it ought "to be ſubmitted to implicitly, and received by "all without examination; and that he *alone* hath "a right to examine the ſentences of all other "judges." Theſe were ſome of the powers which he arrogated to himſelf in eccleſiaſtical matters; beſides the authority, which he pretended to in temporals, of depoſing emperors, and abſolving the ſubjects of an evil prince from their oath of allegiance.

[a] Lib. ii. Ep. 55.

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ſupport of the papal, againſt many encroachments upon it, attempted by the civil courts of law, even in the times of popery, it hath been ſince reduced to very narrow bounds; to an inability of exerciſing a proper diſcipline; notwithſtanding the well-known diſtinction between cauſes eccleſiaſtical and civil. Some pretences or other, eaſily invented by common law judges, who, with Sir *Edward Coke*, conceive it to be their duty, as it is undoubtedly for their intereſt, to enlarge the juriſdiction of their own courts, have been found out from time to time to elude that diſtinction, and to leſſen the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction: but none ſo likely to annihilate it entirely as one of a modern invention; whereby judges, as the ſole interpreters of acts of parliament, engroſs to themſelves the cognizance of all eccleſiaſtical offences, provided againſt by thoſe acts; and prohibite the ſpiritual courts from proceeding therein, notwithſtanding the legal puniſhment thereof conſiſts chiefly in eccleſiaſtical cenſures. So dangerous is it in *England*, more than in any other country in *Europe*, for the church to apply to the civil power for protection and encouragement; when its interpoſition in her behalf may be made a pretence for undermining her authority, and deſtroying all her diſcipline.

A. D. 1086. Oath of allegiance renewed, and *Edgar Atheling* ſent to the *Holy Land*.

XXXI. It was in the year following, that, according to *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and others, the king knighted his ſon *Henry* at *Weſtminſter* in *Whitſun* week: and ſummoned all his prelates, nobility, and the moſt conſiderable of his military tenants throughout the kingdom, to attend him on the firſt of *Auguſt* at *Saliſbury*: where they all by an oath of fealty profeſſed their adherence to him againſt all his adverſaries, and did him the homage required by their tenures. There doth not appear any particular reaſon for this extraordinary precaution; unleſs he was ſtill apprehenſive of an invaſion from *Denmark*: and this might poſſibly be the reaſon, why going thence, after extorting great ſums of money from his *Engliſh* ſubjects, without regard to right or wrong, to the *Iſle of Wight*, and paſſing over into *Normandie*, he carried *Edgar Atheling* with him thither. This prince, the true heir of the crown of *England*, had many virtues, but ſuch as became a private perſon, rather than a monarch; he was brave, but not enterprizing; and might have appeared well enough on a throne in quiet times, though he was not fitted to ſtruggle with difficulties in his way to it: he was very young[1] at the time of *Harold's* uſurpation and the *Norman* invaſion, and had oppoſed neither; but finding himſelf expoſed to *William's* jealouſy, had fled to *Scotland*, either for ſafety of his life, or to get aſſiſtance to ſupport his title to the crown. He had engaged in ſome attempts to make it good: but theſe proving unſucceſsful, he had ſubmitted to the *Conqueror*, renounced his claim, and lived afterwards in a private, retired, and inoffenſive manner, without ever marrying to continue it in his children. Notwithſtanding theſe precautions, the gracefulneſs of his perſon, the goodneſs of his nature, the bounty of his temper, the right of his birth, and the compaſſion inſpired into the people by his being unjuſtly reduced to a ſtate below it, making him generally beloved by the *Engliſh*, he could never get over *William's* ſuſpicions. Theſe ſeem to have been the occaſion of his being carried into *Normandie*, as well as of his being there looked upon with an evil eye, and treated with ſuch indignities, that he could not bear them any longer: and not being either allowed or able to take any other party without offence, he reſolved to go to the *Holy Land*; his ſiſter *Chriſtina*, who had hitherto lived with him unmarried, and probably was another object of the *Conqueror's* jealouſy, taking upon her at the ſame time the veil in the nunnery of *Rumſey*. *William*, to be rid of his fears of a competitor, likely to ſerve for an head to any party of malecontents, and formidable by the affection of the *Engliſh*, who

[1] *Walſingham* calls him a boy. *Ypod. Neuſtriæ*, p. 437.

were

were extremely irritated by the oppreſſion of the *Normans*, and the horrible injuſtice of the juſticiaries, encouraged the voyage: and furniſhing him with money to make it in a manner ſuitable to his dignity, *Edgar* ſet out with a ſpendid equipage, and two hundred knights in his retinue, and went to *Apulia*. WILLIAM I.

XXII. This removal of a rival into a remote quarter of the world, though it quieted the king's mind with regard to the affairs of *England*, did not reſtore his health of body; which was now declining apace: yet in this condition, he became, without deſign, involved in a war with a potent prince; which he carried on with his uſual vigour, notwithſtanding his manifold infirmities. Some [1] impute the occaſion to a trifling accident, which is thus related. *Robert* and *Henry*, *William's* ſons, being in the *Vexin* following their diverſions, took it into their heads to go to the court of *France*, and make a viſit to king *Philip*: who was then in their neighbourhood at *Conflans S. Honorine*, and received them with great kindneſs. *Louis*, ſurnamed *le Gros*, *Philip's* eldeſt ſon, happening to play one evening at cheſs with *Henry*, loſt ſeveral games to him, with a good deal of money: which putting him out of humour, provoked him to uſe ill language, to reproach *Henry* with being the ſon of a baſtard, and at laſt to throw the cheſſmen at his head. *Henry*, in a rage at this uſage, threw the cheſsboard in his face, with ſuch violence as laid him bleeding on the ground: and would have killed him, if he had not been hindered by his brother *Robert*, who thought it more prudent to make their eſcape. The two brothers got on horſeback immediately: and making great ſpeed towards *Pontoiſe*, were met on the road by *Baldwin de Harcourt*, and *Fulk* count of *Beaumont ſur Oyſe*; who being apprized of the danger they were in by one of their ſervants, had advanced with a party to their relief, and repulſed the purſuers to the very gates of *Conflans*. *Philip* is ſaid to have reſented his ſon's wound more than ſuch an accident deſerved, and to have begun the war in conſequence of that reſentment. But the true occaſion of it ſeems to have ariſen from the excurſions of *Hugh Stavele* and *Ralf Mauvoiſin*, governors of *Mante* [2]; who, with the troops of their garriſon, paſſing the river *Eure*, which then parted *France* from *Normandie*, ravaged all the borders of this laſt country, particularly the lands of *William de Breteuil*, lord of *Pacey*, and *Roger de Yvry*; carrying off at different times a great booty, with abundance of priſoners, and reproaching the *Normans* with want of courage. *Philip* likewiſe is ſaid to have increaſed the king of *England's* reſentment at theſe depredations, by an improper ſcoff that he made with regard to the latter's corpulency and illneſs; ſaying, that "his lying-in was much longer than "the women of that country uſually took to get rid of their big bellies, and that "he muſt be at a great expence in lights at his upriſing;" alluding to the cuſtom which women obſerved in thoſe days, of offering a lighted taper at their being churched. *William* [3], incenſed at this ridicule, ſent *Philip* word, that "he ſhould "ſoon be up; and he would come to preſent him with ſo many lights, that he "ſhould repent of his joke;" a menace which was ſoon followed by effects, and the burning of a great many villages in the neighbourhood of *Paris*. *A. D.* 1087. War with *France*.

THE joke here mentioned was only fit for contempt; nor were the incurſions of the governors of *Mante* a ſufficient cauſe of war; till after a demand and refuſal of ſatisfaction for the damages ſuſtained. *William* therefore, reſolved upon one, thought fit to ſhew the juſtice and reaſonableneſs of his proceedings, by a demand of far greater conſequence; requiring *Philip* to put him immediately in poſſeſſion of *Pontoiſe*, *Chaumont*, *Mante*, and all the *Vexin François*. It is not unlikely, that on this occaſion *Philip* might require *William* to do homage to him for

[1] *Chron. Norman.* [2] *Ord. Vital.* p. 650. [3] P. 577.

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the crown of *England*, purſuant [1] to the offer made by the latter, when he ſollicited the aſſiſtance of *France* in the expedition he was preparing to make for the conqueſt of that kingdom: but as the offer was only conditional, and no aſſiſtance had been given, this demand was eaſily anſwered, and probably was intended by *Philip*, merely to repreſent, in a parallel inſtance, the unreaſonableneſs of that [2] made by *William*. There was however a great difference in the two caſes; for *Robert* II duke of *Normandie* had actually aſſiſted *Henry*, *Philip's* father, with his forces: and it was chiefly by his means, that this prince was enabled to quell the faction, raiſed by his mother *Conſtance*, to exclude him from the throne of *France*, and to place upon it her favourite ſon, his younger brother *Robert*. *Henry*, in acknowledgment of this eminent ſervice, had given *Pontoiſe*, with all the *Vexin François* between the rivers *Oyſe* and *Epte*, to *William's* father; who poſſeſſed them all the reſt of his life, and received the homage of *Drogo*, a deſcendant of *Charlemagne* and count of that territory. *Drogo's* ſervices were ſo acceptable to the duke of *Normandie*, that he gave him in marriage his couſin *Goda*, ſiſter to *Edward the Confeſſor*; by whom the count had three ſons, *Ralf*, *Walter* of *Mante*, and *Fulk* biſhop of *Amiens*, and was ſo affectionate to the duke, that he accompanied him to the holy land; in which voyage they both died. The king of *France*, taking advantage of their deceaſe, and of the troubles which broke out in *Normandie* during the minority of *William*, had ſeized the *Vexin François*, and kept poſſeſſion of it ever ſince; this laſt prince being either diſabled or diverted, by the diſturbances in ſome part or other of his dominions, from demanding or attempting the recovery thereof ſooner.

William, upon the refuſal of his demand, entered the *Iſle of France* with a ſtrong army, deſtroying and burning all before him without any oppoſition: and detached thence *Aſcelin Goel* to burn the corn, and cut up all the vines about *Mante*; which he ſoon after inveſted. The place not being well fortified, was taken by ſtorm the next day after he came before it; which was in the laſt week of *July*: and the town being ſet on fire, was burnt, with all the churches and monaſteries, in which ſome of the religious periſhed by the flames. The king entered the place, as yet burning in ſome parts, on horſeback, as it were in triumph: but paſſing amidſt the ruins of houſes, his horſe chanced to ſet his two fore-feet on ſome hot aſhes or ſcorching [3] rubbiſh, and flung aſide with ſo ſudden a leap, that *William*, not prepared for ſuch an accident, had like to have been diſmounted, and the lower part of his belly being bruiſed by the pommel of the ſaddle, the pain he felt by that hurt brought on him a relapſe of his illneſs, and he was forced to return to *Roüen*.

XXXIII. From thence, being diſturbed by the noiſe of the town, and finding himſelf growing daily worſe, he was carried in a litter to the priory of *St. Gervais*, belonging to the monks of *Feſcamp*: and was there attended by *Gilbert* biſhop of *Lyſieux*, and *Gontard* abbot of *Jumieges*, his phyſicians in ordinary, and the moſt ſkilful of the profeſſion. Theſe prelates, perceiving their medicines had no effect, advertiſed him of his danger: and he prepared for death, by confeſſing his ſins, receiving the ſacrament, and ſettling his affairs. His late cruelties at *Mante* giving him ſome remorſe, he ſent to the clergy of the place a large ſum of money, to rebuild the churches he had burnt: and ordered the greateſt part of his treaſures to be diſtributed among the poor, the clergy, the churches, and monaſteries, ſpecifying in his will the particular ſum he had deſigned for each; hoping thus to

[1] *Wace MS.* p. 576. [2] *Ord. Vital.* p. 654. [3] *Wace*, p. 578.

atone

atone for the injuries and oppreſſions he had been guilty of in the courſe of his government. *Normandie* and *Le Maine* he left to his eldeſt ſon *Robert*, as being his [1] right of inheritance; though he foreſaw thoſe countries would be very miſerable under his dominion: but as he had no hereditary right to *England*, he could give none to his ſon, and having ſhed there an infinite quantity of blood, and exerciſed numberleſs cruelties, he would not take upon him to diſpoſe of that kingdom, though it was his own acquiſition. Referring it therefore to the pleaſure of Almighty God, he ſtill wiſhed that his favourite ſon *William*, who had always been obedient to him, might enjoy it after his deceaſe: and diſpatched him away thither, with letters to archbiſhop *Lanfranc*, deſiring that prelate to crown *William* immediately, as the onely way to prevent the troubles, which a diſpute for the crown might occaſion. To his youngeſt ſon *Henry* [2] he left only five thouſand pounds ſterling, in ready money, beſides his mother's jointure, but without any territory; predicting however (as ſome relate) that he would in a ſhort time be poſſeſſed of both his brothers dignities, and ſurpaſs them both in power and riches. To the abbey of *St. Stephen* at *Caen* he bequeathed his crown, ſcepter, and rod, which he uſed on the higher feſtivals, the precious [3] ſtone chalice, the golden candleſticks, and other *regalia* uſed at his coronation; for the redemption whereof *William Rufus* contracted to give that monaſtery the manor of *Coker* in *Somerſetſhire*, though the agreement was not executed, nor the regalia reſtored, till the reign of his ſucceſſor.

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Among other acts of mercy, which he did before his death, may be reckoned his orders for ſetting at liberty the earls [4] *Morcar*, *Roger*, *Siward* ſon of *Barn*, and *Wulnoth*, brother to the uſurper *Harold*, who had been an hoſtage or priſoner ever ſince *A. D.* 1052; together with all others, that were in cuſtody, either in *England* or *Normandie*, upon their taking an oath, not to diſturb the peace of thoſe countries. He did not at firſt propoſe to do the like grace for *Odo* biſhop of *Bayeux*; and on his brother *Robert* count of *Mortain's* interceding in his behalf, he repreſented that prelate as a deſpiſer of religion, a deſtroyer of monaſteries, a grievous oppreſſor, ambitious, light, ſeditious, immenſely cruel and tyrannical in his nature, and as one, that, if he were at liberty, would diſturb all the country, and be the death of thouſands: but *Robert*, with others, renewing their intreaties, he yielded at laſt to their importunity, and conſented to *Odo's* releaſe; foretelling however the miſchiefs that would thence enſue. Having thus ſettled his affairs, he expired on *Thurſday*, *Sept.* 9, at the hour of prime, preſently after ſun-riſing, ſooner than the phyſicians and thoſe about him expected: and what is utterly unaccountable, the news of his deceaſe reached the ſame day to *Rome*, *Apulia*, and *Calabria*; as ſome *Norman* gentlemen, who had retired thither for refuge from his indignation, related upon their return to *Normandie*. As ſoon as his death was known, there was a ſtrange confuſion in the palace; for his ſon *Henry* flew immediately to the treaſury, and carried off the money left him for a legacy to a place of ſafety: the nobility mounting all on horſeback retired home, to ſecure their lands and caſtles againſt any attempt, that might be made during the troubles which they expected to ariſe; the officers of the houſhold and the inferior miniſters marched off with arms, plate, houſhold ſtuff, and whatever came next to hand, leaving the palace a perfect deſart, ſtripped of every thing that was valuable, and the dead prince's corpſe all naked and unattended but by one ſervant; ſo little is a dead king reſpected. The ſame neglect was ſhewed towards it, when, pur-

[1] *Fragm. de W. Conq. in Anglic. Norman. &c.* p. 32. *Wace*, p. 580. [2] *Malmeſb.* l. iii. [3] *Neuſtria*, p. 638. *Monaſt. Angl.* t. ii. p. 958. [4] *Ord. Vital.* p. 659. [5] *Fragm. de W. Conq. in Anglic. Norman.* [6] *Wace*, p. 585.

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ſuant to the orders of *William* archbiſhop of *Roüen*, it was carried to be interred at *Caen* in the church of *St. Stephen*; not one of the late prince's court ſhewing ſo much regard to his memory, as to attend the funeral; the care of which was left entirely to *Herluin de Conteville*, who made it in a magnificent manner at his own expence.

Some accidents attending it have been thought, by writers of the time, curious enough to be mentioned. When the corpſe entered the town of *Caen*, it was attended by abbot *Gilbert* and his monks, with great numbers both of clergy and laity: but a fire breaking out in ſome houſes of the place, every body ran to quench it; leaving only the monks to carry the corpſe into the church of *St. Stephen*. When the fire was ſtopped, the burial office was performed with great ceremony; the funeral oration, recounting the heroic actions, conqueſts, valour, wiſdom, juſtice, and other great qualities of the deceaſed monarch, being made by *Gilbert* biſhop [1] of *Evreux*, who with ſix other *Norman* biſhops, and a much greater number of abbots, attended the ſolemnity. They were going to interr the corpſe, when one *Aſcelin Fitz Arthur*, a vavaſor, cleaving the preſs and mounting on a ſtone, called to the prelates, and diſcharged them from burying the corpſe [2] in that place; which had been the *area* of his father's houſe, and was now his right by inheritance: alledging that he had neither forfeited nor ſold it, but *William* had ſeized his land by force, in order to build his monaſtery on it, without giving him any conſideration for the ſame; an injuſtice which he there ſummoned the deceaſed to anſwer before the divine tribunal. As ſoon as the tumult, which this ſpeech had raiſed, was over, the prelates enquiring of the neighbours about the fact, and finding it to be as *Aſcelin* had repreſented, and that the land had been for many generations in the family, agreed to give him ſixty ſols for leave to bury the corpſe immediately: and promiſed to give him afterwards full ſatisfaction for his eſtate; which was done accordingly. When the corpſe was to be put in the ground, the grave was either found too narrow, or the ſtone coffin too ſtreight, ſo that in trying to force it in, the belly burſt, and ſent forth ſuch an intolerable ſtench, that none of the aſſiſtants at the funeral could bear to ſtay in the place; and the prieſts, notwithſtanding the perfumes of their frankincenſe and other aromaticks, were forced to huddle over the office and conclude the ceremony in an hurry. Such were the principal circumſtances of the death and burial of this *Conqueror* of *England*, after having ruled over this country twenty one years, wanting thirty five days, computing his reign from the death of *Harold*; and been ſovereign of *Normandie* fifty two years and ſixty nine days; dating his government from the death of his father *Robert*, which happened on *July* 2, *A. D.* 1035, and not from the time of that prince's ſetting out on his pilgrimage to the holy land. It is from this laſt *æra*, that *Wace* expreſly does, and other hiſtorians probably [3], compute; when they repreſent him as not above nine years old when he came to the government: for he was certainly twelve at the time of his father's deceaſe, if he lived ſixty four years, as *Wace* [4] and the *Fragment* [5] about him in the *ancient regiſter of the abbey of St. Stephen at Caen* ſay, he declared himſelf to be, in his ſpeech on his death-bed.

This prince had ſtrong natural parts and a ſolid judgment; an aſpiring genius, that put him upon great undertakings; a capacity and prudence, which qualified him equally to foreſee and provide againſt all the difficulties of an enterprize; a firmneſs in his purpoſes, a ſteddineſs in purſuing the meaſures he had reſolved on coolly and judiciouſly; with ſuch a vigour and expedition in the execution of all his

[1] *Ord. Vit.* p. 662. [2] *Wace*, p. 588. [3] *Gul. Gement.* l. v. c. 13. [4] P. 584.
[5] *Anglic. Norman.* p. 30.

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deſigns, that he ſeldom miſcarried in any. It was to theſe qualities and talents, joined to his military ſkill, that he owed all his greatneſs, as well as that high eſteem and general reputation, which planed the way for his mounting the throne of *England*. He was the greateſt politician of the age: but his political meaſures had often as much in them of that craftineſs, which is unworthy of a great king, and is fit only to ſerve a ſingle job, as of that wiſdom, whoſe honourable and virtuous maxims will ever be good policy, as long as the world ſubſiſts. He knew as well how to time, as to chooſe, his meaſures: and was perfectly well verſed in the arts of government, which he exerciſed with great ſeverity, either in conſequence of his natural temper, which was haughty and imperious, or becauſe he deemed it neceſſary, as well to curb the turbulent ſpirit which he had experienced in his *Normans*, as to ſtrike a terror into the *Engliſh*, whoſe inconſtancy and infidelity he ever ſuſpected. He is ſaid to have been religious [1], devout, a conſtant attender at divine ſervice; very mild, courteous, and obliging to the monks and clergy; at the ſame time that he was ſure to ruine every one who diſputed his will; and was inexorable in all caſes, wherever he met with oppoſition. No prince ever paid leſs regard to his coronation oath, or governed in a more arbitrary manner; extorting what ſums he pleaſed from perſons he did not like, without any regard to right or wrong; impriſoning, baniſhing, and deſtroying all the *Engliſh* nobility and gentry, or at leaſt ſtripping them of their eſtates; oppreſſing the reſt of the people in ſuch a manner, as if he had formed the deſign of impoveriſhing them utterly, in order to enſlave the nation; and depopulating a great part of the north; where by an inhumanity ſcarce to be *paralleled*, he cauſed infinite multitudes to periſh by the ſword, fire, and famine. He ſeems to have had no remorſe for any of theſe cruelties and oppreſſions, till he ſaw death approaching; when perhaps by way of atonement for them, he left ſums of money by his will to be diſtributed to the churches and the poor in every county of *England:* but either to ingratiate himſelf with the clergy, or out of deference to the remonſtrances of *Lanfranc* and other [2] prelates, he took care to make an earlier reparation to the ſees and monaſteries, whoſe lands by his encouragement, or connivance, had been violently invaded by his *Norman* officers; ordering all their manors and poſſeſſions, which had been ſo ſeized, to be reſtored. Though he plundered all the rich convents in *England* of their treaſures, changed the nature of their tenures, and loaded their lands with military ſervices, he ſtill pretended to be a great friend to the monaſtick inſtitution: and in proof thereof, ſent conſiderable preſents to many foreign monaſteries, made grants of lands to the abbeys of St. *Denis* and *Marmouſtier* in *France*; and beſides the two which he built in *Normandie*, by way of penance for his marriage within the prohibited degrees of conſanguinity, founded alſo in *England*, the abbey of *Battel*; which he endowed richly, and inveſted with extraordinary privileges, particularly with an exemption from epiſcopal juriſdiction. This was a thing unknown before in this country: but the precedent being once created, it ſoon, through the weakneſs or miſtaken piety of his ſucceſſors, and the growing power of the court of *Rome*, became ſo general, as to lay the foundation of a prodigious number of diſputes, and to be of infinite prejudice to eccleſiaſtical diſcipline.

As to his perſon, he was tall and large of ſtature; big bodied, but well proportioned; and bald in the forepart of his head; very robuſt; ſo ſtrong in the arms that no body elſe could draw his bow; and of ſo vigorous a conſtitution, that he bore the greateſt hardſhips without any prejudice to his health, and ſcarce

[1] *Chr. Sax. an.* 1086. *H. Hunt. Annal. Waverl.*

[2] See the writs in *Brady's Hiſt. of England*, vol. ii. *App.* 4.

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knew what it was to be ſick, till the illneſs of which he died. This enabled him to be active in buſineſs, patient under fatigues, and always ready to march at the head of his troops with wonderful celerity, whenever his preſence became neceſſary in an expedition. He had a noble preſence, a dignity in his air, and a majeſty in his countenance, which naturally commanded reſpect: but he had a ſternneſs too, which mixed with the look of a warriour, could not fail of inſpiring terror. His courage and firmneſs had been diſtinguiſhed on too many occaſions, to be called in queſtion by any writer: and there appears as little reaſon, eſpecially in his younger years, to ſuſpect his chaſtity and continence. He was ambitious and graſping; fond of fame to exceſs, which made him appear vain-glorious: and this paſſion was perhaps the ſource of that magnificence, of which he made a great parade in his court, (eſpecially at the three great feſtivals) of the mirth and pleaſantry that he affected, and of the acts of grace, which he choſe to do at thoſe publick ſolemnities, that the foreign embaſſadors attending them, might admire his grandeur, affability, and clemency. For otherwiſe [1] he was extremely rigid and imperious, valued nobody, and deſpiſed the hatred of all the world; a genuine effect of his pride and intrepidity. It is likewiſe univerſally agreed, that he was exceſſively covetous; though ſome are apt to doubt, whether in ſtripping the rich *Engliſh* of their wealth, and impoveriſhig the common people by heavy and illegal exactions, he had it not ſo much in his view to deprive malcontents of the ſinews of war, as he had to fill his own coffers. What is related of his uſury, of the ſale of offices and governments, of the ſetting of his demeſnes by auction to the higheſt bidder, and of turning out the tenants to whom they had been let, when any body offered an advanced price, with ſome other low and mean practices of a like nature, to which he ſtooped on occaſion, cannot be aſcribed to policy, ſo properly as they may to avarice; though both might contribute to render him that excellent manager of his revenue, which he is repreſented to be, by all writers. Whatever his vices or defects were, they were eaſily overlooked or obſcured by his many great talents, and eminent virtues: to which he owed the making of his own fortune, and the ſucceſs or felicity, which attended him in all his enterprizes.

His ſucceſs in that of *England* proved very fatal to this country; notwithſtanding what a polite [2] author, who hath wrote an account of his reign, rather out of his own imagination, than upon a careful examination of hiſtorical facts, ſays, of the advantages that accrued to it, by the additional ſtrength of *Normandie*, and the incorporating of a multitude of *French* and *Normans* with the natives; by confirming our kings in their right to the dominion of the channel, the coaſt on both ſides being from this time in their poſſeſſion; by the increaſe of our ſhipping with which the *Normans* abounded, as well as of our commerce, and what is a conſequence thereof, our treaſure; by the improvement of our learning, civility, politeneſs, and language through the reſort of ſtrangers, and by the figure which we afterwards made abroad. But theſe advantages are rather imaginary than real: for whoever looks into *Domeſday* book, and obſerves the difference in the number of inhabitants, and in the condition of the trading towns in *England*, between the time of *Edward the Confeſſor*, and the latter end of the *Conqueror's* reign, will have no reaſon to think, that either its trade or the number of its people were increaſed by the conqueſt. It is certain from the agreeing teſtimony of our old hiſtorians, that before that revolution, the wealth of this country, the reſult of a free commerce which ſhe enjoyed with all the nations of *Europe*, uninterrupted by any hoſtilities, was the admiration and envy of all her neighbours, and if our trade

[1] *Chron. Sax. H. Hunt.* [2] Sir *William Temple.*

hath been extended ſince, it was not ſo, early enough to be aſcribed to the conqueſt: but hath been owing to other cauſes; to the encouragment given to it by later princes; to the diſcovery of the *Indies*; to the genius of the people; to the natural produce of this iſland, and to the great advantages of it ſituation. Our courts were as polite, the reſort of ſtrangers as great, and our dominion in the channel as well maintained, in the reigns of *Alfred* and *Edgar*, as ever they have been ſince: and the vanity of making a figure by our armes abroad, was undoubtedly gratified at too dear a rate, by an infinite profuſion of our blood and treaſure. Whereas the loſſes which the nation ſuſtained by the conqueſt are too manifeſt to be diſputed, and ſo general, as to affect all orders and degrees of people: ſuch as the extinction of the ancient *Saxon* race of juſt, mild, and pious princes, who governed according to a well tempered conſtitution, and with ſo conſtant a moderation, that there ſcarce ever happened any diſturbance in their reigns, but what aroſe from foreign invaſions; the extirpation of all the conſiderable families among the *Engliſh* nobility; and an unhappy change in the cuſtoms, manners, and temper of the commonalty; the good meaning, the unaffected ſimplicity, the honeſt frankneſs, the frugality, quietneſs of diſpoſition, and contentment of mind, which reigned among the *Saxons*, giving way to the ferocity, falſhood, cunning, luxury, haughty, violent, rapacious, reſtleſs, and turbulent ſpirit of the *Normans*; who being blended with the others propagated the infection of their vices. The feudal law, being introduced, wrought a general alteration in the nature of tenures, and brought upon the proprietors of land the hardſhips [1] of *premier ſeiſins*, reliefs, ſcutages, fines for licenſes of alienation, feodal homages and eſcheats, cuſtody of perſons and lands, and profits of eſtates during the minority of heirs, marriages of wards, prædial ſervices, forfeitures of the lands of families upon the delinquency of the preſent poſſeſſor, and other burthens, unknown in the *Saxon* times, but perpetual ſubjects of complaints for many ages after the conqueſt. The ſimple, eaſy, ſpeedy, ſure, and unexpenſive way of determining ſuits, obtaining redreſs, and adminiſtering juſtice in the hundred and county courts, according to the equitable maxims of the *Saxon* law, was in a little time ſuperſeded by *Norman* juſticiaries, cuſtoms, and laws; and yielded to the niceties, intricacies, querks, formalities, and other ſubtle and litigious contrivances of *Norman* lawyers to defeat or delay juſtice, to puzzle a cauſe, and to render its iſſue doubtful, as well as its proſecution expenſive; the inconveniencies whereof have been long felt, and as long the general ſubject of complaint; though with ſo little reformation, that they are ſtill one of the heavieſt grievances of the nation.

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THESE are ſome of the calamities, in which *England* was involved by means of the conqueſt: but enormous as they are, they will yet be deemed much lighter, than what ſhe felt by loſing the benefit of her iſland ſituation; by ſhedding an ocean of her braveſt blood; exhauſting her ſubſtance; and being loaded with inſupportable taxes, in ſupporting a long ſeries of bloody wars on the continent; wherein ſhe was embarked, without any intereſt or concern of her own, but purely for the ſake of thoſe foreign dominions, which came to be annexed to the crown by the conqueſt. Theſe wars, though evidently ruinous to this nation, carried on under very great diſadvantages, and always attended with ſome loſs or other before they were intermitted, laſted from that time for near four hundred years; till we loſt all the dominions in *France*, to which our kings had any pretenſions. From this laſt event for the ſpace of above two hundred and thirty years, which intervened between the loſs of *Guienne* and the year 1688, we had not in all above ſix years war with *France* (excluſive of the reign of *Henry* VIII, whoſe

[1] See *Reliq. Spelmanian.*

deſigns,

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vanity and fondneſs for holding the balance of power in *Europe* involved us therein by fits) and had leiſure, abilities, and opportunities to improve our commerce; till the powers concerned in the league of *Augſburg*, finding it neceſſary for their own purpoſes to embark *England* in their quarrel with *France*, contributed to the expedition, which brought about the revolution, and put the prince of *Orange* upon the throne; when foreign intereſts and conſiderations naturally taking place under a foreign prince, we were immediately engaged in the like deſtructive wars on the continent. It was conſtantly the unhappy fate of thoſe wars in former ages, that though they began with ſome victory or action glorious to the *Engliſh*, they ever ended with loſs and diſhonour; the nature of things not allowing a war, unequally carried on, to be for any conſiderable length of time, ſucceſsful: and it will puzzle the moſt zealous advocates for our late wars, to find out any benefit that hath thence accrued to this nation; whilſt every body feels the inſupportable load of debts and taxes, which have ruined moſt of the ancient families of our gentry, and ſees the general corruption, with an infinity of other evils, which they have occaſioned. When theſe will have an end, late poſterity may poſſibly be able to tell: but we have been more fortunate in ſhaking off another terrible evil introduced by the conqueſt, I mean the uſurpations of the court of *Rome*, and corruptions of the primitive doctrines and uſages of *Chriſtianity*, propagated here by the exorbitant power of the papacy; the growth whereof, and the numberleſs miſchiefs which it brought upon this nation, will fully appear in the courſe of this hiſtory.

WILLIAM RUFUS.

William Rufus.

William Rufus crowned king of *England*.

XXXIV. THE news of the *Conqueror's* death reached *William Rufus*, as he lay waiting at *Witſand* for a fair wind to waft him over into *England*: but he took care to conceal it, till he had taken proper meaſures for getting poſſeſſion of the throne; in which he met with little difficulty, through the friendſhip of *Lanfranc*, who had knighted him, and been entruſted with the care of his education. This prelate had great credit with all the world: and eaſily engaged the reſt of the biſhops, the abbots, and the moſt conſiderable of the nobility in his intereſt. Whilſt theſe were aſſembling, *William* haſted to *Wincheſter*; where he put *Wulnoth* and *Morcar*, who, being ſet at liberty by his father, had come over with him, in priſon, and ſecured all the late king's treaſure. In the mean time his friend *Eudo*, ſon of *Hubert de Rie*, and ſteward to the *Conqueror*, had viſited *William de Pontdelarche*, and all the governors of caſtles and fortreſſes in *Kent* and *Suſſex*: and having engaged theſe in favour of *Rufus*, came to him at *Wincheſter*; where *William*, ſeeing himſelf maſter of *Dover*, *Haſtings*, *Pevenſey*, and all the coaſt that lay convenient for a landing from *Normandie*; the barons of which country, with his elder brother *Robert* at their head, might probably attempt to give ſome diſturbance to his projects, he thought it proper to make his father's death publick. There was no reaſon, if it had been practicable, to defer it longer: and it behoved him above all things to haſten his coronation; becauſe abundance of the nobity in *England* favoured *Robert* [1] as the right heir, and thought him unjuſtly diſinherited. *Lanfranc* accordingly having got together the archbiſhop of *York*, with eight

[1] *Eadmer.* p. 13. *Gul. Neubrig.* l. i. c. 2.

other biſhops, and ſome of the principal nobility [1], crowned him at *Weſtminſter*, on *Sunday*, *September* 27, being the feaſt of St. *Coſme* [2] and *Damian*; when the new king ſwore, as well to obſerve juſtice, equity, and mercy in all his conduct, as to maintain the peace, liberties, and privileges of the church, and promiſed to follow the archbiſhop's counſels in all his adminiſtration. *William* found in his father's treaſury ſixty thouſand pounds weight of ſilver; beſides gold, jewels, veſtments, and other things of ineſtimable value: and having diſtributed to the churches and counties the particular ſums deviſed by the late king's will, beſtowed a good part of the reſt in largeſſes to the ſoldiery, to fix them in his ſervice.

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XXXV. *Robert* [3] was, with ſome young noblemen that followed his fortune, at *Abbeville*, when he received the news of his father's deceaſe: and departing thence immediately for *Roüen*, took poſſeſſion of *Normandie* without any oppoſition, and was inveſted with the ſword of the dutchy. This prince, with all the vigour in action, the adroitneſs in military exerciſes, the courage, ſkill, and experience, which diſtinguiſhed him in matters of war above all the generals of the age, and with a capacity and judgment which enabled him to give wiſe advice in others affairs, had ſome moral defects in his mind; which having too great an influence on his conduct, bereaved him of the benefits he might elſe have received from his great talents and good qualities: and whilſt they kept his friends from depending upon him, expoſed him, at the ſame time, to the deriſion and contempt of his enemies. He was lazy and indolent; given to pleaſures, wine, women, and play; which ſo bewitched him, and engroſſed his time and thoughts, that he minded nothing of the government of his people; ſuffering them to be oppreſſed, and letting every one do as he lifted, without interpoſing his authority to prevent any of the miſchiefs, which continually happened. He had an infinite deal of good nature, and was deſirous to oblige every body: unſteady in his meaſures, and changeable in his reſolutions; compaſſionate to all in diſtreſs, or that applied to him for grace or relief; ſoft and mild in doing juſtice, and puniſhing injuries; eaſy of acceſs, and too kind in converſation, without a proper diſtinction of perſons, whilſt he ſtudied to pleaſe all; thus promiſing lightly to all that applied to him for favours, and granting with a laviſh hand whatever was aſked, he ſoon grew poor by enriching others, and was daily leſſening the demeſne of his predeceſſors by an inconſiderate prodigality. It was natural for a prince of this turn of mind, though he claimed, as the inheritance of his anceſtors, whatever he ſucceeded to, upon his father's death, to diſtribute to the churches and monaſteries of his dutchy, the legacies deviſed by his will, and to diſtribute the reſt of his treaſures among the ſoldiery; obſerving herein the ſame conduct with his brother *Rufus*, though probably out of a different motive. The actions of this laſt were directed entirely by political views; being an utter ſtranger to all thoſe ſentiments of generoſity which *Robert* ſhewed on all occaſions, and particularly in his treatment of *Ulf*, ſon to the uſurper *Harold*, and of *Duncan*, natural ſon to *Malcolm* king of *Scotland*, whom he knighted and ſet at liberty. *Robert*, leſs politick and provident than his brother, followed the natural diſpoſition of his mind, without ever reflecting on the conſequences; though he ſaw his goodneſs abuſed, and his authority inſulted, from the firſt moment he took poſſeſſion of his dutchy. *Robert de Beleſme*, eldeſt ſon of *Roger* earl of *Arundel* and *Shrewſbury*, and the heir of his great eſtate in *Perche* and *Normandie*, preſuming on the duke's ſoftneſs and indolence, had, upon the news of the *Conqueror's* deceaſe, ſurprized *Alençon*, *Beleſme*, and ſeveral caſtles in the neighbourhood belonging to others, leſt

Character of *Robert* duke of *Normandie*.

[1] *M. Paris. Chron. Petriburg. Walſ. Ypod. Neuſtr.* p. 440. *W. Malmeſb.* l. iv. [2] *Eadmer. ib.*
[3] *Gul. Gemet. interpol.* l. viii. c. 2. *Ord. Vit.* p. 664.

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they ſhould oppoſe him in his deſigns. This however did not hinder him from giving others of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in his dominions to perſons; whoſe power was too great already, and whoſe fidelity he had reaſon to ſuſpect. Thus he gave the caſtle of *Yvry* to *William de Breteuil*; and to make ſome amends to *Roger*, count of *Beaumont*, for the government which he loſt by that grant, put him in poſſeſſion of *Brioſne*, which lay much more commodious for him, and was the ſtrongeſt place in all *Normandie*; and the more conſiderable, as lying in the heart of the dutchy. *William*, count of *Evreux*, ſeized *Dangu*, driving out the duke's garriſon; and *Ralf de Conches*, and moſt of the nobility made themſelves maſters of fortreſſes in other parts of the country: which being ravaged continually by ſo many different parties of freebooters, became a miſerable ſcene of rapine and bloodſhed.

A. D. 1088. Inſurrection in *England*.

XXXVI. Odo, biſhop of *Bayeux*, a prelate of great magnificence and unmeaſurable ambition; ever unquiet in his nature, and full of great deſigns, was upon the recovery of his liberty, become the firſt councellor to *Robert*: and had the chief direction of the affairs of the dutchy. His earldom of *Kent*, and all his vaſt eſtate in *England*, had been ſeized by the *Conqueror*: and it doth not appear, whether they were reſtored to him before, or after, his going over into *England*, when *William Rufus* was keeping his *Chriſtmas* at *London*; into whoſe favour he at that time inſinuated himſelf, and was actually in poſſeſſion of all that he had formerly enjoyed in this kingdom. This reſtitution did not reconcile him heartily to *William*, nor make him drop the deſigns which, either to ſerve *Robert*, or with a view to his own intereſt, he had formed with *Euſtace*, count of *Boulogne*, *Robert de Beleſme*, and other *Norman* barons, for putting the latter of thoſe princes upon the throne of *England*. Theſe noblemen having great eſtates in *England*, as well as *Normandie*, found it inconvenient to be obliged to ſerve two maſters, likely enough to be perpetually at variance: and thinking the tenure of their lands in the former country to be very precarious, whilſt *William* was upon the throne, formed a deſign to depoſe him, and unite both countries under the dominion of *Robert*; to whom they belonged by right of primogeniture. The temper, manners, and qualities of the two brothers were compared on this occaſion; the generoſity, mildneſs, and good nature of the elder extolled; the haughty, violent, arbitrary, and cruel diſpoſition of the younger ſet forth in lively colours, and with all the art that *Odo's* talents of inſinuation and addreſs could ſuggeſt. This [1] prelate was the chief manager of the conſpiracy, and drew ſome of the greateſt men in *England* to engage in it; particularly his brother *Robert* count of *Mortain*, *Geffery* biſhop of *Coutances*, *Roger* earl of *Shrewſbury*, *Hugh de Grentemeſnil*, and even *William de S. Carilef*, biſhop of *Durham*; who was in high favour with *Rufus*, and acted as his chief miniſter. Theſe and others, having fortified their caſtles, reſolved to take up arms, and raiſe what forces they could in their ſeveral quarters; *Odo* beginning firſt to riſe in *Kent* at the latter end of *Lent*, and when he had got a ſufficient force together, falling, after *Eaſter*, on the king's and archbiſhop's lands; ſeizing their caſtles and plundering the country. *Grentemeſnil* roſe at the ſame time in the counties of *Leiceſter* and *Northampton*; *Roger Bigot* ſeized the caſtle of *Norwich*; *Geffery* of *Coutances* and *William de Eu* being in poſſeſſion of the caſtle of *Briſtol*, marched from thence to *Bath* and *Berkeley*, which they took; and having ravaged all the neighbouring parts of *Glouceſterſhire*, paſſed into *Wilts*, which they treated in the ſame manner, and entering the ſouth-weſt quarter of *Somerſet*, ſat down before *Ilcheſter*; but were there repulſed by the bravery of the beſieged. Nor had *Ber-*

[1] *W. Malmeſb. H. Hunt. Hoveden. Robert. Glouc. M. Paris. Flor. Wig.*

nard de Neumarché, lord of *Brecknock*, *Oſbern Fitz Richard*, ſurnamed *Scrop*, *Roger de Lacey*, and *Ralf de Mortimer*, with other barons of *Herefordſhire* and *Salop* better ſucceſs in their attack of *Worceſter*; being obliged, by biſhop *Wulſtan* and the forces which he drew to his aſſiſtance, to raiſe the ſiege, and quit the county. WILLIAM RUFUS. A. D. 1088.

THE king, though he knew of the conſpiracy, would not in all probability have been able to have weathered the ſtorm [1] which was falling upon him, if he had not been ſupported by *Hugh* earl of *Cheſter*, *Robert Fitz Hamon*, lord of *Glouceſter*, *Robert de Mowbray*, earl of *Northumberland*, *William de Warenne*, and other great men, who took up arms for him againſt the inſurgents in their neighbourhood; and eſpecially by *Lanfranc*, who kept all the prelates ſteady to his intereſt. He had likewiſe the addreſs, by great promiſes to gain over *Roger*, earl of *Shrewſbury*; which broke the force of the malecontents on the marches of *Wales*: but nothing did him ſo much ſervice, or contributed ſo much to enable him to reduce his enemies, as the aſſiſtance he received from the natural *Engliſh*. This he procured by fine [2] promiſes of giving them better laws, of eaſing them of unjuſt tolls and burdenſome taxes, and allowing them a free liberty of hunting; promiſes which probably he never meant to perform, or at leaſt forgot, when the danger was over; for he ſoon after enhanced the rigour of the foreſt-laws, not only making it capital to kill a deer, but introducing alſo a new method to diſable gentlemen from ſporting, by lawing their dogs; and oppreſſed the people more than ever. The *Engliſh* however, and particularly the *Londoners*, gained by fair words, raiſed thirty thouſand men [3] in his favour: and *William* putting himſelf at their head, advanced to beſiege the caſtle of *Tunbridge*; of which *Gilbert Fitz Richard* was governor or proprietor. The place ſurrendering in two days, the king marched with his army towards *Rocheſter*; whither *Odo* and the chief of the malecontents had retired, as to a place of the greateſt ſtrength and ſafety, and the moſt convenient for receiving ſuccours from *Normandie*. His view was by making himſelf maſter of the place, and of their perſons, to put an end at once to the inſurrection: but *Odo*, upon advice of his march, being apprehenſive of his deſign, had got off in time to his brother *Robert's* caſtle of *Pevenſey*, on the coaſt of *Suſſex*. *William*, quitting his former deſign, followed him thither; and after ſix weeks ſiege, took it by famine: *Odo* being able to obtain no better conditions than to have his life ſaved, on condition of abjuring the realm, and prevailing with the garriſon of *Rocheſter* to ſurrender. He was carried thither under a ſmall *eſcorte* for that purpoſe; but when they came before it, count *Euſtace* of *Boulogne*, *Robert de Beleſm*, and other noblemen within the place, either by concert with him, or of their own motion, ſallied out, and ſurrounding the convoy, brought the whole party priſoners into the caſtle; where *Odo* himſelf, perhaps to colour his colluſion, was kept under confinement. *William* came up ſoon after with his whole army, and took the town; the garriſon retiring into the caſtle: where they held out a conſiderable time in expectation of the ſuccours which *Robert* had promiſed to ſend them from *Normandie*; but had been diſabled by the exhauſted ſtate of his exchequer from ſending with that expedition, which was neceſſary. At laſt having, upon a mortgage of the *Coſtentin* to his brother *Henry*, borrowed of him the ſum of three thouſand pounds, he raiſed a ſmall body of forces, which he embarked immediately for the relief of his friends; propoſing to follow ſoon after with a greater. But theſe ſuccours being met at ſea, and intercepted by the men of the cinque ports, and a peſtilential ſickneſs breaking out in the caſtle, the noblemen within offered to ſurrender, if they might enjoy their lands and eſtates; a condition which the king re-

[1] *Ord. Vit.* p. 667. [2] *Chron. Walter. Hemingford. Alured. Beverl. Flor. Wig.* [3] *Ord. Vit.* p. 667. *Flor. Wig.*

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jected as insolent and unreasonable, resolving to take the place by force, and punish all the defendants capitally. But the chief nobility, that adhered to him in this time of danger, having many relations within the castle, interceded so strongly in their behalf: and were so well seconded by the prelates about him, that he gave them at last leave to march out with their horses and arms; and allowed them to retire abroad, but without any hopes of being restored, during his life, to their estates. The castle of *Durham* was yet in the enemies hands: but a body of troops being sent against it, the bishop gave it up immediately, and retired to *Normandie*, where he passed three years in exile; a party that many other *Normans* took at the same time, quitting their estates, which the king distributed among those that had served him faithfully during this insurrection.

A. D. 1089. Death of *Lanfranc*, and ill government of *Rufus*.

XXXVII. This unsuccessful attempt against *Rufus* established him so firmly upon the throne of *England*, that all the arbitrary proceedings, illegal exactions, grievous oppressions of the people, and evil treatment of all orders of men throughout the nation, by which the future part of his administration was distinguished, could never spirit up the desponding subject to another insurrection. *Lanfranc*, having lived long enough to serve him greatly on the late occasion, when he would probably have been ruined without the support of a statesman of his abilities, and a prelate of his authority, credit, and influence, died soon after; seasonably enough to allow him to take the full swing of his natural inclinations, without fearing the reproaches of so troublesome a monitor [1]; expiring the year following, on *May* 24, and being buried four days after in *Christ-Church, Canterbury*. *William* had been forced, during this prelate's life, to put a restraint upon the haughtiness, rapaciousness, avarice, and cruelty of his temper; but now giving a loose to his passions, he loaded the land with new exactions, and the church with grievances unheard of before, despising [2] all the world, and not caring what enemies he created. The chief instrument he made use of in all his methods of oppression, who is represented likewise as the chief suggester and contriver of those methods, was *Ralf Flambard*, styled by *Ordericus* [3] a plebeian, and said to be the son of a presbyter of *Bayeux*; yet he seems to have been no inconsiderable man in the time of the *Conqueror*, being mentioned in *Domesday book* as one of the king's immediate tenants by knight-service in *Hampshire*. The same author gives him an ill character, charging him with prodigality, luxury, libertinism, ambition, and avarice, as well as with flattering the king in his vices: he had certainly gained by some means or other a great ascendant over his master, had his ear on all occasions, and was his reigning favourite, governing the kingdom under him with a power little less than absolute. This looks as if he was chief justiciary of the realm; the power of which dignity was perhaps necessary for the execution of his schemes: and it was probably on account of this great office [4] of the crown, that before he came to be a prelate, he had a seat in the *great council* of the nobility of the kingdom; where being a man of distinguished parts and elocution, he affected to be the principal person in all debates, and to have the chief sway in directing the resolutions of those assemblies. This rendered him odious to the great men, whom he took upon him to menace on certain occasions, and overtopped always in the king's favour, to whose interests he was entirely devoted: and by putting him on several arbitrary and oppressive expedients, had incensed the common people against himself, whom they considered as the first author of all their grievances. It was not at first thought difficult to remove a man lying under a general odium; frequent complaints and accusations

[1] *Ang. Sacr.* t. i. 108. *Gervas. Acta Pont. Cant.* col. 1655. [2] *Ingulf.* [3] *Ord. Vital.* p. 678. [4] *Continuat. Sim. Dun. Hist. Eccleſiæ Duu.* c. 1. totius regni procurator.

were brought againſt him: but his prince finding him uſeful for his purpoſes, and ſticking at nothing to execute his will, they proved fruitleſs; and all other means to get rid of him failing, his enemies reſolved to proceed to extremities. One *Gerold*, a crafty, daring, enterprizing man, taking a few perſons with him in a barge, went to *Ralph*, and told him, that *Maurice*, biſhop of *London* (to whom he had been chaplain before he entered into the king's ſervice) was lying at the point of death at his houſe on the *Thames*, and being extremely deſirous to ſpeak with him before he expired, had ſent his barge to fetch him with greatet expedition. *Ralf*, miſtruſting nothing, went on board the veſſel: and though he thought it a long while before they touched the ſhore, yet *Gerold*, who had made down the river towards the ſea, excuſing it on the account of getting to a more convenient place for landing, which lay but at a little diſtance further, he had no ſuſpicion of any harm deſigned him, till he ſaw a large ſhip in the middle of the river lying at anchor, as if to wait his coming. He was put on board; and ſeeing it full of armed men, concluded that there was no poſſibility of making his eſcape: to prevent however any diſturbance being made in the kingdom by counterfeit orders, which his enemies might think fit to iſſue, he took care to throw the ring that he wore on his finger, making his notary alſo throw his ſeal, into the midſt of the river. His attendants were then ſet on ſhore; having been firſt obliged to ſwear, they would tell no mortal what was become of their maſter: and the ſhip was got out of the river, ſailing ſouthward, when two murderers, hired by the promiſed reward of his cloaths to diſpatch him, quarrelling who ſhould have his mantle, the richeſt of his veſtments, cauſed ſome delay in his execution. A terrible ſtorm ariſing, and driving the ſhip towards the land, cauſed a greater: and occaſioned likewiſe ſome remorſe in the perſon that had the ſecond command in the veſſel; who apprizing *Ralf* of the danger he was in, offered to venture his life in defending him, if he might have his pardon. *Ralf* taking courage upon this, repreſented to *Gerold* the iniquity of his deſign; and promiſing him great rewards, if he landed him ſafe, the man, either tempted by theſe, or afraid he ſhould not be able to execute what he propoſed, put into port; and entertained him nobly in his own houſe, ſeated on the ſea ſide; but not daring to truſt to the promiſes made him, fled abroad ſoon after, and died in exile. *Ralf* ſending for ſoldiers from all parts, was convoyed to *London*; which he entered with great pomp, to the amazement of all the world, who had concluded him dead upon the report of his being kidnapped: but now ſaw him more rivetted than ever in the king's favour; none of his enemies daring to attack him after the miſcarriage of this attempt.

WILLIAM RUFUS. *A. D.* 1089.

Among other expedients of this man's invention for filling the king's coffers (to ſay nothing of thoſe by which he fleeced and impoveriſhed the common people) there were two which immediately affected the moſt conſiderable of the clergy and laity, and are particularly taken notice of by hiſtorians. One of theſe was a new ſurvey of all the lands of *England*, the quantity and value whereof, as *Ralf* maintained, had not been rightly ſet forth and aſcertained in that lately made by the *Conqueror*; no oaths being capable of binding aſſeſſors to give in a juſt account of their extent and valuation, in caſes where their own, their neighbours, and their lords intereſts are materially concerned. There was undoubtedly ſome truth in this aſſertion, *Ingulf* freely acknowledging, that his monaſtery of *Croyland* had been ſo favoured in leſſening the quantity and value of its lands in the *Domeſday* ſurvey: and it is very likely that other monaſteries and great lords met with the like favour; which now gave occaſion to their lands being ſurveyed over again. There was a good deal of oppreſſion in the execution of this project of a new ſurvey[1]: for

[1] *Ord. Vit. ib.*

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where the number of acres was found to exceed the proportion of the former entry, the king not only reſumed the overplus to himſelf, but raiſed alſo the tax upon the remainder to an higher rate, than the whole was charged with before. Both clergy and laity were affected by this expedient: but the former were the onely ſufferers in the other, which is likewiſe imputed to *Ralf*; who being the king's oracle or chief miniſter in all matters of his revenue, ought naturally to bear the blame of adviſing him to ſeize the revenues of ſees and abbeys upon the deceaſe of a biſhop or abbot; allowing the chapter or convent only a ſlender penſion for their maintenance. It had been the cuſtom in *England*, before the *Norman* conqueſt, for the biſhop of the dioceſe, wherein a monaſtery was ſeated, to make, upon the death of its ſuperior, an inventory of all its goods and chattels, and to ſequeſter the profits for the uſe of the convent, till the choice or inſtallation of a new abbot. The archbiſhop likewiſe, when any of the ſuffragans of his province died, took the revenue of the biſhoprick into his hands: and, with the conſent of the dean and chapter, diſpoſed of it to pious and charitable uſes. But the caſe was much altered after the conqueſt; when prelates, inſtead of holding their lands by *Frankalmoigne*, ſubject to no ſecular burden, as they had done before, were forced to hold them by barony and military ſervices, according to the uſages of the feudal law introduced by the *Conqueror*; who thought it neceſſary for the defence of the realm to ſubject the lands of eccleſiaſticks to the ſame ſervices as thoſe of laicks, to which they had been originally ſubject, before they were diſpoſed of by the owners to churches and monaſteries, and were in conſequence thereof exempted by the piety of our *Saxon* princes. In virtue of that law, as a knight's-fee, when there was no vaſſal upon it, and the heir was, by reaſon of his minority, incapable of doing homage for it, was taken into the king's hands, till one came that was able and obliged to perform the ſervices incident to the fief, ſo the lands of ſees and abbacies, and the temporal juriſdiction annexed thereto, devolved to the crown upon a vacancy, and our kings were entitled to the profits thereof, till thoſe prelacies were filled. The *Conqueror*, indeed, more deſirous to fill up eccleſiaſtical dignities with perſons attached to his intereſts, than to let them continue vacant in order to enjoy their revenues, either out of religion or policy, at *Lanfranc's* inſtance, or to keep ſome meaſures with his prelates in a tender point, where it could not be pretended that the ſafety of the realm was ſo materially concerned, as it was in ſubjecting their lands to other feudal ſervices, did not make uſe of his right to the profits of ſuch vacancies in *England*; though he enjoyed them in *Normandie*; and the kings of *France* had done the ſame in their dominions, not only from the reign of *Hugh Capet*, but (as appears from *Hincmar's* letters) in the time of the *Carolivinian* race, and probably from the introduction of the *Lombard* or feudal cuſtoms into that kingdom. But *Rufus*, a prince who feared neither God nor man, and did not care whom he diſobliged, ſeized all thoſe profits to his own uſe; and to enjoy them the longer, kept ſees and abbacies vacant for ſeveral years together, to the great diſſervice of the church, and the general clamour of the whole nation: which he ſo little regarded, that all our old hiſtorians agree, he had no leſs than three of the richeſt biſhopricks, and eleven or twelve abbacies, in his hands, at the time of his deceaſe. Avarice was the motive of this part of his conduct: and though his ſucceſſors are not charged with that mean vice, yet this grievance continued, not indeed in the ſame ſcandalous degree, ſo low as the reign of king *Stephen*.

His meaſures to diſtreſs *Robert* in *Normandie*.

XXXVIII. William's exactions[1] and oppreſſions gave encouragement, as well as provocation, to a conſpiracy againſt him, formed by ſeveral prelates and noblemen: but

[1] *Ingulf.*

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it was eaſily diſſipated by the gaining over ſome concerned in it, and by the baniſhment of others, particularly of *Ivo Taillebois*. Freed from all apprehenſions at home, he reſolved to carry his armes abroad, and to give his brother *Robert* as much diſturbance in *Normandie* as he had cauſed him in *England*; for which a favourable opportunity now offered. *Robert's* remiſſneſs, in letting people do what they would, and in not puniſhing [1] malefactors, had filled the towns and country with robbers, who did not ſpare the churches, and plundered even the lands of the clergy with impunity. The whole province was a ſcene of terrible diſorders, where rapines, murders, burnings, rapes, and all manner of crimes were daily committed: and no meaſures being taken to repreſs theſe violences, the country was depopulated exceedingly, and every body diſcontented at the government for that neglect. *Henry* too, who enjoyed the *Coſtentin* by way of mortgage, being perhaps apprehenſive that *Robert* might reſume it; which ſeems to be the reaſon of his arming and exerciſing the people of the country as ſoon as he got poſſeſſion of it: or elſe thinking it proper on other accounts to be well with his brother *William*, whom he ſaw triumphant and firmly ſettled in *England*, had gone over thither the precedent year, as ſoon the inſurrection was quelled. His pretence for the voyage was to get poſſeſſion of his mother's lands in that kingdom, which was accordingly given him; but he made uſe of it likewiſe to bring about a reconciliation between his brother *Rufus* and *Robert de Beleſme*, the fitteſt perſon to ſet all *Normandie* in a flame, and the moſt able to ſerve him in keeping poſſeſſion of the *Coſtentin*. This *Robert* accompanying him in his return from *England* in autumn, it was ſuggeſted to the duke of *Normandie*, that they had entered into meaſures with *Rufus*, to diſtreſs him in his government and drive him out of his dutchy; and the appearances ſeemed ſo ſtrong in favour of this notion, that *Odo* biſhop of *Bayeux*, whom he conſulted on the occaſion, adviſed him to put them both under an arreſt at their landing. The orders given for this purpoſe were faithfully executed, and they were confined in two different places; the one at *Bayeux*, the other at *Noyelles*, in the cuſtody of *Odo*. *Robert de Beleſme*, ſon of *Roger de Montgomery* earl of *Shrewſbury*, had an head fit to contrive, and an heart capable of undertaking any miſchief or enterprize whatever; he was crafty, tricking, eloquent, bold in armes, indefatigable in action, infinitely covetous, cruel, and debauched: but with all the ill qualities that can enter into the compoſition of a profligate wretch, he had abundance of partizans attached to him, on account as well of his intrepid courage, as his great wealth and power, ariſing from his large poſſeſſions in *Perche* and *Normandie*, and the territory he had acquired in *Picardie*, by the marriage of *Agnes*, daughter to *Guy* late count of *Ponthieu*.

WILLIAM RUFUS. A. D. 1089.

Upon the news of his ſon's impriſonment [2], *Roger* earl of *Shrewſbury* came over into *Normandie*, under the pretext of procuring his releaſe; but in concert with the king of *England*, and in order to promote his deſigns upon the dutchy; the firſt ſtep he took being to fortify his caſtles againſt his natural ſovereign, and to engage his brothers to do the ſame by thoſe of *Beleſme*, *Axey*, *Alençon*, *Danfront*, *S. Cenery*, *La Roche de Sangey*, which they either owned or ſurprized. Theſe proceedings ought naturally to alarm duke *Robert*: but ſuch was his indolence, that all the inſtances of the biſhop of *Bayeux*, ſupported by the advice of his whole council, were ſcarce ſufficient to make him act with vigour in ſuch an exigence. At laſt he levied an army with the aſſiſtance of *William* count of *Evreux*, *Ralf de Conches*, and *William de Breteuil*: and marching to *le Mans* received there the homages of *Geffrey de Mayenne*, *Robert de Bourgogne*, and *Helie de la Fleche*, who joined him with their forces. Marching thence he took the caſtle of *Balon*, after a brave defence made

[1] *Ord. Vit.* p. 672. [2] *Ibid.* p. 673.

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by the beſieged: and *S. Celerin*, a ſtrong caſtle built on a rock, ſurrounded on three ſides by the *Sarte*, and the ordinary reſidence of *Robert Beleſme*, being reduced by famine, he gave it to *Robert de Geroy*, a gallant man, to whom it originally belonged, before it was uſurped by the *Talvas* family. The garriſon having committed great ravages in the country, the duke ordered the eyes of *Quarrel*, the governor, to be put out, and his ſoldiers to be maimed in ſome limb or other; a ſeverity which ſtruck ſuch a terror into the garriſons of *Alençon*, *Beleſme*, and other places belonging to the earl of *Shrewſbury*, that they were ready to ſurrender upon the firſt ſummons. But *Robert* ſtopping ſhort in the midſt of his ſucceſs, out of mere lazineſs and fondneſs for his pleaſures, and diſmiſſing his troops, returned to *Roüen*: where he ſoon after took another ſtep full as prejudicial to his affairs; for the earl employing ſome friends to make his peace and intercede for his ſon's releaſe, the duke, out of an eaſineſs of nature which did not allow him to deny any requeſt, ſet *Robert de Beleſme* at liberty. The ill conſequences of this impolitick meaſure ſoon appeared in the behaviour of *Robert*; who, inſtead of being obliged by this act of grace, deſpiſed the duke for it; meditated revenge for his impriſonment; and for fifteen years following employed all his time and force in ravaging his country; ſeizing ſome or other of his demeſnes, and debauching his ſubjects from their allegiance. The cantons of *Alençon* and *Seez* became immediately a theatre of cruelty and rapine; *Geffrey* count of *Mortagne* and others took up arms againſt that turbulent nobleman; burnt ſome of his towns; and all *Normandie*, being embarked in particular quarrels, was falling into ruin and deſolation: whilſt the duke, minding only his pleaſures, took no care to redreſs thoſe diſorders; and as if his government was not already diſtreſſed enough, ſet his brother *Henry* at liberty.

A. D. 1090.

Rufus ſeeing the ſituation of *Normandie* favourable to his deſigns, communicated them to his council: and by their advice reſolved upon an invaſion of the country; pretending that he made it purely for the general good of the *Normans*, and for the defence of the churches oppreſſed by continual [1] ſacrileges. Money was his chief inſtrument of government, and employing truſty perſons with large ſums to corrupt the *Norman* nobility and draw them over to his party, *Walter* of *S. Valery* and *Stephen d'Aumale*, ſon of *Odo* count of *Champagne*, declared for him: and admitted *Engliſh* garriſons into their caſtles. *Girard de Gournay* ſecured *Gournay*, *la Fertè*, *Gaille-fontaine* and other fortreſſes: and *Robert* count of *Eu*, *Walter Giffard*, *Ralf de Mortemer*, with moſt of the barons of *Caux* and *Bray*, following their examples, fortified their caſtles at *William's* expence, and engaged to further his deſigns. All the country north of the *Seine* was now in danger of being loſt: and *Robert* had no better party to take for ſaving it, than to give his natural daughter in marriage to *Helie* ſon of *Lambert de St. Saen*, with the caſtles of *Arches*, *Bures*, and the territories adjacent, in order to ſecure the *Pais de Caux*; a charge which he executed with great vigour and an inviolable fidelity. The duke applying alſo to the court of *France* for ſuccours, the king came in perſon to his aſſiſtance with a great army; and they both ſat down before *S. Valery*: but *Philip* having touched a ſum of *Engliſh* money, quitted the ſiege abruptly; and retiring home with his forces, left *Robert* to make what agreement he could with his brother. The duke was in no condition to make it with advantage, being diſtreſſed in another part of his dominions by a conſpiracy of the *Manceaux*; who reſolving to throw off the *Norman* yoke, and to have a prince of their own, had thoughts of ſending for *Hugh*, the ſecond ſon of *Azzo*, marqueſs of *Liguria*, by his wife, who was daughter to *Hugh* II, count of *Maine*. *Robert* having notice of the deſign, ima-

[1] *Ord. Vit.* p. 681. *Flor. Wig.*

given he might prevent it by the influence of *Fulk Rechin*, count of *Anjou*; and being confined to his bed by a slight indisposition, sent for him to *Rolien*; informed him of the conspiracy; and desired his assistance to keep the *Manceaux* in obedience. *Fulk* was ready to undertake it, provided he would give him in marriage the fair *Bertrade* (daughter to *Simon de Montfort*, and niece to *William* count of *Evreux*) who was then at his court, being under the tuition of her aunt the countess *Heloise*. There were material objections to the match; besides the vast disparity of age between the parties; for the old count had already divorced two wives, who were both living: and these the young lady's uncle insisted on, till his consent was purchased by the grant of several castles, to which he and his family had some pretensions. *Fulk*, in his way home with his young wife, passed through *le Mans*; and got a promise from the nobility of the country, that they would be quiet for a year: but upon the expiration of that term, they drove out the *Norman* garrisons (notwithstanding the opposition made, and the interdict issued out by their bishop *Hoel*) sent for *Hugh* abovementioned; and finding him silly, lazy, indolent, a downright coward, and utterly unfit for their purpose, got him to sell his right for ten thousand sols to *Helie de la Fleche*; who held the county for twenty years, governing it all the time with great justice and prudence.

WILLIAM RUFUS. A. D. 1090.

Robert's endeavours to oblige people by granting their demands, proved of as little service to him, as the temporary expedients he made use of to defer calamities; both contributing to lessen his power and demesnes. *Robert* count of *Meulant* in right of his mother, proud of *Rufus's* favours to him and his brother *Henry de Newbourg*, earl of *Warwick*, and animated by that king's promises, came over from *England*, to demand the fortress of *Ivry*; as belonging to his father, who had exchanged it with the *Conqueror* for *Briosne*: and upon the duke's refusal of a demand, unreasonable in itself, and made with arrogance, broke out into such threats, that he was imprisoned for his insolence, and to prevent his doing mischief. The crafty old man his father, *Roger* count of *Beaumont*, repaired hereupon to court, commended what the duke had done; and insinuating himself into his favour, found means not only to procure his son's liberty, but to get from him *Briosne*, the strongest fortress in *Normandie*; which *Robert*, son of *Baldwin de Meulles*, whose inheritance it had been, was forced to quit, not indeed without a recompence, such as his eminent merits and faithful services well deserved. It hath been already observed, that the civil wars between noble families, which reigned in *Normandie*, were an effect of the duke's remissness in government: he now began to feel the ill consequences thereof in the conduct of *Ralf de Conches*; who in his quarrel with the count of *Evreux*, finding himself inferior to his adversary, applied for succour to *Rufus*; who immediately ordered the count of *Aumale*, *Gournay*, and others of his partizans, to march to his assistance. Prince *Henry* had no reason to be satisfied[1] with either of his brothers; with the eldest on account of his imprisonment, and with the younger, for having deprived him of the honour of *Gloucester*, part of his mother's estate in *England*, and given it to *Robert Fitz Hamon*. Thus able to depend on neither, he took proper measures for his own security, by fortifying *Avranches*, *Cherbourg*, *Coutances*, *Gavre*, and others places which he had in his hands; by engaging several of the great barons in his interests; and by endearing his government to the people of *Costentin*; who lived in peace, whilst all other parts of the dutchy were full of troubles. But as he had more reason to dread the power and designs of *Rufus* than those of *Robert*, he did the latter a very important and seasonable service in opposition to the former; who had by his intrigues, bribes, and promises got a strong party among the citizens

[1] *Ord. Vit.* p. 689.

William Rufus. A. D. 1090.

of *Rouen*, and formed a design for surprising the city. *Robert* did not discover it, till it was on the point of execution, and then sent in all haste to his brother *Henry*, the counts of *Evreux* and *Breteuil*, and *Gilbert de l'Aigle*; acquainting them with the distress he was in, and desiring their assistance. *Henry* flew immediately to his succour, and the baron *de l'Aigle*, was on the third of *November* advanced to the *Bridge-gate* on one side of the town[1], as *Reginald de Warrenne*, with a body of *English* troops, was on the other side let in at the *Porte Cauchoise* by the conspirators; who taking armes endeavoured to oppose the baron's entrance. To facilitate it, the duke and his brother sallied out of the castle: and having joined him, drove out the *English* forces, and took a bundance of the rebels prisoners; the ring-leader whereof, one *Conan*, son of *Gilbert Pilate*, was put to death, and *Robert* would have set the rest immediately at liberty, if the *Norman* barons, who had come to his succour, had not prevented it, in order to get large sums for their ransome.

The miscarriage of this design made the king of *England* resolve to carry his point by open force: and passing the sea with a great army in the beginning of the *February* following, he landed near *Ville d'Eu*[2]; where his friends resorted to him, and he was visited by most of the nobles of *Normandie*. Several of these had estates in both countries, and were by interest obliged to prevent hostilities; which might occasion a forfeiture of some of their lands, to whatever side they adhered: and they laboured so earnestly for an accommodation, that it was at last made on the following conditions. *William* was to retain the county of *Eu*, the castle of *Aumale*, the lands of his adherents *Girard de Gournay* and *Ralf de Conches*, the abbey of *Fescamp*, and all other places which he had taken; and to make *Robert* amends with lands of the like value in *England*; promising also to restore the *English* estates of such as had forfeited by taking part with his brother; to recover for him the county of *Maine*, and all the fortresses and places in *Normandie*, that held out against his authority; and to reduce all the rebel *Normans* to his obedience. By another article it was stipulated, that, in defect of issue, they should be heirs to each others dominions; and twelve of the most considerable barons on each side having sworn to the performance of the covenants, the two princes went together to *Rouen*. Whether prince *Henry* conceived himself affected by the article for reducing all places that did not acknowledge the authority of his brother *Robert*, who required him to restore the *Costentin*, or imagined that this agreement of his elder brothers might produce something in another respect to his prejudice, he seized *Mont S. Michael*, with the consent of the religious; and from thence made incursions into the adjoining country. *Robert* and *William* having taken possession of all the *Costentin*, advanced to the siege of the place, which was well defended; the garrison making frequent sallies: in one of which *William* was beaten from his horse, and on the point of being slain, had not his crying out, and discovering who he was, stopped the hand which was lifted up to dispatch him; an action which the king offered to reward, by taking the soldier that did it into his service. During this siege, *Robert's* good nature shewed itself more effectually than in words; for *Henry* being in want of fresh water, and desiring he might be supplied with what nature had provided for all in common, he not only allowed the besieged to take what quantity they pleased, but sent his brother some pieces of wine for his table. *Rufus* complained of this as an impolitick step; the furnishing an enemy with victuals not being a likely way to reduce him: but *Robert* justified the action by the affection due to a brother, to whom he still let some supplies get in[3], tho' not sufficient for the support of the garrison; which was at last forced to surrender;

[1] *Ord. Vit.* p. 690. [2] *Ibid.* p. 692. *Flor. Wig. W. Malmesb.* l. iv. [3] *Ord. Vit.* p. 694.

and

and Henry retiring first to Britain, and thence into the Vexin Françis, wandered about for two years, with a very small retinue, and under some difficulties for subsistance. William Rufus. A. D. 1091.

XXXIX. Whilst William was thus engaged in Normandie, Malcolm king of Scotland had taken the opportunity of his absence to invade England, and entering Northumberland in May, ravaged the country: but retired upon the approach of Rufus and his brother Robert; who had both come over from Normandie upon the news of this invasion. The two brothers advanced with an army to Scot-water[2]; where Malcolm sent them word, that he owed nothing to William, and could make him no offer, except of battle: but if Robert was there, he was ready to do him homage, as the eldest son of William the Conqueror; who had made him promise to obey that son, when he confirmed to him the grant of Lothian. This message occasioned a council of war; in which, as the army was greatly fatigued, and they had lost abundance of horses by hunger and cold in their march, and the fleet, on which they depended for supplies, had been cast away three days before Michaelmas, by which disaster most of the forces on board had perished before they could land in Scotland to make a diversion; it was thought adviseable to make up matters, if possible, rather than run the hazard of a battle, or the dangers of a retreat, in their distrels for provisions. In consequence hereof, it was resolved, that Robert should go with a few attendants to the Scotch camp; where he was well entertained three days: and Malcolm shewing him two armies which he had drawn together to fight, not against him, to whom, by his father's directions, he had vowed obedience, but against William, he took occasion to represent how much matters were altered by the agreements which had passed between them, and pressed him much to accommodate matters, and pay homage to Rufus. He was seconded in these instances by Edgar Atheling; who, upon his return from his expedition against the infidels, not caring to trust himself in the power of the king of England, had stopped in Normandie; where Robert had given him an honour: but this lying in the country given up to William by the late treaty, he had been deprived of it by that jealous monarch, and retiring for refuge to Malcolm, was then in the Scotch army. The joint endeavours of these two princes brought about an agreement; by which William promising to give Malcolm all that he held under his father, and to pay him annually twelve marks of gold, the latter consented to obey him, and did him homage. Some terms were likewise made for Edgar Atheling; who being reconciled to William, went with Robert to London: but finding no great satisfaction in their stay at that court, they left it two days before Christmas, and went over together into Normandie. War with Scotland.

Robert, upon his return, found his brother Henry in possession of the strong fortels of Danfront, which he had surprized by the help of the inhabitants, and of all the Costentin, by the great barons of the country declaring in his favour: nor was he able, while his dutchy was all in flames by the intestine factions that harassed it, to reduce that young prince; who was under-hand supported by his brother William. It was not the onely instance of this king's insincerity in his treaties, that Robert had to complain of: he was still, notwithstanding the services lately done him, and the accommodation subsisting between them, continually tempting the Norman nobility to desert their natural sovereign, and to enter into his service. Some or other of them were daily debauched in this manner, and fortified their castles for his use: one of the most considerable of these rebels, was William count of Eu[3]; who, gained by the king of England's promises of giving him great pos- A. D. 1091.

[2] Flor. Wig. [2] Ord. Vit. p. 701. [3] Flor. Wig. Hovedn.

sessions,

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seſſions and honours in that kingdom, renounced his allegiance to *Robert*, and came over hither in the year following. Nor had *Malcolm* better reaſon to be ſatisfied with *William's* obſervance of his treaty with *Scotland*: he had, by embaſſadors, called upon him to perform the articles, but without any other effect than a promiſe, that he would do *Malcolm* right, if he would come to his court at *Gloucester*. *Malcolm*[1] having, in his way, ſtopped on the eleventh of *Auguſt* at *Durham*, to be preſent at laying the firſt ſtone of the cathedral there, came on St. *Bartholomew's* day to *Gloucester*, in hopes of ſettling a firm peace, agreeable to the previous reſolutions of the nobility of both kingdoms. But *William*[2] was too proud to ſee, or admit him to a conference, and would have forced him to leave the matters in diſpute between them to the judgment of his court there, compoſed only of *Engliſh* peers: but this the other abſolutely refuſed, though he was ready to abide by the determination of the nobility of both kingdoms aſſembled on the borders, which he maintained was the ancient cuſtom. Thus by *William's* haughtineſs and obſtinacy the peace was broken off: and *Malcolm* reſenting his uſage, returned full of fury into *Scotland*; where he immediately raiſed a great army, and falling upon *Northumberland*, waſted the country as far as *Alnewik*. He was there (as ſome ſay, under colour of a treaty[3]) ſurprized and ſlain, with his eldeſt ſon *Edward*, on St. *Brice's* day *November* 13, by *Morel*, a ſtout ſoldier, governor of the place, at the head of a party of *Robert de Mowbray's* troops: and his corpſe was firſt buried at *Tinmouth*, being carried thither in a cart by two countrymen, but afterwards removed to *Dunfermling*. He had by his queen *Margaret*, who died three days after him of grief for his loſs[4], ſix ſons (*viz.* *Edward*, who received a mortal wound at the ſame time with his father, *Edmund*, and *Ethelred*, who died in *England*, *Edgar*, *Alexander*, and *David*, who ſucceeded in their order to the crown of *Scotland*) and two daughters, *Maude*, married to *Henry* I, king of *England*, and *Mary*, wife to *Euſtace the Younger*, count of *Boulogne*. He was a prince of great virtues, unſtained by any remarkable vice: and is generally ſuppoſed to be the firſt introducer of the feudal law into *Scotland*, and to have divided the lands of the kingdom into baronies and knights-fees, in imitation of *William the Conqueror*, who had provided in that manner for the defence of *England*. Whether the *Scots* at that time enjoyed any lands of inheritance (except among the *clans*, the nature and time of whoſe union or ſubjection to the crown of *Scotland*, is a matter of too remote antiquity to be eaſily traced, and to whom perhaps this new regulation did not at firſt extend) is a point very fit for the enquiries of the learned antiquaries of that country. If they had, it is not eaſy to account for *Malcolm's* being able to diſpoſe of ſuch large tracts of land, as he did, to ſuch a number of *Engliſh* noblemen, as after the conqueſt took refuge in his country, and from whom the greateſt families at this day in the Lowlands are deſcended: and it is utterly incomprehenſible, how ſuch a general change in the tenures of a kingdom ſhould be brought about, and every body readily ſubject their perſons and lands to vaſſalage, forfeitures, ſervices, and all the rigours of that law, without the leaſt diſturbance, clamour, or complaint. If they had not, if their eſtates were no more hereditary, than their honours and offices at that time, but reverted to the crown upon the death of the tenant at will, or life-holder, there is indeed no difficulty in the caſe; ſince few people would ſcruple having eſtates veſted in their families, and deſcendible to their heirs, upon the terms preſcribed by the donor, though even more harſh than any that appear in the feudal cuſtoms. It is at leaſt certain, that from this time, the conſtitution of *Scotland* was formed upon the plan of that of *England*; the laws, maxims, and

[1] *Fordun. Scotichron.* l. v. c. 20. [2] *Flor. Wig.* [3] *Sim. Dun. Chr. Walter. Hemingford. Flor. Wig.* [4] *Buchanan*, l. vii. *Fordun.* l. v. c. 16, 27.

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usages of the two nations agreed with each other; the forms and composition of their parliamentary assemblies the same; the *Scotch* names of honours and offices were changed for *Norman*; and *Mac Duff* earl of *Fife*, who had so great a share in *Malcolm's* restoration, was the first hereditary earl and great officer of the crown, ever known in *Scotland*.

A. D. 1094. *Rufus invades Normandie and Wales.*

XL. THE death of *Malcolm* happened very seasonably for *William*; freeing him from a powerful and a dangerous enemy, at a time when he was coming to an open rupture[1] with his brother the duke of *Normandie*: who, tired with his affected delays and excuses for not executing the treaty between them, sent messengers to *England* to insist peremptorily on his immediate performance of the articles, or in failure thereof, to denounce him a perjured and faithless mortal. The king, piqued at this denunciation, yet resolved not to observe the treaty[2], passed over about mid-lent with an army into *Normandie*: and, either to have some pretence to gloss over the injustice of his cause, or in hopes of cajoling *Robert* into some shameful agreement, desired an interview with him; which was agreed to, but his propositions rejected. They had afterwards another conference, at which all the barons that had sworn for their respective performance of the articles were present: but the king being determined not to execute them, this proved as fruitless as the former. *William*, condemned by all the world, resolved to justify his measures by the success of his armes: and took the castle of *Bures*; proposing no less than an entire conquest of the dutchy; which in the situation of his brother's affairs, and considering the venality of the *Normans*, he imagined to be a matter of little difficulty. But the king of *France*, not liking to have so haughty and potent a prince for his neighbour, came with an army to *Robert's*[3] assistance: and they took the castle of *Argentan*, the same day it was invested; making *Roger Poitevin* with two thousand men, as well knights as common soldiers, prisoners. *Robert* soon after took the castle of *Homme*, with *William Peverel*, and eight hundred men that composed the garrison: and *William* was so alarmed at their progress, that he sent for a reinforcement of twenty thousand men from *England*; though, having more occasion for money than for their service, he ordered *Ralf Flambard*[4], when they were all at their rendezvous by the sea side, to take from them the ten shillings that each man was supplied with for his victuals, and then send them back to their several counties. This money did his business: for *Philip* and *Robert* being advanced to *Longueville* in their way to *Eu*, where they intended to besiege him, their further progress was stopped at once by a convenient distribution of that sum; and the *French* army vanished in a moment. The taking of a few castles, and the burning of open towns and villages, was all that passed afterwards in this war: which *William* was called off from prosecuting by an insurrection of the *Welsh*, and by advice of a conspiracy formed against him in *England*. This obliging him to hasten his return thither, he sent *Hugh* earl of *Chester*, with a fleet, to bring his brother *Henry* over to *London*; where he proposed to meet him at *Christmas*, and arrived before the end of the holidays.

WALES, divided into several little principalities, the princes whereof were perpetually at variance with one another, had never been able to contend in the field with the power of *England*; all that these princes could do being only to carry on a piratical war: in which they derived some advantages from the situation, woods, and mountains of their country. To prevent their depredations, *William the Conqueror* had taken care to plant the most powerful of his barons on the marches of

[1] *Flor. Wig. Annal. Waverl.* [2] *Flor. Wig. Annal. Waverl. Hoveden. Brompton. Hunt.*
[3] *Flor. Wig.* [4] *Ib. Alured. Bev. Hunt. Hoveden. M. Paris.*

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Wales, with vaſt eſtates, extraordinary privileges and regalities, and a great number of followers, always ready to oppoſe the *Welſh*, whenever they offered to make excurſions into the *Engliſh* borders. About four years before, *Rees ap Tewdor*, prince of *South-Wales*, had fallen upon *Jeſtin*[1], lord of *Morgannuc* or *Glamorgan*, deſcended of a race of princes who had ruled that country for ſeveral ages: and being ſuperior in the war, the latter, too weak to oppoſe him without foreign ſuccours, applied by the means of *Eneon* (a *Welſh* nobleman, who having been in the *Engliſh* ſervice, was well acquainted with many of their nobility) to *Robert Fitz Hamon*, earl of *Glouceſter*, for aſſiſtance. *Robert*, aſſociating with him twelve valiant knights, marched with a conſiderable force to his aid; and coming to an engagement[2] with the enemy in *Eaſter* week, *A. D.* 1093, near *Brecknock*, *Rees* was ſlain: and with him fell the kingdom or principality of *South-Wales*. *Jeſtin*, out of danger from his old enemy, took no care to make good the ſtipulations he had entered into with his new friends, or with *Eneon*, who had procured his ſuccours; ſo that both joined to attack him: and the whole country of *Glamorgan* being reduced, *Fitz Hamon* and his knights took poſſeſſion of the fertile part of it lying on the ſea coaſt, leaving the mountainous tract to *Eneon*. *Roger* earl of *Shrewſbury* had about the ſame time taken and fortified *Montgomery*: and his ſon *Arnulf*, having obtained from the king a grant of *Pembrokeſhire*, had taken poſſeſſion of it, and built the caſtles of *Pembroke* and *Cardigan*, with other fortreſſes, for the ſecurity of himſelf and his followers. The *Welſh*, enraged at theſe encroachments of the *Normans*, fell upon[3] them in all quarters; driving them out of *Cardigan* and *Pembroke* ſhires; taking all their places of ſtrength in thoſe countries, except the caſtle of *Pembroke*; demoliſhing that of *Montgomery*, after they had taken the place and put the garriſon to the ſword: and then invading the counties of *Cheſter*, *Salop*, and *Hereford*, they ſpared neither age nor ſex, burnt towns, and made a terrible havock in all places.

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The news of this deſtruction of the country having brought the king out of *Normandie*, he marched in *January* with a powerful army to take vengeance on the *Welſh*; and entering *Wales* on the ſide of *Montgomery*, repaired the caſtle: but not being able to meet with the enemy, unleſs in the ſtraights of mountains, or in the paſſage of rivers, where they ſtill attacked him with advantage, and killed abundance of his men, he returned home before *Eaſter* with ignominy. He made at the latter end of the year, after *Michaelmas*, another inglorious campaign againſt that people; who making their defence in the ſame manner, cut off his proviſions, and haraſſed his army ſo continually, that after paſſing through their country as far as *Snowdon*, without ever having an opportunity of a pitched battle, he was obliged to return with no better ſucceſs than before. The ſame was the fate of all the other expeditions he made into that principality with a royal army: but this method proving unſucceſsful, it was afterwards left to the lords of the marches to reduce the country by degrees, and in proportion as they advanced in it, to ſecure their poſſeſſion by ſtrong caſtles and garriſons. It was in this manner, and by erecting the fortreſſes of *Rudland* and *Digamwy*, that *Robert de Rudland* had made himſelf maſter of the vale of *Cluyd*, and of all the coaſt of *North-Wales* as far as *Conway*: it was by this method, that *Hugh Lupus*, and *Hugh de Montgomery* (who had, in *A. D.* 1094, ſucceeded his father *Roger* in the earldom of *Shrewſbury*) propoſed four years after to ſecure their conqueſt of *Angleſey*, had not the latter been ſlain, and their forces unexpectedly defeated by *Magnus*, ſon of *Olave* king of *Norway*. This prince[4], after taking poſſeſſion of the *Orkneys*, the weſtern iſles, and that of

[1] *Powel's Hiſt. of Wales*, p. 119. [2] *Flor. Wig.* [3] *Powel*, p. 154. *Chron. Hemingford.* c. 19. *Flor. Wig. Hoved.* [4] *Vit. Griffithi fil. Conan. MS. in Trin. Coll. Cantab.*

Man, which he either ſubdued or received from *Donald Bane*, came accidentally off the coaſt of *Angleſey* to deſcry it: and obſerving what havock the *Normans* were making in the country, landed his forces, to protect and ſave the miſerable inhabitants from deſtruction. WILLIAM RUFUS. A.D. 1095.

XLI. THE *Hugh* there ſlain had been one of the principal perſons[1] concerned in the conſpiracy, formed whilſt the king was in *Normandie*, for depoſing him, and putting upon the throne *Stephen* count of *Aumale*, ſiſter's ſon to the *Conqueror*. *Robert de Mowbray* earl of *Northumberland*, nephew to *Geffrey* biſhop of *Coutances*, from whom he inherited a vaſt eſtate, a ſtrong, big-made, thoughtful, crafty, bold, and enterprizing man, was at the head of the deſign; in which *William* count of *Eu*, diſobliged by *Rufus's* not making good the great promiſes that he made when he debauched him from his brother's ſervice, *Roger de Lacey*, *Richard de Tunbridge*, and a good number of other *Norman* lords likewiſe engaged[2]; being offended either at *William's* haughty behaviour towards them, or at being debarred their liberty of hunting. To defeat this dangerous conſpiracy, it was neceſſary to diſcover the bottom of it, or to make it break out, before all the meaſures were taken, and a convenient time fixed for its execution: and with this view, *William*, as ſoon as he returned from the firſt of his *Welſh* expeditions in this year, had ſummoned *Robert de Mowbray*[3] to attend him in his courts, held in *Wincheſter* at *Eaſter*, and in *Windſor* at *Whitſontide*, to anſwer for his plundering four large merchant ſhips, which had put into an *Engliſh* port where he had power, and not reſtoring the goods upon the king's order; who, upon neglect thereof, had paid the value out of his exchequer. *Robert*, either conſcious[4] of his guilt, or proud of his late ſervice in repulſing the *Scots* with the ſlaughter of their king and a conſiderable part of their army, which he imagined might excuſe any inſolence, refuſed to come; unleſs hoſtages were ſent him, and a ſafe-conduct for his ſecurity in going and returning. *William* marching againſt him, was near being intercepted in a wood, where *Robert* had laid an ambuſh for him: but was ſtopped from entering it by *Richard de Tunbridge*; who repenting[5] of the part he had taken in the plot, diſcovered it to him, and warned him of the danger. The king, inveſting the caſtle of *Tinmouth*, took it after a ſiege of two months; and then following the earl to *Bamburg*, lay before it for ſome time: but finding it impregnable, he built over-againſt it a fortreſs, which he called *Mauvoiſin*; and having furniſhed it with a ſtrong garriſon to prevent any proviſions getting in to the place, returned with the reſt of his army. During this blockade, *Robert* formed a deſign[6] for ſurprizing *Newcaſtle*; and the guard or watch of the place having promiſed to receive him, if he came privately, he ſtole out of *Bamburg* by night with thirty horſe: yet not with ſo much ſecrecy as to eſcape the vigilance of the troops in *Mauvoiſin*; who following his ſteps, ſent advice of his ſally to the governor of *Newcaſtle*. The enterprize, which was to be executed on a *Sunday*, failing, by the garriſon's being on its guard, *Robert* was overtaken, and fled to the monaſtery of *S. Oſwin* at *Tinmouth*: which, with ſome loſs of the aſſailants, was forced the ſixth day of the ſiege; the earl, with ſeveral of his followers, being wounded in its defence, and all of them taken priſoners. *Morel*, his relation and confident, who commanded in *Bamburg*, ſtill held it out: but *Robert* being by the king's orders brought before it, and a meſſage ſent to the governor, and the counteſs, who was alſo in the place, that his eyes ſhould be put out, if they offered to make any further reſiſtance, the caſtle was ſurrendered[7]. *Robert* died in priſon, after a confinement of above thirty years; during A plot diſcovered and puniſhed.

[1] *Flor. Wig. Ord. Vital.* p. 703. [2] *Malmeſb.* l. iv. *Fordun.* l. v. c. 19. [3] *Hoveden. Chron. Sax.* [4] *Hoveden.* [5] *Flor. Wig. Chron. Hemingford. M. Paris. Malmeſb.* [6] *Flor. Wig.* [7] *Ord. Vit. ib.*

which

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which his wife *Maude*, daughter of *Richier de l'Aigle*, and niece to *Hugh* earl of *Cheſter*, was by Pope *Paſchal's* diſpenſation married to *Nigel de Albini*; who enjoyed the forfeited ſpoils of her huſband, and who likewiſe, on the death of her brother *Gilbert de l'Aigle*, put on her the affront of a divorce, becauſe ſhe had been wife to his couſin; and married *Gundrea*, ſiſter to *Hugh de Gournay*. *Morel* was brave in battle, but probably did not care to look certain death coolly in the face: he diſcovered all, and perhaps more than he knew of the conſpiracy (for abundance were taken up[1], and the innocent ſuffered with the guilty) and having got his pardon, died poor and miſerable abroad. *Hugh* earl of *Shrewſbury* compounded his offence with the ſum of three thouſand pounds; *Roger de Lacey* flying into foreign parts, his lands were given to his brother *Hugh*, who had continued faithful to the king[2]: *Odo* count of *Champagne*, father to *Stephen de Aumale*, and many others, were impriſoned and deprived of their eſtates: ſuch was the iſſue of this rebellion, and the fate of moſt of the conſpirators.

A. D. 1096.

The conviction and puniſhment of one of that number was reſerved for the beginning of the next year, and deſerves a particular notice, becauſe it is the firſt inſtance in our *Annals* of the trial of a perſon's guilt or innocence by the iſſue of a combat: for I much ſuſpect what is ſaid in *Fordun*[3] of the duel between *Orgarus*, who in this reign accuſed *Edgar Atheling* of high treaſon, and the champion of the latter, who gained the victory; becauſe it is not mentioned by any of our *Engliſh* hiſtorians. This was an ordinary way of trying cauſes, both real and criminal, among the *Friſians*, *Alemanni*, *Franks*, and *Burgundians*: but never uſed in *England*, till after the conqueſt; when it was brought in by the *Normans*, and allowed in caſes where no evident proof of a fact appeared from witneſſes, or other circumſtances. A piece of ground, generally about eighty paces long, and forty broad, was incloſed with rails or liſts for the field of battle between the accuſer and the accuſed: who were both to ſwear, the one to the truth, the other to the falſhood of the accuſation; the event determining which had the right on his ſide; the victor being acquitted, and the vanquiſhed condemned. Women, eccleſiaſticks, ſick, or infirm people, and all under twenty-one, or above ſixty years of age, were excuſed from fighting in perſon: and might have their champions to fight in their ſtead, by whoſe fate theirs was determined. Theſe duels were performed with great ſolemnities, and abundance of ceremonies, by leave, and in the preſence of the king, or judges of his appointment: as that now to be mentioned was in the preſence of all the barons of *England* on the octave of the *Epiphany*. *Geffrey Bainard* had accuſed *William* count of *Eu* of being privy to, or engaged in, the late conſpiracy: and there being no other witneſs, the count had denied the charge, and offered to prove his innocence by a combat. This was granted, and fought at *Saliſbury*, though the cauſe had probably been firſt heard in the great council held at *Windſor*; where the king kept his *Chriſtmas*, and the prelates attended as well as the barons: which laſt however are only mentioned as preſent at the duel. Theſe were likewiſe in all appearance the onely perſons concerned in the ſentence denounced againſt the count, after his guilt had been proved by the iſſue of the combat, in which he was vanquiſhed: it was adjudged that his eyes ſhould be put out, and his teſticles cut off; this latter part of his puniſhment being (as *Ordericus* ſays[4]) added at the inſtance of *Hugh* earl of *Cheſter*, whoſe ſiſter *William* had married, and yet had got three ſons on a ſtrumpet. The infidelity, which the count had ſhewn to his natural ſovereign, made his puniſhment leſs regretted than that of his couſin and ſeneſchal *William de Alderi*: who being accuſed[5] as conſcious of the

[1] *Malmeſb.* l. iv. [2] *Flor. Wig. Annal. Waverl. Ypod. Neuſt.* p. 441. *Alured. Bev.*
[3] L. v. c. 22, 23. [4] P. 704. [5] *Malmeſb.* l. iv.

conſpiracy was ſentenced to be hanged, and at his execution declared, that as he hoped for mercy at the hands of God, he was entirely innocent; a declaration which the piety of the man, the *Chriſtian* end that he made, the intrepidity with which he ſuffered, and ſome circumſtances of his death, cauſed to be generally credited. WILLIAM RUFUS. A.D. 1096.

XXII. WHILST the king was thus employed in *England*, he had taken care to diſtreſs his brother *Robert* in *Normandie*, by ſending prince *Henry*[1] thither, with a large ſum of money, to make war upon him, in conjunction with the counts of *Gournay*, *Conches*, *Meulant*, *Braiouſe*, *Curcy*, *Giffard*, and other great lords that he had gained over to his party. This deſertion of the *Norman* nobility, and the many difficulties in which *Robert* found himſelf involved, is ſuppoſed to be one of the motives, which, with others drawn from religion, and urged by the monks, engaged him to quit his country, and croſs himſelf for the expedition, which was now undertaken for recovering *Jeruſalem* out of the hands of the infidels. Pope *Urban* had the year before held a council at *Clermont* in *Auvergne*: and among other things there done for aggrandizing the court of *Rome*, he contrived to have an army of devotees always under his direction, ready to ſupport the papal claims, by repreſenting the extraordinary merits of ſuch expeditions, and putting every body upon making vows to fight againſt the infidels; with whom, all that the Popes (ſovereign judges or directors of conſcience in caſes of vows, and admirable caſuiſts for their own intereſt) were pleaſed to pronounce hereticks, or had any quarrel with, ſoon came to be confounded. Preachers were employed in all places to ſet forth, in the moſt moving colours, the deplorable condition of the holy land, and of the *Chriſtians* there living under the heavy yoke of the *Saracens*, and to diſplay all their oratory for engaging people to embark in expeditions for their reſcue; which was extolled to an extravagant degree, as an act ſo highly meritorious, that it came to be thought almoſt the onely way of going to heaven. This notion taking place, an innumerable multitude of all orders of men, clergy and laity, nobles and plebeians, freemen and ſlaves, took up arms: and without any regard to their kindred, families, lords (who could not hinder their ſlaves from engaging in ſo pious an enterprize) or country, ſet out for *Jeruſalem*. The fields[2] were left without huſbandmen, and the towns without inhabitants; whole cities went away to the croiſade: huſbands took their wives and families with them in carts, without ever thinking of the dangers and difficulties they were to meet with, and the extremities of want to which they were to be expoſed, in paſſing thouſands of miles through unknown countries in their way to the holy land; by which infinite numbers periſhed. St. *Bernard*, abbot of *Clairvaux*, complains, that in his time there were ſcarce men enough left to till the ground, and not above the proportion of one man to ſeven women; moſt of the ancient noble families in *France* and *Germany* became extinct: and though thoſe countries ſuffered moſt by theſe romantick or enthuſiaſtick expeditions, no part of the north and weſt of *Europe* was free from its ſhare of the common calamity. Vaſt numbers in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* croſſed themſelves on this occaſion, to vye with foreign countries in a point of modiſh devotion: and among other princes, *Robert* duke of *Normandie*, reſolved to engage in the expedition.

Robert mortgages *Normandie* to *Ruſus*, and goes to the holy land.

THIS prince wanting money to defray the expence, applied to the king[3] of *England*, for a loan of ten thouſand marks of gold, upon a mortgage of *Normandie* to him for five years[4]; a propoſal very agreeable to the wiſhes and views of the latter: who raiſed the ſum by the contributions of his prelates and nobility; the

[1] *Ord. Vit.* p. 722. *Malmeſb.* l. iv. c. 2. *M. Paris*, *Hemingford.* *M. Paris.* [2] *Malmeſb.* l. iv. c. 2. *M. Paris.* [3] *Malmeſb.* *Flor. Wig.* *Chr. Ho-* [4] *Eadmer* ſays it was for three years.

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bishops, abbots, and abbesses melting down the gold and silver vessels of their churches; and the temporal lords exacting aids from their tenants, and such as held of them by knight-service. This brought about a peace between the two brothers: and *William* passing the sea, paid his money, and took possession of *Normandie*; *Robert* setting out in *September* and wintering in *Apulia*. From thence he went into the east, was at the taking of *Nice*, *Antioch*, and *Jerusalem*, and in all the considerable actions which happened in the three following years; distinguishing himself by his valour, force, military skill and prudence, above all the heroes that had a share in the expedition.

Rufus restores Edgar to the throne of Scotland.

XLIII. William having passed the winter in *Normandie*, landed at *Arundel* on *Easter* eve: and soon after *Whitsuntide*, made another [2] fruitless expedition into *Wales*; which fully convincing him there was no reducing that country but by degrees, he ordered castles to be built on the frontiers. He got more glory by another, which *Edgar Atheling* made into *Scotland*, at the head of an army he was allowed to raise for restoring his nephews, the sons of *Malcolm*, to their rights of succession in that kingdom. Upon the death of [3] *Malcolm* III, his brother *Donald Bane* had usurped the crown: and expelled all the *English* that were about the court; whose favour with the late king had given great offence to the *Scotch* nobility [4]. The usurper had not been a year upon the throne; when *Duncan*, *Malcolm's* illegitimate son, then an hostage in *England*, being knighted, and supplied with an army by *Rufus*, marched into *Scotland*: and defeating his uncle in battle, got possession of the crown; but keeping a party of his *English* and *Norman* forces about him, this so enraged the *Scots*, that getting together on a sudden, they surprized and cut them all in pieces. *Duncan* fled for his life, apprehending that the design was as much against himself, as against the foreign guards, in which he had placed his security: but the *Scots*, to shew him his mistake, and that all their resentment was levelled at his followers, recalled him immediately, and placed him again in the throne, upon condition that he would not for the future bring any *Englishmen* or *Normans* into *Scotland*, nor have any of them in his army or service. Whether *Duncan* kept his word or not in this respect, he was, after a reign of eighteen months, murdered by *Malpeit* earl of *Merns*, at the instigation of *Donald*; who remounting the throne, possessed it till this year, when his army was routed and himself taken prisoner by *Edgar Atheling*. In consequence of this victory, *Edgar*, the eldest of *Malcolm's* surviving sons, ascended the throne of *Scotland*, to the great joy of the nation, without any further opposition: and after an happy reign of more than nine years, left it to his younger brothers in the natural order of their succession.

His quarrel with archbishop Anselm.

XLIV. William being now secure on the side of *Scotland*, and in the quiet possession of *Normandie*, had nothing to fear from any of his neighbours: and set about the expensive works of [5] building the tower of *London*, and the great hall or palace of *Westminster*; which occasioned his levying vast sums of money on the people by exactions unknown before, and caused a general clamour. But he was absolute master of the kingdom, and to gratify a vanity, which made him think that hall too little by half, when every body admired its largeness and magnificence, he did not value the resentment or discontents of all the world; every thing

[2] *Ord. Vit.* p. 765. [3] *Ann. Waverl.* [4] *Turdun.* l. v. c. 23-25. *Flor. Wig. Chr. Malros. Chr. Hemingford. Hoveden.* [5] *Annal. Waverl. Hoveden.*

I bowed

bowed before him; and none offered to diſpute his will in any thing, but the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. WILLIAM RUFUS.

THIS ſee had been vacant, and the king had enjoyed the revenues of it, for *A. D.* 1097. near four years after the death of *Lanfranc*; when in *Lent*, *A. D.* 1093, his majeſty[1], being taken extremely ill, and lying in danger of death at *Glouceſter*, was prevailed with on *March* 6th to name to it *Anſelm*; who, having done homage for it, was conſecrated on the fourth of *December* following. This prelate was a native of *Aoſt* in *Piedmont*; and profeſſing himſelf a monk at *Bec* in *Normandie*, had ſucceeded *Lanfranc* in the priory, as he did *Herluin* in the abbacy, of that monaſtery. He had there imbibed the monkiſh notions which appear in his conduct, and the religious principles that are ſeen in his writings; which ſhew that he had read St. *Auguſtine's* works; though he ſeems little acquainted with thoſe of other primitive fathers. He was ſtrict in his devotions, auſtere in his way of living, irreproachable in his manners, very charitable to the poor, a great maſter of his temper, perfectly indifferent to the world, and firm to a degree of obſtinacy in all his purpoſes, whether they related to matters of little or great moment[2]. *Eadmer*[3] extolls him for preaching on an *Aſhwedneſday* againſt the fine heads of hair, which the young nobility then about court wore very long, and obliging them (by his ſingle authority, before he had got them forbidden by a council, under pain of excommunication) to cut them off, before he would either admit them to the aſhes, or grant them abſolution. Such a ſtreſs did the narrow education of a monk make him lay upon trifles. He was certainly taken out of his ſphere, when removed from the poſt of ſuperior of a convent, to be put at the head of a national church; for he had ſpiritual pride enough to embroil a kingdom, and was not without other kinds of that unruly paſſion; being haughty, ſtiff, and imperious. The reputation he had gained in the world, at a time when the monaſtic diſcipline was in the higheſt requeſt, the apparent ſanctity of his life, and his free cenſures of the vices of the ages, might have enabled him to have been uſeful in this nation, if he had not been a foreigner, an *Italian*, and a monk; a ſtranger to the rights and uſages of the church of *England*, bred up in a blind obedience to the court of *Rome*, and apt to deſpiſe all cuſtoms, that differed from what he had obſerved abroad, and claſhed with the papal decrees and regulations.

IT is in vain to ſet bounds to the papal authority, when it is once received in a kingdom: it will ever be attempting to break through them, and find partizans enough that will concur in ſuch attempts, to render the leaſt admiſſion thereof full as dangerous as the firſt piercing of the waters of the ſea through a dyke, raiſed to keep a low country from being overflowed. The *Conqueror*, when he firſt introduced it here, for his own ends, and in order to turn out the *Engliſh* biſhops, imagined he had put ſufficient reſtrictions upon it, by providing that none of his prelates ſhould go to *Rome* without his licenſe; and that in caſe of a ſchiſm in the papacy, none ſhould acknowledge any of the pretenders to it, till the king had declared, who he would have received for the true Pope in his kingdom. The court of *Rome* looked upon theſe reſtrictions as great grievances; and complained of them as an high indignity offered to, what in their ſtyle is termed, the chair of St. *Peter*. *Gregory* VII, being choſen *Pope* unanimouſly[4] and already acknowledged here, was himſelf only affected by the former; and tried in vain to

[1] *Eadmer*, l. i. p. 18, 20, 21.

[2] He had a great deal of what is termed the *little* religion, and a wonderful veneration for all kinds of relicks, as appears[a] from the mighty ſtreſs he laid on two of the bleſſed Virgin's hairs, ſaid to be brought out of the Eaſt into *Normandie*.

[3] *Eadmer*, p. 23.

[4] *Annal. Baron. A. D.* 1081.

[a] *Eadmer*, p. 88.

break

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break through it, by enjoining *Lanfranc* in an imperious manner to appear before him (all excuſes apart) within four months at *Rome*: but this prelate neither went, nor, as far as appears, ever ſent any excuſe for his neglect; though the Pope had threatned to puniſh his diſobedience, by ſuſpending him from all the functions of his character. From the time of that pontiff's death, there being a ſchiſm in the papacy between *Wibert* archbiſhop of *Ravenna*[1], who under the name of *Clement* was acknowledged in *Germany*, and *Odo* biſhop of *Oſtia*, who (upon the deceaſe of *Victor* III) aſſuming the name of *Urban*, had been received in *France* and *Italy*: but they had not as[2] yet been ſubmitted to in *England*; nor had any declaration been made in favour of either. *Urban* wanted to eſtabliſh his authority here: but *Lanfranc* was too wiſe, or too tender of the regal rights, to meddle in the affair. *Anſelm*, much inferior to his predeceſſor in judgment, knowledge, and experience of the world, more enthuſiaſtical in his notions, more unadviſed in his conduct, and more devoted to the court of *Rome*, ſeemed a proper inſtrument for bringing about the *Pope's* deſigns; the canonicalneſs of whoſe election he had, as abbot of *Bec*, already acknowledged.

Anselm eaſily embarking in an affair, which was to do honour to his own judgment by drawing a great nation to follow his example, quarrelled with the king about it; for though, as *Eadmer* repreſents, there had been a ſtrangeneſs between them on account[3] of the former's not contributing to the latter's expences in *Normandie*, by a benevolence anſwerable to the revenue of his ſee, and proportioned to what other prelates and the nobility had offered; yet it had not proceeded to an open rupture, till the beginning of *A. D.* 1095; when *Anſelm* applied to him for leave to make the voyage of *Rome* to receive his pall from *Urban*. The king, ſurprized at a requeſt ſo full of arrogance and preſumption, ſo contrary to his own prerogative[4], to the laws of the land, and to the rights of the church of *England*, which had as yet refuſed to acknowledge to obey *Urban*, told him calmly, that he had not yet owned *Urban* for *Pope*; that it had not been the cuſtom, either in his father's time or his own, for any body in *England* to acknowledge a

[1] *Eadmer*, p. 24. [2] *Flor. Wig. A. D.* 1091.

[3] I much ſuſpect the truth of *Eadmer's* relation in this particular, who in his view of magnifying his patron *Anſelm* catches at all things that will anſwer his end, though not always conſiſtent. He ſays, p. 18, that as ſoon as he was named, the king inveſted him with every thing belonging to the archbiſhoprick, and granted him likewiſe the city of *Canterbury* and the abbacy of *St. Alban's*. In the next page, he makes *Anſelm* (after he had received his letters from *Normandie*) preſs the king at *Rocheſter*, to reſtore him all the lands of his ſee which had been held by *Lanfranc*, and to do him right as to others, which *Lanfranc* had not been able to recover. The firſt was readily granted: the latter deferred for further conſideration; and no anſwer made to what *Anſelm* is ſaid to recommend ſo modeſtly to the king, that he would be directed by him as his ſpiritual father in all matters eccleſiaſtical, as he ſhould obey his majeſty in civil affairs and particularly in the acknowledging of *Pope Urban*. Soon after, at *Windſor*, the king is ſaid to deſire *Anſelm* to confirm his alienation of ſome lands of the ſee, which the latter refuſed; hence aroſe a quarrel, which is ſaid to pleaſe *Anſelm*, becauſe he wanted to quit his ſee. Then *Anſelm* is conſecrated *Dec.* 4, 1093, and eight days after goes to court in order to keep *Chriſtmas*; when his friends perſuade him to offer the king five hundred pounds, which is rejected as too little, and he went from court as ſoon as the feſtival was over, and does not ſee the king till he came to *Haſtings* at *Candlemas A. D.* 1094, and as the king was going to embark for *Normandie*, moved him for holding a general ſynod in *England* (which *William* deferred) and to fill up abbeys, which was refuſed, as an impertinent motion, in which the archbiſhop had no concern, it being a part of the royal prerogative. I can eaſily believe *Anſelm* fond of power and intermeddling, but cannot conceive, how he could at that time be able to make the king an offer of ſuch a ſum of money, or how the king could expect it from him, before he had received the revenues of his ſee; for *Brompton*, col. 988, ſays he did not allow *Anſelm* to receive any thing of the archbiſhoprick, till the tribute he had impoſed on it after *Lanfranc's* death was paid; *Eadmer* himſelf, p. 108, ſays, he had received no part of his revenues, and *M. Paris* (*Vit. Abb. St. Alban.* p. 52) ſays, that *Anſelm* was all that time in a poor diſtreſſed condition, and aſſiſted by abbot *Paul* with money, which he gratefully returned after his inthronization. The king was beyond ſea from *February* to the end of *A. D.* 1094, and returning at the latter end of *Chriſtmas* holidays, it was then that *Anſelm* pleaded for a licenſe to go to *Rome* for his pall.

[4] *Eadmer*, p. 25, 26.

Pope

Pope without the king's license or approbation; and that it was attempting to deprive him of his crown, to offer to strip him of that part of his royal prerogative. *Anselm* declaring, he would never deviate from his obedience to the *Pope* to whom he had submitted whilst abbot of *Bec*; *William* told him with some warmth, that he could not keep the allegiance which he owed to him, if he was resolved, against his will, to obey the *Pope*. *Anselm*, with a *salvo* to his subjection and obedience to the Pope, desired a respite of the affair, till it was examined in a great council of all the prelates and nobility of the realm, whether he could keep his faith to the king, consistent with the obedience he professed to the see of *Rome*; declaring roundly at the same time, that if it was not to be done, he would rather quit the land, till *Urban* was acknowledged, than renounce his obedience to the *Pope*, even for an hour. This peremptory declaration was enough to provoke a prince of *William's* spirit: but he had temper enough to comply; and appointed a great council to meet on *Sunday*, *March* 11, at *Rockingham-castle*.

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ANSELM proposing the question in the council, asked their advice in the matter; and the bishops told him, if he would submit without any reserve to the king's will, they were ready to give him the best they could: but if he would stick to the *Pope* against the king's mind, they should not offer to give him any. The archbishop, in a speech, full of cant about St. *Peter* and the cause of God, which he would fain have thought to be his own, at the same time that he was labouring to give up the rights of the church of *England*, which he of all others was most bound in duty to maintain, declared his fixed resolution to obey the *Pope* in all *ecclesiastical*, though he was willing to give the king his advice and aid in *civil*, affairs. This shocked the whole assembly to such a degree, that all the members rose up and exclaimed at once against him, as if he had been guilty of a capital offence: but after a recess, the bishops with some of the chief nobility coming to him, told him, "that the whole realm complained of his attempting to deprive the "king of his crown; that whoever took away the rights of the royal prerogative, "took away his crown and kingdom, they being inseparable; and advised him to "exert the freedom that became an archbishop of *Canterbury*, in shaking off the "yoke of subjection to *Urban*, in submitting to the king, and asking his pardon." He absolutely refused to renounce obedience to the Pope; but desiring the matter to be put off till the next day, the bishops acquainted the king with his request: and it not being thought proper to be granted, they told him, "that he had, as "far as in him lay, deprived the king of his royal dignity, by making, without his "warrant, *Odo*, bishop of *Ostia*, Pope in *England*, and having done so, desired a "truce to find out ways to justify his outrage; that he ought to restore the king "to his dignity, before he could expect the other, and either to give him some sa-"tisfaction for the injury done, or else expect a sentence to punish his presumption "and breach of his oath of allegiance." *Anselm* persisting in his adherence to the *Pope*, the bishops consulted in the king's presence about the method of proceeding against him: but found greater difficulties in the matter, than they had before apprehended; "there not being in all the annals of the church of *England*, so much as a single "instance of an archbishop of *Canterbury's* being called to an account, tried, or con-"demned by any judicature, except by the *Pope*," whom the *Conqueror*, trampling on the rites of the church, had called in to assist his revenge[2], and allowed him to depose *Stigand* by his single authority. *William de S. Carilef*, bishop of *Durham*[3], an excellent prelate, a man of great learning and knowledge, versed in all kinds of business, was the person, upon whom *Rufus*, among all the bishops, most relied for

[1] *Eadmer*, p. 27. [2] *Ib.* p. 29. [3] *Sim. Dun. H. E. Dun.* l. iv. c. 1.

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finding out an expedient to make the archbiſhop reſign his ring and paſtoral ſtaff, and to ſend him out of the realm: but he was as much at a loſt as the reſt; *Anſelm* being their primate, and they having all ſworn to pay him canonical obedience. No other method being ſuggeſted, the king, declaring he would ſuffer no [1] equal in his own kingdom, propoſed to put *Anſelm* out of his protection, and to conſider him no longer as his archbiſhop or ſpiritual father: and inſiſted, that they ſhould at the ſame time withdraw their obedience, and hold no more communication with him, as their fellow biſhop and primate; that he might, by ſuch a contempt of him, feel the ill conſequences of his adhering to the Pope, and bidding defiance to his ſovereign. When this was notified to *Anſelm*, he ſaid, the biſhops might do what they pleaſed: but he would ſtill retain the office of archbiſhop, whatever became of his revenues; and ſent to the king for a ſafe-conduct for himſelf and followers to depart the kingdom. The king was extremely deſirous to have him gone; but did not care he ſhould depart cloathed with his archiepiſcopal dignity: and conſulting with his lay nobility on this occaſion, they, deſirous of an accommodation in the matter, propoſed to *Anſelm* a ſtop of all further proceedings at preſent, and that things might remain as they were, till the octaves of *Whitſontide*; which he agreed to with a ſaving of his obedience to Pope *Urban*. Nothing could have been more convenient for him than this delay; for before the day came, *Walter* biſhop of *Albano*, employed by the Pope to carry *Anſelm's* pall, and to get his own election to the papacy received here, arrived in *England*, being eſcorted by two of the king's chaplains; whom *Rufus* had ſent privately to *Rome*, to enquire into the canonicalneſs of the elections of the two Popes, and to procure from him that appeared to have the beſt right, a pall to be tranſmitted to the king himſelf, for the uſe of the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, without mentioning the name of *Anſelm*. The king's deſign in this was, as ſoon as he had the pall in his hands, to turn this prelate out of his primacy as well as the realm, and to give the pall to the perſon he ſhould appoint for his ſucceſſor: but the court of *Rome* was an overmatch for him in politicks, and took her meaſures with better ſucceſs. *Walter*, paſſing through *Canterbury*, without taking any notice of *Anſelm*, made haſte to the king with his two guides; not offering to ſpeak with any body, but in their preſence, nor mentioning a word of the pall: and arrived at court a few days before *Whitſontide*. He was full as ſilent with regard to *Anſelm* in all the diſcourſe he had with *Rufus*; never making the leaſt motion in his behalf, nor ſaying any thing but what flattered the king's humour and deſigns; ſo that the partizans of that prelate, impoſed upon by this profound ſilence and artful management, began to exclaim loudly againſt the corruption of the court of *Rome*; which took no ſtep for their relief. The king too, upon *Walter's* aſſuring him in *Urban's* name of every thing's being done to his mind, and that, if he was once received for Pope in his realm, he would lend the king his papal authority as long as he lived for his purpoſes, gave orders that *Urban* ſhould be obeyed as *Pope* in all his dominions. But when he came to talk with the biſhop of *Albano* about depriving *Anſelm* by the papal authority, ſupported by his own power, he was ſtrangely confounded at being told, that it could not be done. There was no revoking what had been done in the Pope's favour, and ſince he could not get rid of the archbiſhop, his council adviſed him [2], to take up with a general promiſe of his obſerving the laws of the land, and ſtanding by him againſt all men; and to try if he could gain any thing upon his temper, by ſhewing him ſome exterior marks of his favour. It was propoſed that *Anſelm* ſhould receive the pall from the king's hand; but the haughty prelate abſolutely refuſed to receive it in that manner, becauſe it was a grant from the Pope,

[1] *Eadmer*, p. 30, 31. [2] *Ib.* p. 39.

not from the crown: nor could the ceremonial of the delivery of it be adjuſted, but by the Pope's meſſengers laying it on the altar of *Chriſt-Church* in *Canterbury*, and the archbiſhop's taking it from thence, as (in the uſual canting phraſe) from the hand of St. *Peter*. WILLIAM RUFUS. A. D. 1097.

THIS was done with great pomp and ceremony on *Sunday*, *June* 10, amidſt an infinite number of clergy and laity, who came to be ſpectators of *Anſelm's* triumph over the regal power: and matters reſted in this manner till the year following; when the king, going over into *Normandie* to receive the dutchy in mortgage from his brother *Robert*, and to pay him the conſideration money, had large ſums advanced him by his prelates and nobles by way of benevolence; and *Anſelm* was prevailed [1] upon by ſome of his friends to ſend him a ſmall preſent, with two hundred pounds of the treaſure of the church of *Canterbury*. *William* having paſſed the winter in that country, returned this year in the ſpring to *England*: and preſently after made an expedition into *Wales*, as is above related; the time of which *Eadmer* [2] places before, though all other writers place it after, *Pentecoſt*. *Anſelm*, whoſe conſcience was guided by papal decrees, ſome whereof condemned all vaſſalage of the clergy to lay ſuperiors, thought it a grievance, that prelates ſhould hold their lands by barony, and be ſubject to the ſervices incident to feudal tenures: and either out of ſome ſuch papal principle, or out of averſion to what he deemed an oppreſſion, had ſent the knights, he was obliged by law to furniſh for that expedition, very badly equipped, neither properly provided with arms and other neceſſaries for war, nor indeed fit for the nature of the ſervice. The king reſenting it, ſent him word to prepare himſelf to anſwer in his court for this neglect; a meſſage or ſummons to which the archbiſhop returned no anſwer; not being able to deny but the matter was properly cognizable in a court of law, and not caring to ſubmit to a lay judicature, the deciſion whereof would probably be agreeable to the king's mind, or at leaſt made according to the rules of law and uſages of the kingdom, without any regard to *papal* privileges of exemption in favour of the clergy. His reſolution was to apply to the court of *Rome* for her directions in the caſe, and to ſupport himſelf by her authority: but coming at *Whitſontide* to the king's court; which, after the days of feaſting were over, proceeded according to ancient cuſtom to hear cauſes; he found the deſign was either to fine him a large ſum of money, or force him to ſubmit to the king's mercy. This was the uſual tenor of ſentences in that court upon the like occaſions: and ſeeing no other way to avoid a cenſure and a ſubmiſſion, which would ſink his reputation for ever, he ſent to acquaint his majeſty, that he was under an unavoidable neceſſity of going to *Rome*, and to deſire his licenſe for that purpoſe. The king, who could not imagine him guilty of any ſuch heinous ſin as was reſerved only to a papal abſolution, nor think but he was as capable of giving advice to the *Pope*, as the *Pope* was to him, would not grant the licenſe: but yet deferred the proſecution intended.

A GREAT council of the prelates and nobility being called in *Auguſt* to conſult about the affairs of the realm, *Anſelm* [3] came thither to renew his requeſt: and being again denied, he went in *October* to the king at *Wincheſter*; where he repeated his inſtances, as well by himſelf as others, till the king, incenſed at being teazed in this manner, declared, "that he would receive no more applications on "that ſubject, being reſolved to proceed againſt him judicially; and if he went "away, he might be aſſured, that he would ſeize all the revenues of his ſee, and "would never own him more for his archbiſhop." Some biſhops and noblemen then at court complained of the obſtinacy, wherewith *Anſelm* perſiſted in his reſolutions: and preſſed him not to quit the dignity and advantages of his primacy,

[1] *Ib.* p. 35. [2] *Ib.* p. 37. [3] P. 38, 39, 40.

for

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for the ſake of a journey to *Rome*. They put him in mind of his promiſe to ſtand by the king, and keep the laws of the land; and having repreſented further, "how unprecedented a thing, and how contrary it was to thoſe laws, for any prelate "or nobleman, more eſpecially for him (who ought to maintain the independency "of his ſee upon any foreign judicature) to preſume to take ſuch a journey." They told him, that "the king, to put a ſtop to all ſuch affronting ſollicitations, "required him either to promiſe upon oath, that he would never appeal to the "*Pope* in any cauſe whatever, or elſe to quit the realm immediately; and in caſe "he choſe to take the oath and ſtay, he was to anſwer in the king's court for "daring to inſult his majeſty ſo often with ſuch illegal requeſts." The archbiſhop owned his promiſe of obſerving and maintaining the laws and uſages of the realm: but, "though he had not expreſſed it, there was a reſtriction underſtood in "that promiſe, which excuſed him from obſerving all that were not agreeable to "juſtice and the laws of God; ſuch as that in particular, which debarred him "from going to the Pope for the ſalvation of his ſoul, and for the government of "the church." After haranguing on this head in his uſual manner, with ſome ill applied ſcripture phraſes, and profeſſions of his duty to obey God rather than man, and not to abjure St. *Peter*, he declared, that "he looked upon the promiſe re-"quired from him, of not appealing to *Rome* on any account, to be of the ſame "nature with the others:" and perſiſted invariably in his reſolution of going to *Rome*.

This paſſed on *Thurſday*, *October* 15: and *Anſelm* going away, meſſengers were ſent after him with an order to be at the ſea-ſide in eleven days, and to carry nothing abroad with him, but what the king allowed. One of the king's chaplains attended him accordingly at *Dover* to ſee this order executed: and having examined all the baggage before it was put on board, without taking any thing away, the archbiſhop, after a ſtay of fifteen days for want of a wind, embarked, and landed ſafe with his attendants at *Witſand*. *Anſelm* paſſing the winter at *Lyon*, wrote a letter [1] thence to the Pope; complaining, among other things, of the *Engliſh* cuſtoms being contrary to the decrees of Popes and canons of the church, and of ſecular ſervices being put upon him, never uſed in the times of his predeceſſors; which looks as if he had wilfully neglected to perform his feudal ſervices in the *Welſh* expedition. About *Eaſter*, in the year following, he went to *Rome*, and was preſent at the council [2] held by the Pope on the firſt of *October*, *A. D.* 1098, at *Bari*; where he prevailed to have a canon made for excommunicating all laicks that pretended to give inveſtitures of churches, and all eccleſiaſticks too, that either received them from ſuch laicks, or ſubmitted to be vaſſals, and do homage to laymen, on account of eccleſiaſtical benefices. The pretence for this canon, being taken from the ceremonial uſed in performing homage, and from the late invented doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, may ſerve to ſhew what kind of reaſoners they were in thoſe days, and for what purpoſes that doctrine was introduced; "it being deemed an execrable thing "to ſee hands that could create God by their miniſtry, and offer him for the re-"demption of the world, to be made ſubſervient to hands polluted day and night "by obſcene contacts, rapine, and bloodſhed." *Anſelm* wrote himſelf, and got the Pope to write in his behalf, to the king, but without any effect; *William* [3] thinking that the latter had no power in his realm but by his allowance, though he vouchſafed to read and anſwer his letters: for as to *Anſelm's* he would not ſo much as receive his, but ordered the bearer, on pain of his eyes being put out, to quit the realm immediately. *Anſelm*, finding no relief from the Pope, beſides compliments and empty bluſtering, left *Rome:* and retiring to *Lyon*, ſtaid there till the death of *Ru-*

[1] *Ib.* p. 43, & ſeq. [2] *Ib.* p. 53. [3] *Ib.* p. 54.

fus.

fus. Such was the iſſue of this firſt attack, made upon the rights of the monarchy, as well as of the church of *England*, after the conqueſt, by attempting to introduce appeals to the court of *Rome*; to break through the laws, made as barriers to prevent ſuch appeals, by reſtraining prelates from reſorting thither; and to elude the cognizance of the civil judicature in matters undeniably within her juriſdiction, though they might relate to eccleſiaſtical perſons and privileges; in which though the king maintained the ſovereignty of his crown, yet the tool of the papacy that invaded it, got a pretence from the canon abovementioned to renew his attack in the ſucceeding reign, to the great diſturbance of the quiet of the nation. WILLIAM RUFUS. *A. D.* 1097.

XLV. ANSELM was no ſooner gone abroad, than the king prepared to ſet out for *Normandie*: but was detained on the ſea-coaſt [1] by contrary winds, to the great damage of the country adjoining, from *Martinmas* till near the end of *November*, before he could paſs over thither. He had revived the old pretenſions of his father and grandfather to *Mante*, *Pontoiſe*, *Chaumont*, and all the *Vexin François*: and had ſummoned the king of *France* to deliver them into his hands; which being conſidered as a prelude to a declaration of war, had given occaſion to ſome hoſtilities. The war was carried on the year following without any conſiderable action, but to the greater detriment of the *French*; whoſe country lay open, as well to the incurſions of the garriſon [2] of *Giſors*, which *William* had fortified on this occaſion, as to thoſe of *Robert* count of *Meulant*, and *Guy de la Roche*, who put his fortreſſes of *Rochegueyon* and *Vetueil* into the hands of the *Engliſh*. The king however was detained all the year abroad, either by this war, in which nothing of conſequence happened, beſides the ſiege of *Chaumont*, which he was forced to raiſe; or by that which he declared againſt *Helie de la Fleche*, notwithſtanding he had croſſed himſelf in order to an expedition into the *Holy Land*; which was in thoſe days conſidered as a protection of a prince's territories from any invaſion of his neighbours. *Helie* had ſeized on the county of *Maine* to the prejudice of duke *Robert*; and had made ſome agreement with him before he ſet out for *Jeruſalem*: but *Rufus* pretending, that nothing could hinder him from recovering his right to that county, marched thither in order to beſiege *Dangeul*. The *Manceaux* guarding the paſſages of the rivers, and ſpoiling the roads, defeated his deſign, by keeping him from entering their country: and he was obliged to retire with his army, leaving the conduct of the war to *Robert Beleſme*. This general [3] had the good fortune to ſurprize *Helie* in an ambuſcade, and ſent him priſoner to *Roüen*: which making the king confident of reducing *Maine*, he raiſed a prodigious army, compoſed of *Bretons*, *Flemings*, and *Burgundians*, as well as *Normans* and *Engliſh*, and took *Treſnay* and ſome other places by compoſition. But when he thought to make himſelf maſter of *le Mans*, he was oppoſed by *Fulk Rechin* count of *Anjou*, of whom *Helie* had holden the county in vaſſalage, and obliged to a retreat; the war being ſtill carried on with various fortune. *William*, a prince who never failed to carry his point, where it could be done by money, had better ſucceſs in managing a conference with the count of *Anjou*, which ended in a treaty of peace upon conditions much to his advantage; being reſtored to the poſſeſſion of *le Maine*, for only ſetting *Helie* and all his other priſoners at liberty. The king hereupon ſending *Robert*, ſon of *Hugh de Monfort*, his conſtable, to take poſſeſſion of *le Mans*, entered the place in triumph: and having fortified the town and caſtle with ſtrong garriſons, under the command of *William* count of *Evreux*, and *Gilbert* baron *de l'Aigle*, all the fortreſſes of the country ſoon followed the fate of the capital; the nobleſſe readily ſubmitting, and being left maſters of their own caſtles, upon taking an oath War with *France*, and in *Maine*. *A. D.* 1098.

[1] *Chr. Sax. Hunt.* l. vii. *Hoveden. Flor. Wig.* [2] *Ord. Vit.* p. 766. [3] *Ib.* p. 771.

William Rufus. of fidelity. *William* always generous to brave ſoldiers, had treated *Helie*, whilſt a priſoner, with ſo much kindneſs, that being now at liberty, and reduced to his original private fortune, he was deſirous to enter into the king's ſervice: and made him the offer, without any view of recovering what he had loſt, or the expectation of any recompence, but what his ſervices might merit. The king having [1] a great confidence in the honour of warriors, was inclined to retain him; when *Robert* count of *Meulant*, the chief of his councils, either out of a political jealouſy, or ill will to *Helie*, diſſuaded him from accepting the offer. *Helie* was not a little piqued at this affront; and had the courage to tell his majeſty, that "he ought "not to take it ill, if, after refuſing his ſervice, he ſhould do all that lay in his "power to recover his loſt poſſeſſions:" the king replied, "he did not fear "what he could do," and gave him a ſafe-conduct to retire to *la Fleche*; which he fortified, with the other places in his ſmall territory.

A. D. 1098.

A. D. 1099. He kept himſelf however quiet till *Eaſter* in the year following: when *Rufus* returning into *England*, he ſeized the opportunity to renew the war, and to ſollicite the *Manceaux*, by whom he was much beloved, to riſe in his favour. Coming in *June* before *le Mans* with a good body of troops, he tempted the garriſon to make a ſally; and having routed the party, entered the town with the runaways; being aſſiſted by the inhabitants, and received with great acclamations: but the caſtle and ſome forts in the place ſtill held out; and the garriſons found means to ſet fire to the houſes of the town, which was reduced to aſhes. A courier diſpatched by *Robert de Beleſme* with advice of what had happened, found the king hunting in the *New Foreſt*; who immediately on the news, conſidering that no time was to be loſt, and turning his horſe about, haſted to the ſea-ſide: and embarked, with a very few attendants, on board an old veſſel. The air was cloudy, the ſea tempeſtuous, the wind contrary: and the ſeamen repreſenting theſe things to engage him to wait for better weather, he bade them weigh anchor; for he had never heard of a king's being drowned, and they would ſoon find the heavens and the wind favourable. It proved ſo [2]: and landing the next morning at *Barfleur* in *Normandie*, rode without any delay to *Bonneville*; where he aſſembled his troops, and marched to the relief of his garriſons in *le Mans*. *Helie*, on the news of his approach, raiſed the ſiege: and deſtroying the fortreſſes he had in the country, retired to *Chateau du Loir*; where he waited a more favourable opportunity of renewing his enterprizes. *William* inveſting *Majol*, with great hopes of carrying it at the firſt aſſault, had like to have been killed by a ſtone thrown from the place, as he approached too [3] near it: this accident making him raiſe the ſiege, put him on ravaging the country; and that done, he returned about *Michaelmas* into *England*.

A. D. 1100. XLVI. The next year was fatal to *William*, at a time, when fond of enlarging his command, he had agreed with *William* duke of *Guyenne* (who was going to the *Holy Land* with three hundred thouſand followers) for a mortgage of his dutchy, and had ordered a fleet and army to be prepared for taking poſſeſſion of the country. He loſt his life by an accident in the *New Foreſt*; where his nephew *Richard*, a natural ſon [4] of duke *Robert*, had a little before been killed in the ſame manner by an arrow, levelled at a deer by a knight; who was ſporting with him, and immediately thereupon retiring to *St. Pancras*, profeſſed himſelf a religious. *Walter Tyrrel*, a *French* [5] knight born at *Pontoiſe*, drawn by the fame of the king's bounty, had lately come over to his court: and having the reputation of being an excellent archer, *William* took him out after dinner to hunt with him in the *New Foreſt*; and a prieſt

Death and character of *Rufus*.

[1] *Ib.* p. 773. [2] *Wace*, p. 608. [3] *Chr. Sax. Annal. Waverl.* [4] *Ord. Vit.* p. 780. *Flor. Wig. Brompton.* [5] *Malmeſb. Rob. Glouceſter*, 418.

bringing him ſix arrows, he gave two of them to *Walter*; who kept cloſe by him all the afternoon. They were alone towards ſun ſet: and the king had alighted to wait the coming up of his company that were aſſigned their ſeveral ſtations [1], and diſperſed up and down the *Foreſt*; when a ſtag paſſing by the king, he ſhot at him, gave him a ſlight wound, and quitting his ſtand, followed the deer, to ſee if it would drop; holding up his hand before his eyes to guard them from the ſun, which chanced to ſhine full in his face, and too intent to mind any other object. In the mean time another ſtag paſſing by, *Walter* ſhot at it; and whether the arrow grazed on its back, or on a tree, or not, it ſtruck the king ſo full in the breaſt, that without ſpeaking a word he dropped down dead immediately: upon which *Tyrrel* galloped away to the ſea-ſide, unheeded, in the confuſion occaſioned by the king's death; and getting over into *Normandie*, died afterwards in his way to *Jeruſalem*; a journey perhaps undertaken to expiate this accidental ſlaughter. *William's* corpſe being found by ſome country people, as they were paſſing through the *Foreſt*, was laid croſs an horſe and carried to *Wincheſter*; where it was buried the next day in the cathedral under the tower, without the diſtribution of any alms, or the tolling of a bell, and with as little reſpect as ceremony; few lamenting his death, and ſcarce any of his courtiers attending the funeral.

William Rufus. *A. D.* 1100.

William was of a middle ſtature [2], but ſtrong and well ſet; his face red, and his hair yellow; his viſage ſtern and haughty: haſty of ſpeech and ſtammering in his anger, loquacious, boaſting, and paſſionate; utterly illiterate, and without any elocution; yet did not want a pleaſant turn of wit and humour in converſation. He affected magnificence [3] in his retinue and buildings; was proud and imperious; eager and perſevering in whatever he undertook, whether good or ill; bold and warlike; profuſe rather than liberal; fond of the number of his forces, and laviſh in his donatives to the ſoldiers that he kept in his ſervice, to the great oppreſſion of the *Engliſh*; among whom they were quartered, living at diſcretion, without any diſcipline, and plundering as they pleaſed. It was not ſo much avarice, as his profuſeneſs to military men, that was the ſource of his rapine: and put him upon the grievous exactions he laid on his ſubjects; for whom he had no tenderneſs; being cruel in his nature, never ſparing any body that gave him an offence; wilful, and not caring whom he ſacrificed to his humour. He hated the *Engliſh*, though he owed his crown to their zeal and fidelity, when the *Norman* lords would have turned him out to make way for his elder brother; and impriſoned at once fifty of the old *Engliſh* gentry [4], who had ſtill ſome riches left, under a falſe pretence of their killing and eating his deer: nor did his fury againſt them ceaſe, when they were acquitted by the *fire ordeal*. *Malmeſbury* repreſents him as one that regarded neither God nor man, and though his uſage of the clergy, and ſeizing the revenues of vacant ſees and abbeys, may have provoked the monkiſh writers to lay more load on his memory, than he deſerved: yet it is not eaſy to ſuppoſe a very ſerious ſenſe of religion in a man who was guilty of continual breaches of his faith in treaties, and lived in a conſtant habitual practice of lewdneſs, with a multitude of ſtrumpets [5], too mean to be taken notice of by hiſtorians. He was ever an utter enemy to marriage: and died on *Thurſday*, [6] *Auguſt* 2, *A. D.* 1100, without any legitimate iſſue; after having reigned near thirteen years, and lived about forty.

[1] *Petr. Bleſenſ. Continuatio Ingulfi.* [2] *Malmeſb.* l. iv. *Rob. Glouceſter*, 414. [3] *Ord. Vit.* p. 680. [4] *Eadmer*, p. 48. [5] *Ord. Vit.* p. 763. [6] *Ib. Annal. Margan. Gemet.* l. viii. c. 9.

HENRY

HENRY I.

HENRY I. A. D. 1100.

Henry ſeizes the thrown of *England.*

XLVII. ROBERT duke of *Normandie* was undoubtedly the true heir of the dominions of his deceaſed brother, as well by the natural right of primogeniture, as by the ſtipulations between them, expreſſed in the articles of peace; which put an end to their diſpute for the crown of *England*, and the obſervance whereof was ſecured by the oaths of twelve of the principal nobility adhering to each party, and of both the countries here mentioned. This prince had been engaged ſome years before in the great *Croiſade* for the recovery of the *Holy Land:* and had, upon the taking of *Jeruſalem*, been offered the crown of *Paleſtine* by the unanimous ſuffrages of all the princes, his fellow-adventurers in that expedition, as the perſon, who had by his valour and conduct contributed moſt to its ſucceſs, and was beſt able to maintain or improve their conqueſts. The ends of his religious vow being anſwered by the taking of that mother city of the *Chriſtian* world, he reſolved to return to his own country: and after refuſing a crown which he had merited by his great actions, loſt another, to which he had a natural claim, by the ſlowneſs of his return. It was now ſomewhat more than a year ſince *Jeruſalem* had been taken; and yet he was not come back to *Normandie*; having ſtopped in *Apulia*, to court and marry *Sibylle*, daughter of *William* count of *Converſana*, a lady of great beauty and merit, but whoſe fortune was ſoon ſpent among his followers. Had *Robert* been in *Normandie* when his brother died, he would, in all probability, have had no competitor for the crown of *England*; at a time when the great glory he had acquired, filled every body's mouth with his praiſes: eſpecially conſidering the clearneſs of his title to it, and the intereſt which bound all the great *Normans* to ſupport it, who had eſtates in both countries. There was indeed a current report that he was on the way home, and was continually expected in *Normandie:* but his abſence encouraging his younger brother *Henry* to aſpire to the crown, this report only ſerved to quicken the young prince in the execution of the meaſures neceſſary to get it into his poſſeſſion.

HENRY [1] was hunting in the *New Foreſt*, when he heard the news of his brother *William's* death: and reſolving to make a puſh for the throne, went immediately to the caſtle of *Wincheſter*, to demand the keys of the royal treaſury, which the guards made ſome difficulty in delivering. They were in the cuſtody of *William de Breteuil* (the eldeſt ſon of *William Fitz Oſbern*, formerly earl of *Hereford)* who was likewiſe in another quarter of the *Foreſt*; when being ſurprized with an account of the king's death, he made all poſſible haſte home to take care of his charge: and arriving in the middle of the diſpute, told the young prince, that neither the treaſure nor the ſceptre of *England* belonged to him, but to his elder brother *Robert*, to whom he and others of the chief nobility had already done homage. High words aroſe, and blows were likely to follow; when *Robert* count of *Meulant*, with a great number of the late king's attendants, coming in, took the part of the prince preſent: and forced *William* to leave him maſter of the treaſure; with which they hoped perhaps to be rewarded for their ſervice. *Henry* ſeems to have thought himſelf at the ſame time maſter of the kingdom [2]; at leaſt he now began to exerciſe the royalty, by giving the ring and paſtoral ſtaff of the ſee of *Wincheſter* to *William Giffard*, the late king's chancellor: and then ſet out for *London* with the count of

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[1] *Ord. Vit.* p. 781, 782. [2] *Chron. Sax. Annal. Waverl. M. Paris.*

Meulant,

Meulant, and ſuch of the nobility about court, as had not retired to their caſtles. Every moment was precious, and might bring an account of *Robert's* arrival, as ſudden as the accident of *William's* death: and being more concerned to have his perſon hallowed by the rite of unction, which would naturally engage the clergy and people on his ſide, than to make an uſeleſs ſhew of magnificence in the ſolemnity of his coronation[1], he got himſelf crowned by *Maurice*, biſhop of *London*, in *Weſtminſter* abbey, on *Sunday* the 5th of *Auguſt*, within about ſixty ſix hours after the deceaſe of *Rufus*. The ceremonial and form of divine ſervice, uſed at his coronation, written in an hand as ancient as the time, is ſtill preſerved[2] in the *Cotton* library, bound in the ſame volume with that of *Ethelred's*, with which it intirely agrees; only *Henry* took an oath to obſerve, what that *Saxon* prince gave his bare word to perform.

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XLVIII. THIS oath containing the very ſame articles, expreſſed in the ſame words, as that of his father *William the Conqueror* beforementioned, it is very plain, that it was not the ſame with that which *Eadmer* mentions, as taken on the day of his coronation, to obſerve[3] the contents of a charter, which *Henry* paſſed on that day, and ſealed copies enough thereof to publiſh it all over the kingdom, and to be afterwards lodged in the principal abbeys of each county. This laſt ſeems deſigned to explain more particularly his good intentions; which in the coronation-oath were couched only in general terms; the efficacy and credit whereof were much ſunk in the opinion of the world, by the little regard which his two predeceſſors had ſhewn to the ſame oath, in the courſe of their adminiſtration. This neglect rendered it neceſſary to do ſomething more for the ſatisfaction of the nation; and to ſpecify ſome of the grievances, which all orders of men had ſuffered in the two laſt reigns, and which the new king would take particular care to redreſs. Thus *Rufus*, having by *Flambard* and his other agents ſold biſhopricks and abbeys to the higheſt bidder, let them to farm, and ſeized all their demeſnes and revenues during a vacancy, which brought in great ſums of money to the exchequer, *Henry* promiſed expreſly, that he would do nothing of this nature: but would aſſign the profits of vacancies to the next ſucceſſor, maintain the church in all its liberties, and redreſs all evil cuſtoms; ſome whereof he particularly mentions, and which appear to have been introduced ſince the conqueſt; no complaints being made by the monkiſh writers of any before that revolution. The *Conqueror*, eſtabliſhing in this country the feudal law as practiſed in *France* and *Normandie*, had taken exorbitant ſums on the death of his immediate tenants, for giving heirs livery of their lands, and for licenſes of marrying as well in reſpect of their daughters and near relations, as of their widows; in which points, as alſo in the wardſhip of orphans, and cuſtody of their lands, that law gave the crown an unlimited power. To redreſs theſe hardſhips, which chiefly affected the *Norman* barons, the charter provides, that only a fair and reaſonable relief ſhall be taken of heirs: and to extend the benefit thereof to what remained of the *Engliſh* gentry, the like proviſion was made in favour of the vaſſals or tenants of thoſe barons. Widows were indulged the liberty of marrying whom they pleaſed: and all the vaſſals of the crown might diſpoſe of their daughters, wives, or next relations to what huſbands they thought fit, except to the king's enemy. Nor was any thing to be paid for the licenſes uſually granted in ſuch caſes: if the heireſs was left an orphan, the advice of the barons was to be taken for her marriage; the wardſhip of minors, and cuſtody of their lands was to be left to the mother, or neareſt relations, and all the vaſſals of

His meaſures to ſecure it.

[1] *Chron. Sax. Flor. Wig.* [2] *Claudius*, A. iii. N°. 4. [3] P. 55. *M. Paris. Textus Roffenſ.* c. 34.

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the immediate tenants of the crown were likewiſe to enjoy the benefit of theſe relaxations of the rigour of the feudal tenures. It had been granted by a law of the *Conqueror* [1], that all freeholders ſhould enjoy their lands in peace, free from all talliages and unjuſt exactions: but he had himſelf broke through this privilege in ſome inſtances, and it had been invaded all the time of *Rufus*; which had occaſioned continual complaints, and horrible oppreſſions; this may therefore well be ſuppoſed one of thoſe evil cuſtoms now to be removed, though not particularly mentioned in the charter. *Moneyage* was a duty [2] of twelve pence paid every third year in *Normandie* to the duke, for not altering the coin, by every houſholder, except by the clergy, church-tenants, gentlemen with their wives and children, poor widows, and ſome other privileged perſons. It was unknown here in the *Confeſſor's* days: but having been brought in by the conqueſt, had probably been raiſed upon all perſons without diſtinction, ſince none could plead a privilege of exemption; which could not fail of raiſing a clamour, that now occaſioned its being ſuppreſſed. The numberleſs proſecutions, with which *Ralf Flambard* haraſſed all ſorts of perſons, had produced an infinite number of fines, mulcts, and debts in the exchequer: theſe were remitted for the eaſe of the ſufferers, as were alſo all paſt compoſitions for liveries and reliefs. The barons and vaſſals were now empowered to diſpoſe of their perſonal eſtates by will; which looks as if they could not do it before without licenſe: and if they died inteſtate, their goods and chattels were to be divided among their wives, children, and relations.

In the two foregoing reigns, if any baron or vaſſal of the crown forfeited for any felony, or miſdemeanor, he was obliged to give ſecurity of all his goods and moveables to anſwer the forfeiture: but it was now provided, he ſhould give only ſuch as was proportionable to the nature of the offence. All murders before the day of his coronation were pardoned; and for ſuch as ſhould be committed afterwards, they were [3] to be puniſhed by the ordinary fine fixed in the laws of the *Confeſſor*: but by the advice of his barons, the king ſtill retained his foreſts, with the laws incident to them, as they ſtood in the time of his father. The demeſnes or lands of the military tenants of the crown, kept in their own hands, were to be, for the future, exempt from all gelds, talliages, and benevolences: but in conſideration of their being eaſed of this grievance, they were to be always ready with their horſes and arms to defend the realm, and march in his ſervice. The charter further requires a firm peace to be kept all over the nation, and re-eſtabliſheth the law of St. *Edward*, as it had been amended by the *Conqueror*, with the advice of his barons: and as evil-minded perſons uſually took advantage of the demiſe of a king to commit rapines and depredations, they were required to make reſtitution immediately; with aſſurance of having no mulct laid upon them, if they did ſo; and of being ſeverely fined, in caſe of a neglect, upon their conviction.

Such were the contents of this famous charter of *Henry* I; which was atteſted by *Maurice* and *Girard*, biſhops of [4] *London* and *Hereford*, *William* elect of *Winchester*, and his brother *Walter Giffard* earl of *Buckingham*, *Henry de Newbourg* earl of *Warwick*, by whoſe intereſt chiefly he had got the crown, *Simon de Senlis* earl of *Huntingdon* and *Northampton*, *Robert de Montford*, *Roger Bigod*, and ſeveral others. *Henry* was too impatient to get poſſeſſion of the crown, to make a difficulty in promiſing any thing that was propoſed to him, but whether he kept his word in all theſe points afterwards, may well be queſtioned, ſince he kept the ſee of *Durham* vacant for five years [5] after *Ralf Flambard's* death, and during all that

[1] L. lv. [2] *Couſtumes de Normandie. Ed. Paris*, 1586. Art. 76, 77. [3] *LL. W. Conq.* lv.
[4] *Malmeſb.* l. v. [5] *Sim. Dun. H. E. Contin.* c. 1.

time had the profits of the ſee collected by two barons, to his own uſe: and we find in *Glanvil's*[1] time, all the goods and chattels of inteſtates belonged to the king or immediate lord; and as to thoſe of uſurers, whom it was not cuſtomary to queſtion or convict on that account, whilſt living, the king had their perſonal, and the lord their real eſtate. We ſee likewiſe, that the arbitrary rating of reliefs continued to be a grievance till *Magna Charta:* and the grants, as well of the wardſhip of minors, as of the cuſtody of their lands, were for many ages after that time a conſtant ſubject of complaint. However it proved in the event, *Henry*, to ſhew his reſolution of aboliſhing all evil cuſtoms and exactions, let his vengeance fall upon the principal author of them, *Ralf Flambard* biſhop of *Durham*[2], whom he impriſoned in the tower of *London*; allowing him, according to reaſon, and the cuſtom of the crown, in the caſe of ſtate priſoners, two ſhillings a day for his ſubſiſtance there; a large ſum in thoſe days, and ſuitable to the rank and dignity of the priſoner. He could not have taken a ſtep more agreeable to all the people of *England*, to whom *Ralf* had by his oppreſſions rendered himſelf infinitely odious. To gratify the citizens of *London* in particular, whoſe favour was very ſerviceable to him in obtaining the crown, *Henry* granted them a charter; ſtill preſerved under ſeal in the archives of *Guildhall* (recited by *Inſpeximus*, and confirmed by the charters of ſeveral ſucceeding kings, particularly in that of *Charles* II.) and publiſhed by Sir *Roger Twyſden*, in his additions to *Lambard's Archaionomia*. By this charter he granted "them and their heirs the farm of *Middleſex* at three hundred pounds a "year, and the power of chooſing out of their own body whom they pleaſed, as "well for ſheriff as for their juſticiary, to hold pleas of the crown within the walls "of the city; all other juſticiaries being expreſly inhibited from exerciſing their "authority upon the citizens, or forcing them to plead out of the walls of the "city, in any caſe whatſoever. The citizens were exempted from *ſcot*, *dane-*"*geld*, trials by combat, lodging the king's retinue, and the pecuniary mulcts for "murder, to which other towns as well as hundreds were ſubject: and both "they and their goods were declared free from *toll*, *paſſage*, *laſtage*, and all other "cuſtoms throughout *England*. No *Londoner* was to be fined or amerced be-"yond his *Were*, which was an hundred ſhillings; and as to money matters, the ci-"tizens might recover their debts by ſuits within the city, and make good their "titles to land by the city cuſtoms. The privileges of their court of *Huſting*, which "ſat every *Monday*, of their *Wardmotes* and *Common-Halls*, were alſo confirmed, "as well as their ancient right of hunting in *Middleſex*, *Surrey*, and the wood-"lands on the edge of *Bucks* and *Hertfordſhire*, called the *Chiltern*."

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THESE charters were not more agreeable to the perſons for whoſe benefit or ſatisfaction they were deſigned, than another ſtep, which *Henry* took at the ſame time, was to the ruling and moſt popular part of the clergy. There were very few *Benedictine* monks in this kingdom before the conqueſt: but *William the Conqueror* profeſſing a great regard to the monaſtic inſtitution, and the *Normans* in general running into the ſame taſte with ſo much zeal, that there were more abbeys founded in their country in that age, than there were in ſeveral ages before or after, abundance of monaſteries of that order had been lately founded in *England*. *William* had been ſo exceeding bountiful to the foreign adventurers in his ſervice, that it ſeemed but a ſmall defalcation out of their eſtates to erect and endow an abbey; an act eſteemed in thoſe days meritorious enough to atone for a multitude of violences, rapines, and murders, of which moſt of the *Norman* lords were notoriouſly guilty. The king generally choſe his biſhops out of monaſteries; the chapters of ſeveral cathedrals were changed from canons into convents of monks; and theſe[3] *Benedictines* had ſo far

[1] *De leg. & conſ.* l. vii. c. 16. [2] *Ord. Vit.* p. 786. [3] See *Canon* 19, 22. *Concil. London. an.* 1102. *in Conc. M. Brit.* t. i. p. 382, 383.

encroached

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encroached upon the rights of the ſecular clergy, as to take upon them the cure of ſouls, and get poſſeſſion of the pariſh churches. The wonderful merit of their profeſſed or pretended renouncing of the world, magnified by the higheſt elogiums; the regularity of their publick devotions; the ſeeming auſterity of their way of living; the apparent ſanctity of their manners; their alms and concern for the relief of the poor; their free cenſures of all modes different from their own, and of the parochial clergy, whom they laboured every where to bring into contempt; had brought them into great vogue, and they had a mighty influence upon the common people. Theſe religious were all devoted to the court of *Rome:* and looking upon *Anſelm* as the great champion of the papacy, the king could not gratify them more in any manner, than by recalling this prelate, who accordingly landed at *Dover* on the 23d of *September*.

Anſelm refuſes to do homage to the king: but marries him to *Maude* niece of *Edgar Atheling*.

XLIX. Henry had probably taken this ſtep with the ſame view that he had in other popular acts, but without reflecting on all the conſequences: for when *Anſelm*, coming to him at *Saliſbury*, was, after an apology for not deferring the coronation till his arrival, required to do the cuſtomary homage of his predeceſſors, the king was much ſurprized, to [1] meet with a peremptory refuſal. The archbiſhop, to juſtify his conduct, acquainted his majeſty with the late canons made in the council of *Bari*, againſt the clergy's receiving inveſtitures from laymen and doing them homage: and told him very frankly, "that if he would ſubmit to thoſe canons, "they might live in a good underſtanding together, but otherwiſe he did not ſee "that his ſtay could be of any uſe; for if the king would give inveſtitures of ſees "and abbeys as formerly, he could not communicate either with him, or with "thoſe ſo promoted; nor ſhould he remain in *England* unleſs his majeſty reſolved "to obey the *Roman* pontiff. The king was ſtrangely ſhocked at the reſolution, and knew not well how to act upon the occaſion; he thought it a great hardſhip to be ſtripped of ſo conſiderable a part of his prerogative, as the patronage of churches, and the homages of prelates: and yet it was dangerous to ſend *Anſelm* out of the realm, before he was well ſettled in the goverment. In giving up the firſt point, he imagined that he loſt half his kingdom; in taking the latter party, he ran the danger of loſing the whole to his brother *Robert*, who, if the archbiſhop eſpouſed his cauſe, would eaſily ſucceed in his deſign of mounting the throne of *England*. In this ſituation he thought it beſt to gain time, till agents might be ſent to *Rome*, to try if the Pope, out of regard to the ancient cuſtoms of this nation, might not be prevailed with to ſuſpend or diſpenſe with the late canons about inveſtitures: and *Anſelm* being reſtored to all the lands and profits of the ſee of *Canterbury*, a truce was agreed on, all things being to remain in the ſame ſtate, till the *Eaſter* following, when it was expected the meſſengers might return.

The archbiſhop's authority was uſeful, perhaps neceſſary, to the king in another political ſtep, which he was for taking at this time, and had much at heart; in hopes of gaining thereby the affections of the *Engliſh:* who riſing in favour of his brother *Rufus*, had ſecured him the throne by enabling him to reduce his enemies. With this view he had not only laid a mighty ſtreſs on his being a native of this country, born after his father was king: but, being adviſed by the biſhops to marry and leave off that promiſcuous lewdneſs, to which he had been inured, and which had hurt his reputation, reſolved to take a wife deſcended of the ancient race of *Engliſh* monarchs. *Maude*, daughter of *Malcolm* III, king of *Scotland*, by *Margaret* ſiſter to *Edgar Atheling*, had, after her father's [2] death, upon *Donald's*

[1] *Eadmer*, p. 56. [2] *Malmeſb.* l. v.

uſur-

uſurpation, been brought by her uncle out of that country, and educated in the nunneries of *Rumſey* and *Wincheſter* under her aunt *Chriſtian*; where ſhe had ſometimes wore the veil of a nun, but had never been profeſſed. This princeſs being upon the ſpot, in the neighbourhood of the court, was the perſon that *Henry* propoſed to marry: but as it was dangerous in thoſe days to violate any thing that had the leaſt regard to religion; and to take one in the habit of a nun out of a convent, might give great offence, and abundance of ſcruples were actually raiſed about it; he was obliged to engage *Anſelm* to examine the matter judicially. This was done in a council of the prelates and nobility [1] at *Lambeth:* and it appeared from the proofs, that ſhe had not wore the habit with ſo much as an intention of profeſſing herſelf a nun, but only in conformity to a practice, uſual enough among the *Engliſh* ladies after the conqueſt, to guard her chaſtity the better from the luſt and violence of the *Norman* ſoldiery. This being the caſe, the whole council were unanimouſly of opinion, that ſhe was entirely free to marry: and *Anſelm* having pronounced that ſentence, performed as well the rites of her marriage with the king, as the office of her coronation, on *Sunday Nov.* 11, being the feaſt of *St. Martin.*

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L. THE reaſons of all theſe precautions, taken by *Henry* for the ſecurity of his throne, was the return of his brother *Robert* into *Normandie*; where he arrived about a month after the death of *Rufus:* and took poſſeſſion of his dutchy without any trouble or oppoſition; though he found all *Maine* had taken up armes upon that accident, and *Helie de la Fleche* was in poſſeſſion of the city of *Le Mans*; which had opened her gates and received him with great acclamations. The two forts in the place, called the *Tour Royalle* and *Mont Barbel*, ſtill held out againſt *Helie*; who was aſſiſted by the forces of *Fulk* count of *Anjou*; and [2] the governors, hearing of the duke's return, applied to him for ſuccours: but there being no way of raiſing the ſiege, unleſs by a ſuperior army, and he returning from his religious expedition deſtitute of money, ſent them word to make the beſt terms they could for themſelves; and they had much the ſame anſwer from *Henry*, to whom they afterwards applied in vain for relief. *Robert's* thoughts were entirely taken up with an expedition he propoſed to make into *England* for aſſerting his right to the crown; being invited to do ſo by *Robert de Beleſme*, *Roger Poitevin*, *Arnulf de Montgomery*, *William Warenne* earl of *Surrey*, *Walter Giffard*, *Yvo de Grenteſmeſnil*, *Robert de Pontfract*, ſon of *Ilbert Lacey*, and many others of the principal nobility of that kingdom.

Robert duke of *Normandie* makes an attempt on *England.*

HE was much incited to this enterprize by *Ralf* biſhop of *Durham*; who had, on *February* 3, made his eſcape out of the tower [3] of *London*, by letting himſelf down from the walls with a rope brought him in a tub of water: and being taken up by a party of his friends, who waited for him at the ditch ſide, had been eſcorted by them to the ſea, and got over ſafe into *Normandie*, though the ſhip which carried his treaſure had the ill luck to be taken by pirates. He was there very well received, being a man of great parts and addreſs, crafty, artful, and eloquent, pleaſant in converſation, and perfectly well verſed in buſineſs; having been for many years under *Rufus* chief juſticiary and treaſurer of *England*. *Robert* aſſigned the profits of the ſee of *Liſieux*, which was then vacant, for the ſubſiſtance of this prelate and his followers; put him at the head of the council of *Normandie:* and was governed chiefly by his advice in the expedition he was meditating into *England*; in which he was accompanied by the biſhop. A fleet had been fitted out by *Henry* to intercept his paſſage by ſea: but moſt of the ſeamen [4] having revolted, and car-

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[1] *Eadmer*, p. 57. [2] *Ord. Vit.* p. 784. [3] *Sim. Dun. Cont.* c. 1. *W. Malmeſb. Ord. Vit.* p. 786. [4] *Flor. Wig. Chron. Sax. M. Paris.*

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ried over their ſhips to *Robert*, he had found no oppoſition in paſſing from *Treport* to *Portſmouth*; where he landed at the latter end of *July*, and was ſoon joined by ſome of the nobility, who had formerly done him homage.

HENRY had not been wanting in making the beſt proviſion for his own defence, that was poſſible in his circumſtances [1]; the earls of *Mellent* and *Warwick*, *Richard de Redvers*, *Robert Fitz Hamon*, and *Roger Bigot* being the onely great lords, that continued faithful to him, or he could reaſonably depend upon: the reſt either openly reviled him, or ſecretly favoured his brother. Whilſt he was keeping *Whitſontide* [2], a report of *Robert's* coming into *England* put all the court into confuſion, by reaſon of the mutual jealouſy, that reigned between the king and the nobility; he ſuſpecting their fidelity, and they apprehending, that if he once came to be quietly poſſeſſed of the throne, he would plague them with ſevere laws, and govern tyrannically. To reſtore between them a confidence abſolutely neceſſary in ſuch a juncture, it was propoſed as an expedient, that the king, taking the archbiſhop by the hand, ſhould ſolemnly promiſe him, that he would govern the kingdom by juſt laws, as long as he lived: and this being done, ſome ſeemed to be ſatisfied with the ſecurity. But when it was known for certain, that *Robert* was preparing to make a deſcent, and *Henry* had levied a mighty army to oppoſe him, ſeveral of the great men began to quit the army: and made preparations to join the elder brother. In this diſtreſſed condition of *Henry's* affairs, *Anſelm*, whoſe nice conſcience and monkiſh principles of religion ſeem entirely confined to church matters, and the aggrandizing of the papacy, without any manner of regard to juſtice in the ſtate, ſtood firmly to his intereſts; attended him every where; and did him eminent ſervices. There was no calling any body to account for deſigns, which there were no witneſſes to prove: the taking up and proſecuting of perſons upon bare ſuſpicions, would have made matters worſe, by cauſing a general diſcontent, and have driven multitudes, out of an apprehenſion of the like treatment, to join the enemy. In this difficulty, *Henry*, afraid for his life, as well as crown, had no friend upon whom he could rely, and to whom he durſt unboſom himſelf, but *Anſelm:* he viſited him frequently; brought all the nobles he ſuſpected to him, that he might reconcile their minds; and to engage him more heartily in his cauſe, aſſured him in the ſtrongeſt manner, that he would leave all church affairs in *England* to his management and direction, and always pay a ready obedience to the *Pope's* orders and decrees. *Anſelm*, thus encouraged, was indefatigable in his endeavours to ſerve *Henry*; he got the nobility together, and went through all quarters of the army; haranguing every where againſt breach of faith, and perſuading all perſons to ſtand by the king they had acknowledged: and this he did with ſuch ſucceſs, that (as *Eadmer* ſays) *Henry*, who would elſe at that time have loſt his crown, owed his ſafety undoubtedly to *Anſelm's* fidelity and induſtry.

HENRY had poſted his army at *Pevenſey*, on the coaſt of *Suſſex*, to be ready to oppoſe the enemy at his landing: but upon advice that *Robert* had made a deſcent at *Portſmouth* [3], he advanced immediately that way to intercept his march to *London*, and to prevent his being joined by ſuch as were embarked in his intereſts. Several of the nobility went in to *Robert*, though not ſo many as he expected; ſome ſtaying in his brother's army, either to ſee how matters were like to go, or to do him ſome clandeſtine ſervice: but *Henry*, finding all the prelates and clergy very hearty in his cauſe, and the *Engliſh* with the common ſoldiers of his army ready to venture their lives for him, began to hope well of his affairs; though he was not fond of truſting his crown to the event of a battle. The two armies faced one another ſeveral days without coming to an action: and this delay gave occaſion to

[1] *Malmeſb.* l. v. [2] *Eadmer*, p. 58. [3] *Chr. Sax. Flor. Wig. Ord. Vit.* p. 787, 788.

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Anſelm with ſome other prelates and great men to labour an accommodation, which was at laſt brought about on the following conditions: "*Robert* was to "quit his claim to *England*, upon *Henry's* paying him three thouſand marks a "year, and giving up the *Coſtentin* with all that he poſſeſſed in *Normandie*, except "*Danfront*; which he had bound himſelf by oath to the inhabitants, when they "received him into the place, never to give up, nor put them in another's power. "The adherents to either party were to have their lands and honours reſtored to "them, whether they lay in *England* or *Normandie*; the two princes were to ſuc- "ceed to each other's dominions, in caſe of dying without iſſue; and agreed like- "wiſe to reſume their father's demeſnes, to puniſh boutefeus, and not to encourage, "protect, or receive each other's enemies." Upon this treaty, which twelve of the chief noblemen on each ſide were ſworn to ſee performed, the armies were diſmiſſed: and *Robert*, having ſtaid with *Henry* till *Michaelmas*, returned into *Normandie*; where his dutcheſs was ſoon after delivered of a ſon, named *William*.

Henry ruins the *Beleſmes*, and other diſaffected perſons.

LI. HENRY at firſt allowed all that had ſided with his brother to recover the poſſeſſion of their eſtates, as *Ralf Flambard*[1] did of his ſee of *Durham*: but finding himſelf firmly ſettled in the throne, he began by degrees to take vengeance on thoſe that had deſerted him, or been concerned in the invitation of *Robert*. He proſecuted *Robert Malet*, *Yvo de Grentemeſnil*, *Robert de Pontefract*, *Robert de Beleſme*, and many[2] others, for their breach of faith, not indeed all at once, but ſeverally, at divers times, and in different manners: and bringing them to trial, impoſed heavy fines upon ſome; whilſt others were deprived of their eſtates and baniſhed. The greateſt of theſe was *Robert de Beleſme*, earl of *Arundel* and *Shrewſbury*, who was properly a ſubject of *France*, as *Beleſme* the chief ſeat and original honour of his family lay in *Perche*: but he had likewiſe great poſſeſſions, with above thirty caſtles, in *Normandie*, and the government of the county of *Ponthieu* for the uſe of *William de Talevas*, his ſon by *Agnes*, daughter and heireſs of *Guy*, late count of *Abbeville*. *Henry*, in the view of cruſhing the party of his adverſaries, thought fit to begin with this nobleman: and having ſet ſpies upon him, for a year together, to obſerve all his words and actions, and to commit them to writing, found matter enough againſt a man, whoſe arrogance, pride, and power made him unguarded in every thing he ſaid or did, to call him to account for other crimes than his original ſin of joining with *Robert* in the late attempt againſt his crown; which, though the true cauſe of his proſecution, it was dangerous to mention, for fear of alarming all that had been concerned in the ſame affair, and uniting them in their common defence. The accuſation againſt *Beleſme* was drawn up in forty-five articles; which being delivered to him when he appeared in the king's court, he deſired time to have the advice of council upon them, before he put in his anſwer. This being allowed of courſe, he employed it, not in drawing up his vindication from a charge, of which he knew himſelf to be guilty, but in flying to his caſtles, which he fortified; and in applying to his friends and relations for ſuccours. This behaviour did not ſurprize the king; who having iſſued out a proclamation declaring him a publick enemy, if he did not come in by a certain time, and ſubmit to a trial, levied a great army, and inveſted his caſtle of *Arundel*. The garriſon deſiring leave to ſend to their lord to know his reſolution, and to demand either forces to raiſe the ſiege, or a permiſſion to ſurrender, they were indulged in this requeſt. *Henry* leaving a party to block up the place, and ordering the biſhop of *Lincoln* to beſiege *Tikehill*, marched with the reſt of his army into *Shropſhire*; the whole of which county in a manner belonged to *Robert de Beleſme*: who having a grant of all he could con-

[1] *Sim. Dun. Contin.* c. 1. [2] *Ord. Vit.* p. 805, 806.

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quer from the *Welſh*, had from thence extended his territories over a conſiderable part of *Powis-land*. The king's firſt attempt was upon the caſtle of *Bridgenorth*; in the building of which fortreſs *Robert* had exerted all his ſkill in fortification, being ſuperior to any man of the age in that ſcience: and had furniſhed it with a good garriſon of eighty ſtipendiary ſoldiers, and a body of *Welſh*; beſides his own followers, under the command of *Roger Fitz Corbet*, *Robert Nevil*, and *Ulger Groſvenor*. *Henry* lay before it three weeks, with very little proſpect of taking the place by force: but then he found means to gain his point, by the help of a man, whom the haughty, arbitrary, violent, and rapacious ſpirit of his adverſary had driven into his ſervice. *William Pantolf*[1], whoſe great ſervices to old *Roger de Montgomery*, the firſt earl of *Salop*, had merited from him a large eſtate, and a principal employment in the government of that county, had been ill treated, and turned out of both by his ſon: and being thereupon received into the king's favour, had a reinforcement of two hundred men ſent him; was made governor of *Stafford-caſtle*; and from thence haraſſed *Robert* with continual excurſions; doing him no little miſchief by his arms, but infinitely more by his counſels, and the credit, intereſt, and acquaintance, which he had in thoſe parts, and among the *Welſh* nobility.

The length of the ſiege of *Bridgenorth* had allowed time for the earls and chief nobility of *England* to meet together, to conſider the conſequences of the king's proceedings againſt *Robert*, and to offer their mediation for accommodating matters between them: they were afraid that if this great nobleman was once deſtroyed, they might ſoon follow his fate; and for this reaſon they all went in a body to the king to intercede for his pardon. *Henry* rejected their requeſt; relying upon the meaſures that were taking for his ſervice by *Pantolf*: who found means by bribes and promiſes to draw off *Cadogan* and *Gervat*, ſons of *Rees*, from *Robert's* alliance, and to engage them to quit him in his greateſt neceſſity, with the body of forces which they had brought to his aſſiſtance. To this ſervice he added another full as important: he was related to the governors of the caſtle of *Bridgenorth*; acquainted with the *Welſh* officers in the garriſon, as well as with the burghers of the town; and being highly eſteemed by them all, prevailed upon them to conſent to a ſurrender. To countenance them in this act, the king ſummoned them with a threatening meſſage, that he would hang all that he ſhould find in the place, if it was not delivered up in three days. The ſtipendiaries knew nothing of this treaty: but when the place was ſurrendered purſuant to it, *Henry* permitted them to march off freely with their horſes and arms; giving them that mark of his eſteem, in regard of their fidelity to their maſter.

Shrewsbury was now the onely conſiderable place left in the hands of *Robert*: the roads to it were bad, narrow, and inconvenient for the march of an army; all the country being full of woods, very thick, and lined with archers, to gall the ſoldiers in their paſſage: but *Henry* employing the ſix thouſand foot he had with him, in cutting down the woods, and opening the roads, ſoon got over theſe difficulties. *Robert*, ſeeing the deſperateneſs of his condition; and that there was no oppoſing ſo potent an army, met the king as he drew near the town; acknowledged his crime; and offering him the keys of the place, ſubmitted to his mercy: which his majeſty granted, and upon the ſurrender of *Arundel*, and all his other caſtles, gave him a ſafe-conduct to paſs with his horſes and armes into *Normandie*. His vaſt eſtate was confiſcated: and his two brothers were involved in his ruin; *Roger* earl of *Lancaſhire*, called the *Poytevin* from having married a wife of that country, who was lord of all the lands between the *Ribble* and the *Merſey*, and had as large

[1] *Dugdale's Baronage*, t. i. p. 26. b. 30. a.

an eſtate in *Yorkſhire* and other parts, and *Arnulf de Montgomery*, lord of *Pembrokeſhire*, being obliged to quit the realm with the loſs of all their poſſeſſions in *England*: *Robert de Pontefract* and *Robert de Malet* were afterwards treated in the ſame manner; ſtripped of their eſtates, and dying in exile. *Ivo de Grentemeſnil* imagined he might ſave his, by mortgaging it for fifteen years to the king's[1] chief favourite and counſellor *Robert* count of *Meulant*, and by going on a pilgrimage to the *Holy Land*: but this cunning and ravenous nobleman having once got it into his hands, it was for ever loſt to *Ivo's* poſterity. By the ruin of the great family of *Beleſme*, *Henry* ſaw himſelf abſolute maſter of his kingdom: and no body daring to diſpute his will, or to ſtand in their own defence, he uſed his power in a very arbitrary manner, without any regard to juſtice or his treaty with *Robert*; all whoſe adherents he conſidered as his enemies, and, being implacable in his hatred, found means to ruin. There was likewiſe a political view in this proceeding: the overgrown eſtates in the families of the original ſet of *Norman* nobility, concerned in the conqueſt, rendered two or three of them united a match for the crown in power. By parcelling out their eſtates to *Geffrey de Clinton*, *Ralf Baſſet*[2], *Hugh de Bockland*, *William Truſſebot*, *Hamo de Falaiſe*, *Robert de Boſtar*, and others of his favourites, all of low rank at that time (though raiſed by this new feofment of lands, their families ſoon came to be conſiderable) the king advanced his own authority, and leſſened the ſtrength of the nobility: all power growing leſs by being divided into many hands; which it is not eaſy to unite; or, if it were, their influence would ſtill be leſs conſiderable, than if the whole centred in one perſon.

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LII. THE moſt conſiderable power now left in the nation, diſtinct from that of the crown, was lodged in the biſhops and abbots. The king, whoſe view was to keep them dependent, ſaw with infinite concern the attacks made upon his prerogative, in the point of the donation of prelacies, by the papal decrees againſt lay-inveſtitures, and the meaſures which the court of *Rome* was taking in order to ſubject all eccleſiaſticks to its own, by exempting them from the regal, authority. The agents, ſent by the king[3] and *Anſelm* to *Rome*, returned about the time of the peace made between the two brothers: and had brought an anſwer from the Pope, inſiſting upon the execution of the late canons againſt inveſtitures. *Henry* however had required the archbiſhop to do him homage, and conſecrate ſuch perſons as he ſhould inveſt with prelacies; telling him, that he would not part with the rights of his crown, eſtabliſhed by the conſtant practice of his predeceſſors, nor ſuffer any man in his realm that would not give him the uſual ſecurities of a ſubject. *Anſelm* flatly refuſed: and the king, though preſſed by ſome of the nobility, who perhaps wanted to ſee him embroiled, to caſt off all obedience to the Pope, would not proceed any farther, at a time, when that great prelate's ſervices were ſo recent. But as it was found very inconvenient for things to continue long in a ſtate of ſuſpenſe, he ſent for *Anſelm* to *Wincheſter*, and propoſing to ſend freſh agents to *Rome* to know the laſt reſolution of that court, it was agreed to; the king naming for his *Girard*, late biſhop of *Hereford* and elect of *York*, *Herbert* of *Thetford*, and *Robert* biſhop of *Cheſter*; and *Anſelm* on his part deputing two monks, *Baldwin* and *Alexander*. Theſe agents returned this year about *Michaelmas*; when the king, in an aſſembly of his nobility[4], inveſted two new biſhops in the ſees of *Sarum* and *Hereford*: and ſent *Anſelm* word, he muſt either comply with the ancient uſages of the realm, or elſe quit the kingdom. The Pope's anſwers, as well to the king as to the archbiſhop, were of the ſame tenor as the former; condemning lay-inveſtitures: but the king would not produce his letter, and the authority of

Diſpute about lay-inveſtitures and patronage of prelacies.

[1] *Ib.* p. 84. [2] *Ord. Vit.* p. 804. [3] *Eadmer*, p. 49, 51, & ſeq. [4] *Flor. Wig.*

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that directed to *Anſelm* was called in queſtion by the three biſhops, who had been ſent to *Rome*, and maintained, that the anſwer which they had received from the *Pope's* mouth amounted to a revocation of what was written to the archbiſhop. They averred in the ſolemneſt manner, on the faith due to their epiſcopal character, that "the *pontif* had ordered them to aſſure the king, that as long as the "king behaved himſelf like a good prince in other matters, he would indulge him "in the point of inveſtitures, and not excommunicate him for giving the paſtoral "ſtaff to prelates: but he did not care to give this under his hand in a letter, leſt it "ſhould come to the knowledge of other princes, who would be apt to uſurp the "ſame privilege." This ſolemn aſſeveration of the biſhops, differing from *Anſelm's* letter and the report of his agents, cauſed a great diverſity of ſentiments in the aſſembly: but moſt of the prelates and nobles, inclined either to believe the three biſhops, or to favour the king's cauſe, were for inſiſting peremptorily on the archbiſhop's doing homage, and conſecrating the two new biſhops, that were immediately to be inveſted, according to the cuſtom of his predeceſſors. *Anſelm*, in this contradiction of teſtimonies, "deſired time to ſend to *Rome* to be informed of "the truth of the matter, and till then would not withdraw his communion from "ſuch as received inveſtitures from the crown: but he would neither conſecrate "ſuch himſelf, nor give any commiſſion to others for their conſecration."

THUS the affair ſlept for a while: and the two new biſhops, being inveſted, immediately ſat in the national ſynod held at this time [1], with the king's leave, in the church of *St. Paul* at *London*; in which *Anſelm* preſided, and at his requeſt the lay nobility aſſiſted, that its decrees might by the joint care of the clergy and laity be the better executed. The firſt act [2] of this ſynod was the depriving of ſix abbots on pretence of ſimony [3], and three others for different cauſes: after which it proceeded to draw up in a great hurry ſeveral canons not duly conſidered; as the archbiſhop himſelf acknowledgeth in his letter upon this ſubject. It was now that he got his own diſtaſte to long hair warranted by a canon [4] obliging all perſons to cut it ſo, that part of their ears might appear [5]; and the papal decrees againſt the marriage of the clergy [6], and the ſons of prieſts [7] ſucceeding their fathers in churches [8], to be received. It looked like *Chriſtian* tenderneſs and charity, to forbid the ſelling of men [9], like beaſts in a market; a practice probably occaſioned by the vaſt number of ſlaves that had gone from *England* in expeditions to the *Holy Land:* but it was evidently calculated to gratify the avarice of the court of *Rome*, to prohibite the marriage [10] of kinsfolks to the ſeventh generation, to annul them when contracted, and to treat them as downright inceſt; with which however that court could for a valuable conſideration diſpenſe. It was proper for the preſervation of diſcipline, to prevent the encroachment of monks on the rights [11] and emoluments of the parochial clergy; to prevent new chapels [12] being erected without the biſhops conſent; and to ſtop the conſecration of churches till ſufficient neceſſaries [13] for the pariſh prieſt and the church were provided. It was

[1] *Ib.* p. 67. [2] *M. Paris.*

[3] I am apt to think, that as theſe abbots were afterwards reſtored to their former dignities (*M. Paris, A. D.* 1103) by the *Pope* at *Anſelm's* interceſſion, all their ſimony was the receiving of their inveſtitures from lay hands; which Pope *Paſchal* in his letter (*Eadmer*, p. 66.) calls *Venenoſa Simoniacæ pravitatis radix*, and was charged by all the partizans of the papacy in thoſe days as downright *ſimony*. Thus in the language of the ſame age, the wives of clergymen were ſtyled *concubinæ*, *focariæ meretrices*; and *caſtitas* meant no more than living an unmarried life, the kind of chaſtity upon which the monks laid the greateſt ſtreſs; and *Anſelm's* letter, about the canons of this very ſynod, gives the term of *fornication* to a clergyman's cohabitation with his wife. *Concil. M. Brit.* t. i. p. 384. b.

[4] *Can.* 24. [5] This was not obſerved till three years after; when the king being in *Normandie* was perſuaded by *Serlo*, biſhop of *Seez*, to have his hair cut, and the nobility then with him, were drawn to follow the example.

[6] *Can.* 5, 6, 7. [7] *Can.* 8.

[8] This laſt decree had been made by Pope *Urban* II, in the council of *Clermont*, *A. D.* 1095.

[9] *Can.* 28. [10] *Can.* 25. [11] *Can.* 22, 26.

[12] *Can.* 16. [13] *Can.* 17.

probably

probably to widen the diſtinction between the clergy[1] and the laity (a point much laboured in that age by the *Popes*) that the former[2] were forbidden to be either ſtewards in ſecular matters, or (agreeable to a former decree of an *Engliſh* council) to be judges in caſes of blood; and that abbots[3] were diſcharged from dubbing knights; a practice, which from this time fell into deſuetude, though the king then upon the throne thought fit afterwards, when he founded the abbey of *Reading*[4], to grant the abbot, in a charter confirmed by king *John*, the privilege of creating clergymen, as well as laymen, knights; with ſome cautions for his behaviour on ſuch occaſions. Theſe are the moſt material points that merited the attention or cognizance of this ſynod: at the concluſion whereof, *Roger*, elect of *Hereford*, died; being ſucceeded by *Reinelm*, the queen's chancellor; who was inveſted by the king in the ſame manner as his predeceſſor. HENRY I. A. D. 1102.

ANSELM not long after was deſired again by the king to conſecrate the biſhops lately inveſted[5], with *William* elect of *Wincheſter*. This laſt being come over to the archbiſhop's ſentiments, ready to receive the paſtoral ſtaff from him, and determined not to exerciſe any authority in epiſcopal cauſes, he was willing enough to conſecrate: but abſolutely refuſed to perform the ſame office to the others. *Henry* would have them all conſecrated, or none; and ordered *Gerald*, archbiſhop of *York*, with ſome other biſhops, to do it: but *William* refuſing to be ſo conſecrated, and *Reinelm* returning the enſigns of his inveſtiture, this ſcheme was utterly diſappointed. The king, about mid-lent following, going to meet *Robert* count of *Flanders* upon buſineſs at *Dover*, came to *Canterbury*: and ſignified to the archbiſhop, that he muſt either comply with him in the points diſputed, or prepare himſelf to go an exile abroad, and have all the temporalities of his ſee confiſcated. *Anſelm* was willing to be determined by the *Pope's* letters, which were lately arrived; but had not yet been opened: nor would the king ſuffer it to be done; alledging, he had nothing to do with the *Pope* in his own affairs. The prelate however continuing firm in his reſolution, not to comply without directions from the court of *Rome*, his majeſty preſſed him to go thither himſelf, to try if he could not prevail to keep him from being diſhonoured by the loſs of his predeceſſor's rights: and the court of peers, at its *Eaſter* meeting, being entirely of the ſame opinion, *Anſelm*, on *April* 27, ſailed over to *Witſand*, and got in *September* to *Rome*; where *William de Warelwaſt*, the king's agent, had arrived a few days before. This agent, who was a man of parts and addreſs, had uſed all his art and induſtry to bring the court of *Rome* to a compliance with his maſter's deſires; repreſenting or inſinuating his reſolution not to part with the rights of his crown; the indignity he would ſuffer in being ſtripped of what his precedeſſors had always enjoyed; the reſentment it would occaſion; the conſequences whereof, in an open breach with *Rome*, and in ſtopping the large ſums which were continually flowing thither from *England*, they might probably lament, when it was too late for a remedy. Theſe repreſentations, and perhaps ſome other ways of ſoftening, brought over ſeveral of that court to the king's ſide: and though the Pope himſelf continued firm in his reſolution to take away the royal donations of churches, he did not yet care to puſh matters to a rupture. He wrote a letter in ſofter terms than ordinary to the king; trying to perſuade him to give up the point in debate; profeſſing, that "he ſhould be glad "to oblige him in any lawful thing; and had no deſign of curtailing his due pre- "rogative: but the granting inveſtitures was a privilege ſo eſſential to the govern- "ment of the church, that it could not be allowed a layman." This, with ſome A. D. 1103.

[1] This diſtinction is preſerved in the canon againſt ſodomy, which was to be puniſhed in a clergyman with degradation, and an incapacity of being advanced higher, but in a layman with the loſs of his quality, and forfeiture of his dignity. [2] *Can.* 9. [3] *Can.* 18. [4] *Not. Selden. in Eadmer.* p. 207. [5] *Eadmer*, p. 69. & ſeq.

Henry I. A. D. 1103.

ſmall compliances in other matters, was all that *Warelwaſt* could obtain; though he ſtaid behind *Anſelm* till the latter end of *November*: and it not being agreeable to his maſter's wiſhes, he notified to the archbiſhop, when he had overtaken him on the road, that the king did not deſire to ſee him in *England*; unleſs his behaviour towards him was conformable to the example of his predeceſſors. This determined *Anſelm*[1], who was reſolved not to do homage, nor communicate with the receivers of lay-inveſtitures, without a papal diſpenſation, to paſs ſome time at *Lyon*: and he ſtaid there two years, expecting in vain ſome alteration in the ſtate of affairs, that might allow him to return to *England*.

Henry's meaſures to ruin his enemies in *England*.

LIII. Whilst *Henry* was thus ſtruggling to maintain his prerogative in the patronage or donation of churches, he had much raiſed it in[2] civil matters: and was grown rich by the confiſcations of the great barons, that had adhered to his brother. Among the ſufferers on this account was *William de Warenne* earl of *Surrey*[3]; who retiring to *Normandie*, and complaining, to the duke, of the earldom and great eſtate he had loſt for his cauſe, *Robert*, full of romantick notions of honour, and never thinking where that was concerned, took a ſudden reſolution of going over to *England*, to mediate with his brother for the reſtitution of his lands and honours. *Henry* pretended to be angry with his viſit, though he came only with eleven attendants; aſked the opinion of his council about the treatment to be given enemies that entered his realm without his leave: and ſent to his brother, to know what he meant by coming over. *Robert* then perceived what an inconſiderate ſtep he had taken, and that if he did not carry himſelf very prudently he ſhould be detained priſoner: nor were his apprehenſions leſſened, when, complaining to his brother of the confiſcation of the earl of *Surrey's* eſtate, contrary to the articles of their treaty, *Henry* upbraided him in harſh terms with a like breach of it in giving *Robert de Beleſme* his father's demeſnes, with the caſtle of *Argentan*, the lands of the ſee of *Seez* and the foreſt of *Golfer*; though *Robert* had tried in vain to reduce that turbulent rebel by force, and had been obliged at laſt, purely by the neceſſity of his affairs, to procure a peace on thoſe hard conditions. The count of *Meulant*, *Henry's* chief miniſter, the falſeſt, craftieſt, and moſt artful man of his time, was employed to work up the duke's fears, and to ſuggeſt, that there was no eſcaping the danger, but by making the queen a compliment of the three thouſand marks[4] annuity, which he received from her huſband. *Robert* gave into the ſnare remitting the annuity, which he had received only for one year; and this making matters eaſy with *Henry*, equally pleaſed with enriching himſelf and with increaſing his brother's neceſſities, *Warenne* was reſtored to his honours: and the duke returned home to repent at leiſure of his haſty unadviſed journey.

A. D. 1104.

The next year afforded another remarkable inſtance of *Henry's* perſeverance in his deſign of ruining the great nobility, and of wrecking his vengeance on all he ſuſpected to be his enemies, or favourers of his brother *Robert*. *William*, count of *Mortain* and earl of *Cornwall*, was his couſin-german, being the ſon of *Robert* half brother to the *Conqueror*, and brother by the whole blood to *Odo* biſhop of *Bayeux* and earl of *Kent*; who, accompanying the duke of *Normandie* in his expedition to the *Holy Land*, had died during the[5] voyage at *Palermo* in *Sicily*. He was the undoubted heir of his uncle, and claimed the earldom of *Kent*, which *Odo* had enjoyed: but making a demand of it in an importunate, if not in an arrogant, manner, at the time that *Robert*, after his return from the *Eaſt*, was about invading *England*; when he imagined *Henry*, whom he never liked from his early

[1] *Eadmer*, p. 79. [2] *Ord. Vit.* p. 805. [3] *Ib.* 804. [4] *Chron. Sax. Flor. Wig.* [5] *Malmeſb.* l. v.

years, durſt not deny him any thing, he was from thence ſuſpected as an enemy. The king gave him a prudent anſwer, contrived to leave him in hopes, and keep him in ſuſpenſe till the ſtorm was blown over; nor did *William* make any defection, or give any open aſſiſtance to *Robert:* but *Henry*, with whoſe political maxims it claſhed to aggrandize any of the nobility, and who out of the jealouſy and malignity of his nature, imagined him to have been concerned in the general conſpiracy, as ſoon as he ſaw himſelf by the peace quite out of danger, gave him a flat denial. It was not agreeable to the king's politicks to create an enemy by ill uſage, and leave it in his power to revenge it on occaſion: he proceeded accordingly to call *William* to account for ſome lands, that it was pretended, he poſſeſſed illegally. It was not proper to uſe violence againſt ſo great a man and ſo near a relation; ſo that to keep the appearance of equity, and ſhew an exterior regard to the law, it was reſolved to proceed in the way of a judicial proceſs. The juſticiaries were the king's creatures, obſequious to his will, and ready to execute the meaſures which his paſſions dictated: *William* was condemned not only to loſe the lands, which, it may be preſumed, he had, like other rapacious *Normans*, uſurped; but (what is utterly unconceivable) the earldom of *Cornwall* and all the vaſt eſtate in *Suſſex* and other counties; which his father was juſtly poſſeſſed of according to *Domeſday book*, and which he inherited from him by an undoubted title. *William* [1], full of fury at this treatment, retired to his county of *Mortain* in *Normandie:* and from thence waſted ſome of the king's lands and thoſe of his partizans, that lay adjoining to his own, and had not been delivered up to *Robert*, purſuant to the peace between the two brothers: and this behaviour drawing to him a number of gentlemen, that, according to the mode and circumſtances of the time, took the ſame delight in plunder, he became the head of another faction; which with *Robert de Beleſme* haraſſed their native country with continual devaſtations.

HENRY I. *A. D.* 1104.

LIV. THE duke of *Normandie*, either deſpiſing the world and given up to devotion, as [2] *Eadmer* ſays, or amuſing himſelf in plays and feaſting [3], as his brother's ſarcaſm on him ſuggeſts, did not interpoſe to ſuppreſs any of theſe diſorders: nor indeed was he able to prevent them; being (as *Ordericus* [4] repreſents) ſo eaſy in granting every thing aſked of him, that he had left himſelf nothing more to give, having granted away all his demeſnes, except [5] the city of *Roüen*; ſo careleſs in ſquandering his money, that he was generally in want; and ſo bare of cloaths, that he was ſometimes forced to lie in bed till noon, and could not go to church for want of them; whilſt thoſe about him, abuſing his lenity, ſtole his breeches, ſtockings, and other apparel. None expecting any relief from him in this deſpicable condition, *Serlo* [6] the biſhop, and *Ralf*, abbot of *Seez*, went over into *England*, to implore the king's aſſiſtance againſt the tyrannical oppreſſions of *Robert de Beleſme:* and many of the *Norman* nobility, as well of the clergy as laity, petitioned by their agents for the ſame protection. *Henry*, not content with bereaving his brother of a kingdom to which he had a better right than himſelf, wanted likewiſe to ſtrip him of his dutchy; not thinking himſelf ſecure in the one, whilſt he enjoyed the other. He had, with this view, encouraged the troubles of that country: and a civil war ariſing, about the ſucceſſion of *William* II, count of *Breteuil*, between *Reginald* ſon of *Roger*, *William's* brother, the rightful heir; and *Euſtace*, a natural ſon of the deceaſed count, he had ſupported the latter in his unjuſt pretenſions; given him his own natural daughter *Juliana* in marriage; ſent

And to reduce *Normandie*.

[1] *Flor. Wig. Chr. Sax.* [2] P. 80. [3] *Ord. Vit.* p. 820. [4] P. 786. [5] *Gemet.* l. vii. c. 13. [6] *Ord. Vit.* p. 812, 813, 814.

Henry I. A. D. 1104. over the count of *Meulant* to promote his ſervice; and ſollicited all the *Norman* barons in his behalf; declaring he ſhould look upon every body as his own enemy, that did not favour his deſigns. His own were certainly much favoured by this application from *Normandie*; which tempted him to paſs over thither in the ſummer with a body of forces, not to commit hoſtilities (for he pretended only to be come over to viſit *Danfront* and other places belonging to him in the neighbourhood) but to ſee the number of his friends, and to concert meaſures with ſuch as were in his intereſts. He was viſited upon his arrival by moſt of the nobility; the chief of which were the counts of *Meulant*, *Cheſter*, *Aumale*, *Eu*, and *Mortagne*, or *Perche*, *Ralf de Conches*, *Robert de Thorigny*, *Ralf de Mortemer*, and *Robert de Montfort*. There was ſtill one great nobleman, very capable of oppoſing his deſigns, and too honourable to deſert the allegiance he owed to his natural prince; this was *William* count of *Evreux:* whom yet, when his money and promiſes had failed of their uſual influence, he found means to gain, by making his brother acceſſary to his own ruine. He had ſufficient experience of the eaſineſs of *Robert's* nature: and inviting him to a friendly interview, perſuaded this unthinking prince to make him a grant of the ſovereignty of the county of *Evreux*, and to aſſign to him the count's homage and allegiance. *William* was ſent for: and the duke with great ſolemnity taking his hand, put it into his brother's; who received him for his vaſſal; notwithſtanding that the count had repreſented before hand to him the ill conſequences of the ſtep he was going to take, in thus transferring his allegiance. *Robert* was indeed ſtartled at this remonſtrance; but having given his word, it ſerved only to make him play the fool with his eyes open: in ſpight of all the miſchiefs which he ſaw would follow it, like a man of nice honour, he performed a promiſe, into which he had been unwarily ſurprized. *Henry*, having thus paved the way of uſurping all his brother's dominions, returned, full of hopes of carrying his point, at the latter end of autumn into *England*.

A. D. 1105. The year following, in the laſt week of *Lent*, he [1] paſſed over again into *Normandie* with a great army, in order to reduce the country into his own ſubjection: and landing at *Barfleur*, encamped, on *Eaſter* eve, at *Carentan*. There he was joined by the greateſt part of the *Norman* nobility; who, bribed by the gold and ſilver brought out of *England*, and forgetting the allegiance they owed to their natural lord, joined him, with their followers: and admitted his troops into their caſtles. He received a further reinforcement from *Helie* count of *Maine*, whom he had engaged in his intereſt, and from a body of *Bretons* which he had taken into his pay: and inveſting *Bayeux*, which was bravely defended by *De Launay* the governor, took it at laſt by ſtorm; ſetting in his fury fire to the town, and burning the cathedral, which he afterwards, by way of penance, rebuilt. The inhabitants of *Caen*, either diſguſted at the levies they were forced to pay for erecting a cauſeway [2], which the duke had ordered to be made for their great convenience, terrified by the calamity of *Bayeux*, or elſe corrupted by money, opened their gates to him: and ſome other places likewiſe ſubmitting, *Henry* advanced to *Falaiſe*, which he beſieged, and tried to take by various aſſaults. But being repulſed in all, *Robert de Thorigny* diſabled by a wound, *Roger* earl of *Glouceſter* killed, and the count of *Maine* retiring with his troops, he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege: and ſeeing no likelihood of reducing the country that year, went over before winter to *England*, in order to return next year with greater forces to compleat his conqueſt of the dutchy.

A. D. 1106. It doth not appear for what reaſon, or whether by his invitation (for certainly a man ſo obnoxious durſt not enter his territories without a licenſe) [3] *Robert de Be-*

[1] *Ord. Vit.* p. 814. *Chron. Sax. Flor. Wig.*

[2] Called *La Chauſſée ferrée* from the large hard ſtones bound with iron uſed in making it.

[3] *Ib.*

HENRY I. A. D. 1106.

leſme followed him thither, and ſtaid with him part of the *Chriſtmas* holidays: but whether the king was not able to gain him, or it was thought proper to cover a ſecret convention between them for the betraying of his lord, they parted, at leaſt in appearance, enemies. Whether the duke was by this means apprized of *Henry's* deſigns, or raiſed out of his indolence by the remonſtrances of other friends, he thought it proper to divert the ſtorm [1], by making a viſit to his brother: and finding him in *Lent*, keeping his court at *Northampton*, expoſtulated with him about his late invaſion of *Normandie*; demanding reſtitution of the towns he had taken. This *Henry* abſolutely refuſed: and *Robert*, convinced of his perſiſting in the deſign of ſubduing the reſt of the dutchy, left him ſoon; and full of reſentment, returned home to prepare the beſt he could for the defence of his remaining territories. The king was conſcious of the iniquity of his proceedings, and the unnatural uſurpation he intended: and to render his conduct leſs ſhocking, by covering it with the cloak of religion, and pretences of the publick good, he had either procured, or pretended to have, letters from Pope [2] *Paſchal*, with whom he was now in better terms than formerly; directing and inciting him to reſcue *Normandie* from the ill government of his brother. The churches, which had been burnt in the civil wars of that country, though both ſides were equally guilty in that [3] reſpect, ſerved him for a pretext to ſend after *Eaſter* embaſſadors to the king of *France* and the count of *Anjou*; preſſing them to take vengeance on *Robert de Beleſme* and the count of *Mortain*, as enemies of the church; in hopes of hindering them by ſuch a diverſion from aſſiſting his brother with their forces. All writers complain of the miſery, to which the people of *England* were at this time reduced by the inſupportable taxes, laid upon them for defraying *Henry's* expences in bribes to the *Normans*, and in the expeditions of the two precedent years: he was now to raiſe larger ſums, and to levy a greater army for this year's campaign; a work of ſuch difficulty, that he did not paſs over to *Normandie*, till a little before *Auguſt*.

His firſt attempt was upon *Tenerchebray*, a caſtle belonging to *William* count of *Mortain*; which he at firſt propoſed only to block up by a fort that he erected over againſt it: but the count having found means to throw a ſupply of victuals into the ſame place, he thought fit to beſiege it in form. *William* applied to the duke and to *Robert de Beleſme* for ſuccours: and the former having firſt ſent to his brother to raiſe the ſiege, and in failure thereof to proclaim war againſt him, they marched to his relief with their united forces. Some monks laboured to prevent a battle: but *Henry*, knowing himſelf the ſtronger, would agree to no terms leſs than the full poſſeſſion of half the dutchy, and the government of the whole; condeſcending however to leave the other half to *Robert*, provided he did not pretend to meddle in the government; or elſe to give him an equivalent for it, by a penſion out of his exchequer. Theſe terms were thought too unreaſonable by the council of *Normandie*: and *Robert* reſolved upon an engagement, though much inferior to his brother in numbers. He charged the main body of the *Engliſh* with ſo much [4] fury that he broke them; and was well ſeconded by the count of *Mortain*, commander of one of his wings, who forced the *Britons* to give ground: But *Robert de Beleſme*, who was [5] at the head of the other, and ſeems not to have behaved with his uſual valour and conduct, being eaſily put to flight by the count of *Maine*; and the *Engliſh* being rallied by their king, who came up with a body of horſe to ſupport them, the duke's army, overpowered by numbers, was entirely routed. The battle was fought on *Michaelmas* eve; and *Robert de Beleſme*, flying

[1] *Flor. Wig. Chron. Sax.* [2] *Malmeſb.* l. v. [3] *Ord. Vit.* p. 816. [4] *M. Paris.*
[5] *Ord. Vit.* p. 821.

early

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early from the field, made his eſcape: but the duke himſelf, the count of *Mortain*, *Robert d'Eſtouteville*, *William Criſpin*, and *William de Ferrieres*, with ſome thouſands of common ſoldiers, were taken priſoners [1]; as was likewiſe *Edgar Atheling*. This laſt prince being of the ſame age, temper, diſpoſitions, and turn of mind with duke *Robert*, a great friendſhip had been contracted between them: and though the obligations he was under to endeavour the reſtoration of his nephew *Edgar* to the throne of *Scotland*, hindered him from accompanying the duke when he firſt ſet out on his expedition to the *Holy Land*, yet as ſoon as that work was effected, he followed him thither with twenty thouſand *Engliſh*, and undertook to defend *Laodicea* in *Cæloſyria* for him againſt the infidels. After their return from the Eaſt, he had continued his attachment to *Robert*; living in his court at *Roüen*, and ſharing his fate in this unfortunate battle: though he met with better uſage afterwards from *Henry*; being carried to *England*, and ſoon after ſet at liberty, as a man of no conſequence. The count of *Mortain*, *Robert d'Eſtouteville*, and *William Criſpin* were ſent thither likewiſe: but condemned to perpetual impriſonment. *William de Ferrieres* fared better, through the bravery and fidelity of the garriſon and inhabitants of *Falaiſe*; who having ſworn not to deliver the place but to him or the duke in perſon, *Henry* was forced to employ him in order to get poſſeſſion of it; for fear it ſhould fall into the hands of *Robert de Beleſme*, from whom it could not eaſily be recovered. The duke himſelf was carried by his brother along with him to *Roüen*: the town readily ſubmitting, he gave orders to *Hugh Nonant* to deliver up the caſtle; all his other fortreſſes in *Normandie* doing the ſame upon the like orders. When *Henry* had thus made all the uſe he could of *Robert*, he ſent him to *England*; where he was kept twenty eight years a cloſe priſoner, till death put an end to his miſery in *A. D.* 1134, at *Cardif* in *Glamorganſhire*, the laſt place of his captivity. Such was the unnatural cruelty exerciſed by *Henry* upon one, who was incapable of doing the leaſt act of that kind to the greateſt ſtranger; who was too much a lover of quiet, and too exact an obſerver of his word, to render ſuch ſevere precautions neceſſary; and who was likewiſe his elder brother and natural lord: but the eaſy ways, found out by the monks in ages of ignorance, of commuting for ſins, gave too much encouragement to the moſt ſhocking iniquities; and the founding of the [2] abbey of *Reading* ſerved to ſtiffle the reproaches of his conſcience.

The ſurrender of *Falaiſe* was of the greater conſequence to the king of *England*, becauſe it put into his hands *William*, the onely ſon of his brother *Robert*; whoſe being in his power ſecured to him an undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the dutchy. There are few perſons ſo extremely profligate, but they have ſome regard to their reputation; *Henry* was afraid of falling under the imputation of ſome crime of the blackeſt dye, if any accident ſhould attend the young prince whilſt in his cuſtody or court: and out of this apprehenſion [3], committed him to the care of *Helie de S. Saen*; to whom *Robert* had given the county of *Arques*, with his natural daughter in marriage, and who taking great care of *William's* education, executed his truſt very honourably. Nothing was now wanting to compleat the reduction of *Normandie*, but the ſubmiſſion of *Robert de Beleſme*: and this nobleman having in vain ſollicited *Helie* count of *Maine* to join him, and make war upon the uſurper (ſo he termed *Henry*) made uſe of his mediation for obtaining a peace with the king, upon the conditions of giving up the biſhoprick of *Seez*, *Argentan*, and the foreſt of *Goulfer*, and of being reſtored the vicounty of *Falaiſe*, with all the offices and benefices, which his father *Roger de Montgomery* had enjoyed in *Normandie*. The whole country being now in peace, *Henry* held a great council of the pre-

[1] *Chron. Sax.* [2] *M. Paris.* [3] *Ord. Vit.* p. 76, 77.

lates

lates and baronage at *Liſieux*, to provide for the preſervation of it by wholeſome regulations, for reſtoring the injured to their rights, for puniſhing robberies, and preventing depredations for the future. Among others, it was declared in this council, that all the grants which *Robert* had made of his father's demeſnes were null, as made by imprudence, and in favour of perſons that proved ingrateful: and orders were iſſued, that they ſhould be all reſumed into the king's hands, and that all caſtles and fortreſſes erected ſince the *Conqueror's* death ſhould be demoliſhed, as neſts of tyranny and receptacles of robbers. Peace being thus firmly ſettled, *Henry* had nothing more to do abroad in civil affairs, but to receive the homages of all the *Norman* nobility: and theſe acts of recognition being compleated in his court at *Chriſtmas*, he returned in the *Lent* following to *England*. HENRY I. *A. D.* 1106.

LV. THE chief buſineſs that called him thither, was, the putting in execution of the late compromiſe he had made with the Pope about inveſtitures, and the finiſhing of all the diſputes between himſelf and *Anſelm*[1]. This prelate having been forbid to return into *England*, unleſs he would comply with the cuſtoms obſerved in the time of the two laſt kings, had ſtaid ſixteen months at *Lyon*; when he received a letter from the *Pope*[2], dated *March* 26, *A. D.* 1105, acquainting him with the excommunication of *Robert* count of *Meulant* and other counſellors, who had put the king upon granting inveſtitures, and of ſuch as received them from him; and that the like ſentence againſt his majeſty was only deferred in expectation of the arrival of ſome agents in his behalf. *Eaſter day* fell that year on *April* 9: and *Anſelm* having ſtaid to receive the ſentence againſt the king, ſet out from *Lyon* probably in *May*; paſſed by *Cluny* to *Blois*, where he made a viſit to the king's ſiſter *Adela*, counteſs of *Blois*; apprizing her of the reaſon of his coming into *France*, and of the reſolution taken for excommunicating her brother. This devout princeſs had been very bountiful to the archbiſhop during his former, as well as preſent, exile: and being extremely concerned at the cenſure to be iſſued againſt the king, laboured to prevent it, by bringing about a conference between him and *Anſelm*, in order to adjuſt their differences[3]. They met accordingly at the caſtle of *l'Aigle* on *July* 22, and having ſettled them ſo far as the archbiſhop conceived himſelf to be empowered to conſent; the king was reconciled to him; reſtored him the rents of his ſee; and would have given him leave to return to *England*, if he would have communicated with the prelates who had received royal inveſtitures, and with ſuch as had conſecrated thoſe ſo inveſted. But *Anſelm*, not caring to take this ſtep, choſe to ſtay in *Normandie* till the return of the agents, whom they were to ſend to *Rome* about ſome matters, which they were not able to determine of themſelves. This reconciliation was of great uſe to the king in a juncture, when ſeveral deſigns were formed to his prejudice, and ready to break out upon his being excommunicated: but theſe were all baffled upon the ſentence being prevented. *Henry*, however, deſirous to be as far advanced as poſſible in the conqueſt of *Normandie* before the remaining points were ſettled, was in no haſte to diſpatch his agents to *Rome*: it was propoſed they ſhould return thence by the *Chriſtmas* following, but he doth not ſeem to have ſent them before that time; notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances of *Anſelm* and others againſt ſo inconvenient a delay. At laſt *William de Warelwaſt*, deputed on his part, and *Baldwin de Tournay*, on the archbiſhop's, ſet out together for *Rome*: and having adjuſted the undetermined points with the *Pope*, *Paſchal*[4], on *March* 23, *A. D.* 1106, ſignified by a brief to *Anſelm*, that he ſhould receive all the prelates, who had either received inveſtitures, or been concerned in the benediction of ſuch as had, or had done homage to the crown, upon their making ſuch ſa- *A. D.* 1107. The diſpute about inveſtitures compromiſed.

[1] *Eadmer*, p. 76, 77. [2] *Ib.* 79. [3] *Ib.* 80, & ſeq. [4] *Ib.* 87.

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tisfaction, as the two agents were inſtructed to tell him verbally: and with regard to ſuch as ſhould hereafter receive prelacies from the crown, and did homage to it, provided this was done without being inveſted in the uſual manner, he was ſtill to conſecrate them either by himſelf, or by commiſſion. The king, upon *Warelwaſt's* account of the accommodation, delighted that he had got ſo well out of this troubleſome affair, ſent *Anſelm* leave to return home: but the archbiſhop [1] was ſtopped in his journey by ſickneſs; till *Henry* was on the point of coming over to compleat his purchaſe, rather than conqueſt, of *Normandie*; which made him think it more proper to wait at *Bec* for the king's arrival.

Anselm had received from *England* heavy complaints of the intolerable oppreſſions there exerciſed as well upon the clergy as laity: and was deſirous to procure ſome redreſs for theſe grievances before he came over. The vaſt ſums expended by the king in bribing [2] the *Norman* nobility, had occaſioned thoſe oppreſſions which reduced half the nation to beggary; the poorer ſort having their goods ſeized; the very beds they lay on and the utenſils of their houſes ſold; being turned out of their houſes, and the poſts of their doors plucked up; whilſt richer people were plagued with new invented forfeitures, and proſecuted in the king's court with as little juſtice (that judicature allowing no plea againſt the king's intereſts) and as great cruelty as had ever been practiſed in the time of *Rufus*. But what the archbiſhop laid ſtill more to heart, was the grievous fines laid upon the clergy, under pretence of the canons made in the late council of *London* againſt marriages. That council, like the mixed aſſemblies in the *Saxon* times, had been compoſed of the lay nobility as well as prelates: and the penalties, providing for the obſervance of thoſe canons, were both of an eccleſiaſtical and civil nature; married prieſts [3] being put out of the protection of the law, which was equivalent to an out-lawry, and incapacitated to celebrate divine ſervice. Since the *Conqueror's* ſeparation of the civil and eccleſiaſtical courts, a diſtinction between cauſes of different kinds had been eſtabliſhed: and there was no longer any mixed judicature, as in former days, for the trial of ſuch cauſes together, and to prevent all diſputes about the competent juriſdiction in ſuch caſes. It belonged to the civil power to execute the civil penalty upon criminals: and the king's officers, proceeding in a very illegal and arbitrary manner, levied at firſt ſums of money upon ſuch of the clergy as kept their wives; and when this was found to ariſe to no great matter, upon all in general, without making any diſtinction between the innocent and the guilty. Every pariſh church was taxed at a certain ſum [4], and the incumbents were forced to pay it, notwithſtanding their innocence, if they would not be ſued in the king's court, and be put out of the protection of the law; be impriſoned and otherwiſe plagued; hardſhips which, upon the king's coming to *London*, two hundred of the clergy, marching [5] barefoot in ſolemn proceſſion, had repreſented to him, but without relief. This *Anſelm* reſented as an impious violation of the liberty of the church: and wrote to *Henry*, preſſing him earneſtly to deſiſt from ſo heinous a ſin, and not hurt his own ſoul by meddling with the clergy, whoſe offences were cognizable only by their own dioceſan biſhops, and if theſe were negligent, by the archbiſhop or primate. The king deferred giving him ſatisfaction on this head, till he had conſulted his barons, who were to meet on *Aſcenſion day*: and afterwards put it off, till he went over into *Normandie*, and could do it in a per-

[1] *Ib.* p. 89. [2] *Ib.* p. 83. [3] *Can.* 6.

[4] I am apt to think that ſome pretence was found out for this, from the non-obſervance of other canons; particularly the eighth of the ſaid council, which incapacitated all clergymen, who were ſons of prieſts, to ſucceed to their father's livings, which took in the greateſt and beſt part of the *Engliſh* clergy; on which account *Paſchal*, in a letter to *Anſelm*, diſpenſed with the obſervation of this canon. *Eadmer*, p. 91.

[5] *Eadmer*, p. 85, 86, 89.

ſonal

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ſonal conference. This was held on *Auguſt* 15, in the abbey of *Bec*, when the king promiſed he would take nothing from the clergy, who had not yet paid their money; and ſuch as had ſhould be, for three years to come, excuſed of all impoſts, and free from all kind of trouble. All other matters in diſpute between them were adjuſted at the ſame time: and the king engaging as long as he lived to take no part of the profits of prelacies during their vacancy, *Anſelm* went over well ſatisfied into *England*.

THE king was obliged to ſtay ſtill the beginning of the year following in *Normandie*, to ſettle the country: but upon his coming over this year, it was propoſed to publiſh the terms of the late accommodation, at the *Eaſter* meeting of the prelates and nobility. *Paſchal*, coming into *France* to hold a council at *Troyes*, and ſending for *Warelwaſt* and *Baldwin* thither, the abſence of theſe two agents, with the uncertainty the king was in, as to the Pope's final reſolutions, till their return, cauſed the matter to be deferred till *Whitſontide*; as *Anſelm's* illneſs occaſioned a further delay till the firſt of *Auguſt*. The prelates and nobility of the kingdom, meeting [1] then at the king's palace in *London*, debated three days (in none of which was *Anſelm* preſent) the point of inveſtitures; ſome pleading hard for continuing the received practice, and not ſubmitting to the Pope's injunctions. The kings of *England* had been always deemed the common patrons of all prelacies, and the delivery of the paſtoral ſtaff [2] and ring had been a rite conſtantly uſed in their inveſtitures of prelates. They were likewiſe ſo tenacious of this right, that when *Edgar* gave the monks of *Glaſtenbury* [3] a privilege of electing their own abbot, he ſtill reſerved to himſelf the power of inveſting the elected ſuperior with the paſtoral ſtaff; which ſerved for an approbation of the election. Some great lords were alſo in poſſeſſion of the ſame rite, uſing it in abbeys of their own foundation, by the common right of patrons; and in others, by ſpecial grant of the crown; agreeable to the cuſtom obſerved in *France*, *Germany*, and other parts of *Europe*. The king, conſidering this only as an exterior rite, which did not affect the ſubſtance of the thing in queſtion, thought that, by ſtill retaining the patronage of churches, or rather the approbation of the perſons choſen to fill them, if they were prelatical, he had made a very good compoſition with *Paſchal*; who, in conſideration of his quitting a meer ceremony, had allowed him the homages of his prelates, which Pope *Urban* had equally forbidden. He accordingly enacted in *Anſelm's* [4] preſence before the whole aſſembly, that none ſhould for the future be inveſted in any biſhoprick or abbey with the ring and paſtoral ſtaff, by the king, or any other layman whatſoever; and then appointed perſons to fill the vacant prelacies in *Normandie*, as well as *England*.

THE Pope, unable to carry every thing at once, but ſure to do it by renewing his attacks in favourable ſeaſons, was ſatisfied with laying a foundation for gaining in time all that he deſired. For the rite of inveſtiture being now acknowledged to be eccleſiaſtical, and as ſuch unlawful to be uſed by the laity, the patronage of churches, to which it was appendant, came of courſe to be reputed of the ſame nature [5]: and with better reaſon, becauſe the ſymbols uſed in that rite, agreeable to the *Saxon* faſhions of delivering ſeiſin of lands, were meant only to convey the poſſeſſion of the temporalties; whereas the prelacy itſelf, or the government of the dioceſe and abbey, was conferred by the patronage or donation. The Pope arrogated to himſelf the ſupreme judicature in all *eccleſiaſtical* cauſes, and from the time that theſe were by the *Conqueror* ſeparated from *civil* ones, and appropriated to the ſole cognizance of an eccleſiaſtical authority, he had begun to get poſſeſſion of that ſu-

[1] *Ib.* p. 91. [2] See *Selden's Not. in Eadmer.* p. 142, 144. *Ingulf.* [3] *Malmeſb.* l. ii. c. 8.
[4] *Eadmer*, p. 91. [5] See *Chron. Dunſtapl. ad ann.* 1182.

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premacy. He was likewiſe abſolute in his power over monaſtic bodies: and the rules of each order being eſtabliſhed by his authority, he had always claimed a like ſupremacy over them; which ſince the conqueſt, upon the introducing of exemptions of abbeys from the viſitation and cognizance of the dioceſan biſhops, he had begun to exerciſe in this country. On theſe accounts, he became the *dernier reſſort* in all caſes, where either the church or monaſteries were concerned, and the ſovereign judge in all diſputes about the election of prelates; which being now granted, as *Petrus Bleſenſis*[1] ſays, to all collegiate and capitular bodies[2], was conſidered as one of the principal points wherein the freedom of the church conſiſted: and not confining himſelf in his judgment to the laws, rules, or uſages of *England*; but rather affecting to ſacrifice theſe to others, eſtabliſhed in the court of *Rome* for her own ends, his determination was not only final in the deciſion of ſuch diſputes, but he aſſumed a power of excluding both the contending parties, and of nominating whom he pleaſed, without any election, to prelacies. Hence appeals being brought from time to time to the court of *Rome*, with infinite expence to the parties, and to the great diſturbance of the kingdom, the power of the crown in the patronage of prelacies was continually impairing; there ſcarce ever ariſing a diſpute, that did not produce ſome conſiderable prejudice to the royal prerogative, which it was the intereſt of the papacy to diminiſh: and however it ended, the precedent ſtill ſerving to open a way for other diſputes, to affirm the uſurpations of the court of *Rome*, and to aggrandize the papal juriſdiction.

A. D. 1108. *Henry* redreſſes ſome grievances in *England*.

LVI. The king having thus, by parting with one of the fineſt flowers in his crown, and ſinking his ſole abſolute right in the nomination to prelacies into a bare approbation of elections made by others, put an end to the controverſy about inveſtitures, which had given him ſo much uneaſineſs, applied himſelf the year following to redreſs ſome grievances in civil matters, which were very burdenſome to the nation. There was one which had taken riſe in the time of his predeceſſor, though continued in his own; being an abuſe of the right of pourveyance: which, agreeable to the cuſtoms of all nations in the world, the king enjoyed in *England*. By the civil law[3], when any *Roman* magiſtrates paſſed through a province, the people of it were to ſupply them with victuals and proviſions for their equipages. It appears by a reſcript of *Theodoſius* and *Valentinian*[4], that when the emperors made a progreſs, all the places through which they paſſed were obliged to furniſh them carriages, proviſions, money, and other ſervices. The laws of the *Franks*[5], *Ripuarii*, and other *German* nations required the people of the provinces of the empire to entertain the imperial *Miſſi*, or delegates, according to the dignity or quality of the perſons: and the provincials were obliged to do the ſame when the emperors made their progreſſes. The like cuſtom prevailed among the barbarous nations[6], that remained in their original ſtate of clans, and was termed among the *Iriſh*, *Coſhery*; all the vaſſals of the chief of a clan, or ſept, being bound in his journey to ſupply him and his retinue with lodging and victuals. There is no doubt but the like practice obtained among the *Saxons*: and was indeed ſo common, that the biſhops and archdeacons, in making their viſitations, put the clergy to inſupportable expences in their entertainment, till ſuch exceſſes were reſtrained by the canons of councils. One of the privileges[7] granted by *William the Conqueror* to the abbey of *Ramſey*, was an exemption from carriages and pourveyance: and we ſee in the *Domeſday ſurvey*, among other ſervices for lands, that for one or more nights entertainment.

[1] *Contin. Ingulf.* p. 126. *Croiland. in Conc. M. Brit.* t. i. p. 387.
[2] *Codex MS. Marculf.* l. i. 463. *Capit. Car. Mag.* l. iii. c. 39.
[3] *L. Julia De magiſtratib. ad* l. x. *Cod. Juſtinian.*
[4] *Cujac.* tit. 48.
[5] *Bignon. not. in*
[6] *Ware De antiq. Hib.* Sir *John Davis* of the cauſes why *Ireland* was not reduced ſooner.
[7] *Spelman's Gloſſ. v.* Angaria.

tertainment. It is very likely, that the tenants on the demeſnes of the crown were bound to furniſh all theſe things *gratis* to the king and his retinue, when he made a progreſs; and that when thoſe demeſnes came to be alienated by grants to ſuch a degree, that there was a neceſſity of procuring carriages and proviſions from others not particularly obliged thereto by their tenures, the price of what theſe furniſhed was rated by the ſteward, or other great officer of the houſhold, preſent in ſuch progreſſes. In thoſe of *Henry*, the followers of the court plundered every thing that came in their way without any reſtraint; waſting all the country through which they paſſed: ſome even ſold in the market, or burnt, the ſuperfluity of eatables which they found in their lodgings; and either waſhed their horſes heels with the liquors which they could not conſume, or ſtaved the veſſels; to ſay nothing of the cruelties and indecencies, which they uſed to houſholders, their wives, and daughters. Hence all perſons, when they heard of the king's coming, deſerted their homes: and carrying off what proviſions and goods they could, lurked in woods and other private places, till the court was removed. To remedy this grievance, *Henry*, by the advice of *Anſelm* [1] and the nobility of the realm, ordered, by a proclamation, that whoever offended in the inſtances here mentioned, ſhould be puniſhed with the loſs of his eyes, hands, feet, or ſome other member: and this being rigorouſly executed, ſoon put an effectual ſtop to ſuch injuries. He redreſſed likewiſe another grievance, which lay heavy [2] on the whole nation, and of which he had received complaints in *Normandie*; the coin being debaſed and adulterated various ways, but chiefly by an alloy of two thirds tin to one of ſilver. Hence it would not paſs abroad, and people refuſed to take broken money, though perhaps ſo ſerved to diſcover the falſhood of it; and the pennies in thoſe days were, for the conveniency of change, contrived expreſsly to be eaſily broken into four parts. This he remedied by an ordinance, that no penny or half-penny ſhould, if it were whole, be taken in payment; and that falſe coiners ſhould, upon their conviction, have their eyes put out, and be caſtrated, without being allowed to compound for their offence, as was then frequently practiſed in other caſes.

HENRY I. A. D. 1108.

LVII. THESE reformations in civil matters were followed by what was then thought to deſerve the ſame character in eccleſiaſtical. *Anſelm*, ever vigilant to promote all the deſigns of the court of *Rome:* and knowing well how much ſhe had at heart the celibacy of the clergy, which diſengaging them from the natural ties that others have to their country, would render them more devoted to her will and intereſts, took occaſion in the aſſembly [3] of prelates and nobility at *Penteco ſt*, in the king's court at *Weſtminſter*, to get ſome regulations made by both the eccleſiaſtical and civil authority, for the better obſervation of the canons lately made in the ſynod of *London* againſt the marriages of the clergy. It hath been already obſerved, that thoſe canons had been eluded, and produced ſcarce any effect, but a pretence for the king to raiſe money; moſt of thoſe who were married ſtill retaining their wives, and others having married new ones ſince that ſynod. To put a ſtop if poſſible to theſe liberties, it was now provided, that all the married clergy, if they did not put away their wives immediately, ſhould be ſuſpended; and if they offered to officiate in divine ſervice, ſhould be excommunicated. Theſe *eccleſiaſtical* cenſures were attended with a penalty of a civil or mixed nature; the incumbents of pariſhes, who offended againſt theſe ordinances, were to be deprived and diſſeized of their livings, which the law of *England* deems to be freeholds, as the archdeacons and deans were, of their dignities.

Anſelm procures laws againſt the marriage of the clergy, and dies.

[1] *Eadmer*, p. 94. [2] *Gul. Gemet.* l. viii. c. 23. [3] *Ib.*

Henry I.

Notwithstanding theſe penalties, and the extraordinary precautions taken to have them duely inflicted, it doth not appear [1], that theſe new canons againſt the marriage of the clergy were better executed than the former: a neglect owing perhaps to the king's connivance, and the inattention of the civil magiſtrate; but generally aſcribed (as well as the non-obſervance of that againſt the long hair of the gentry) to the death of *Anſelm*; which happened on *April* 21 in the year following. This prelate, all whoſe conduct, inſpired by a blind zeal to aggrandize the papacy, was calculated to betray the rights of his own church, which had been ever [2] enjoyed by his predeceſſors (condeſcending to hold his primacy by a new tenure, by a grant and commiſſion from the Pope) to give up the independency of the ſee of *Canterbury*, and to ſubject the church of *England* to the court of *Rome*, died in the ſeventy ſixth year [3] of his age, and the ſixteenth of his pontificate. He had before his deceaſe, upon *Robert* biſhop of *Lincoln's* conſenting to [4] the diſmembering of a part of his too large dioceſe, in conſideration of the manor of *Spaldewic* in *Huntingdonſhire* being aſſigned to him and his ſucceſſors for a recompence, uſed his endeavours for erecting the ſee of *Ely*; to which *Herveus* biſhop of *Bangor* was ſoon after tranſlated. He had likewiſe been engaged in a diſpute with *Thomas* elect of *York*; who declined, upon various pretences, coming to *Canterbury*, according to cuſtom and the claims of this laſt ſee, to make the uſual profeſſion of canonical obedience, and receive his conſecration from *Anſelm*. *Thomas* was in hopes of eluding both theſe by obtaining a pall from the [5] court of *Rome*: but *Anſelm* knowing his project, had wrote to the Pope not to grant it, till the prelate elect had profeſſed his due obedience; and till that was done, had inhibited by letters all the biſhops of *England* from aſſiſting at his conſecration. A few days after his death, *Ulric*, a *Roman* cardinal, arrived with a pall for the church of *York*; which he was to deliver to *Anſelm*, to be diſpoſed of as he ſhould ſee proper: and that unforeſeen accident occaſioning the matter to be brought into debate in the king's court of prelates and barons held at *Whitſontide* [6], it was determined according to *Anſelm's* mind, to which all the biſhops unanimouſly adhered. *Thomas* was obliged to make under his hand and ſeal "a ſolemn profeſſion of his canonical obedience and ſubjection to the church of *Canterbury*, to the primate of that church canonically elected and his ſucceſſors," with a *ſalvo* however of his allegiance to the king; and another ſcarce ever heard of before in *England*, but very agreeable to *Anſelm's* principles, of his *obedience to the church of Rome*. This profeſſion was delivered to *Conrad*, prior of *Canterbury*, to be kept in the archives of his convent: and *Thomas* being conſecrated by *Richard* biſhop of *London*, received the pall afterwards at *York*, according to the determination of the king's council, from the hands of *Ulric*, who immediately after quitted the kingdom.

A. D. 1109.

Henry marries his daughter to the emperor.

LVIII. Whilst the king was holding his court for the deciſion of this diſpute, ſome *German* princes came over, being ſent by the emperor [7] *Henry* V, as his embaſſadors, to demand the princeſs *Maude*, then about eight years of age, in marriage. The articles being agreed on, and the young lady affianced, ſhe was ſent in *Lent* the next year to her huſband, with a ſplendid equipage, and a vaſt ſum of money for her fortune, raiſed by a tax of three ſhillings an hyde upon all lands in the kingdom. She was crowned empreſs on the *Whitſunday* following, by the archbiſhop of *Cologne*, aſſiſted by his ſuffragans and the archbiſhop of *Treves*;

A. D. 1110.

[4] *Eadmer*, p. 105, 106. *Anſelm. epiſt.* l. iii. *epiſt.* 112. *Chr. Sax.* [2] *Eadmer*, p. 73. *Concil. M. Brit.* p. 377, 380. [3] *Eadmer*, p. 102. [4] *Ib.* p. 95. [5] *Ib.* p. 99. & *ſeq.* [6] *Ib.* p. 103, 104. [7] *Chr. Sax. Petr. Bleſenſ. Contin.* p. 128.

who held her between his arms during all the ceremonies of her coronation. The emperor took great care of her education and to have her well inſtructed in the language and cuſtoms of *Germany*; which enabled her to ingratiate herſelf exceedingly with all the nobility of the empire: but having no children by him, ſhe returned after his deceaſe to *England*. Whilſt his daughter was crowning at *Utrecht*, *Henry* held his court for the firſt time at *New Windſor* with great magnificence: but whatever ſatisfaction he received from this match, it was ſoon after allayed by the troubles in which *Normandie* came to be involved, the occaſion whereof is now to be related.

HENRY I. *A. D.* 1110.

His precautions againſt troubles in *Normandie*.

LIX. THE king had, upon the [1] ſurrender of *Falaiſe*, committed his nephew *William*, ſon of his elder brother *Robert*, to the care of *Helie de St. Saen*; who had ſhewed ſo much affection to his pupil, that *Henry*, deſpairing of doing any thing againſt him whilſt in the hands of ſo faithful a guardian, reſolved to take away his charge, and to ſeize the perſon of the young prince; out of an apprehenſion, that upon his coming of age he might lay claim to the dutchy of *Normandie*. The danger, ſuggeſted by theſe fears, was not immediate when the king formed this deſign, *William* not being above eight years old, and having been only two years under the care of *Helie*; when it was reſolved to clap him up in priſon, in a place of ſuch ſecurity, that he ſhould never be able to attempt any thing againſt his government. To execute this reſolution, *Robert de Beauchamp* was ſent with a party of horſe to *St. Saen*, whilſt the lord of the place was abſent: and arriving there on *Sunday* morning, as the people were coming from church, put them into a ſtrange ſurprize, and made them aſk the meaning of his coming in that manner; which allowed time for *Helie's* ſervants to carry off the young prince, who was faſt a ſleep, and to conceal him, till they delivered him to their maſter. *Robert*, vexed at failing in the principal point of his commiſſion, ſeized the caſtle of *St. Saen*, which was given to *William de Warenne* earl of *Surrey*; and was rewarded himſelf with the vicounty of *Arques*, which had belonged to *Helie*, now ſtripped of all his eſtate without any offence, except his rare fidelity to the rightful heir of *Normandie*. This ill treatment did not leſſen *Helie's* care in the education of his charge, or his zeal for the intereſts of the young prince, whom he ſhewed in all places; ſolliciting every body to eſpouſe his quarrel: in which he was heartily ſeconded by *Robert de Beleſme*, with whom he held a conſtant correſpondence. Moſt of the *Normans* grew extremely fond of him as he improved in age: and by the time he was twelve years old, he had viſited the courts of *France*, *Guienne*, *Burgundy*, and *Bretagne*, making friends in them all: but meeting no where with a more particular favour than from *Fulk* count of *Anjou*; who promiſed to give him his daughter *Sybille* in marriage, with the county of *Maine* for her fortune; having got poſſeſſion of it this year, upon the death of the late count *Helie de la Fleche*, whoſe daughter he had married.

HENRY ſeeing a ſtorm gathering, and ready to burſt upon his foreign territories, took all the precautions he could againſt it: and reſolving to paſs into *Normandie*, thought fit to provide againſt the excurſions of the *Welſh*, by [2] removing a body of ſtout and hardy *Flemings*, who having been driven out of their own country by inundations of the ſea, had been ſettled in the time of *Rufus* near *Carliſle*, from thence into *Pembrokeſhire*, where they bravely defended and improved the country, continuing ever faithful to the crown of *England*. The king afterwards paſſed the ſea in *Auguſt* in order to recover *Maine*, or at leaſt to ſecure *Normandie* from the incurſions of the *French* and *Angevins*. *Louis le Gros* was now on the throne

A. D. 1111.

[1] *Ord. Vit.* p. 8. [2] *Flor. Wig. Camden. Britan. in Pembrokeſhire.*

of

Henry I. A. D. 1111.

of *France*[1]; he had, in the beginning of *Henry's* reign, paſſed ſome time at his court in *England:* and during his ſtay there, letters had come from his ſtep-mother queen *Bertrade*, ſealed with his father's ſignet, and deſiring, upon ſome plauſible pretence or other, that he might be arreſted and put in priſon. The letter being laid by the king before his council, it was judged an odious thing to arreſt a young prince, come over on no ill deſign; and to make themſelves the inſtruments of the queen's paſſions. *Henry* accordingly inſinuating to *Louis* ſome of the ill deſigns againſt him, adviſed him to return home without loſs of time: and ſending rich preſents to him and his retinue, the prince parted from him extremely ſatisfied, and by his unexpected return to *France*, broke all the meaſures of his enemies. This had created ſuch a friendſhip between them, that when *Henry* made war upon his brother *Robert*, to drive him out of *Normandie*, *Louis* favoured him in that enterprize, contrary to the opinion of his father *Philip*, and all the maxims of a wiſe policy, which rendered it very improper for *France* to have ſo potent a neighbour in that country, as the king of *England*. *Louis* was not very ſagacious: and being ſupplied with great ſums of money, which *Henry* ſent him from time to time by way of preſent, their good agreement laſted till the former ſucceeded to the throne of *France*[2]; when a quarrel aroſe between them upon the latter's ſeizing *Giſors*, in breach of an expreſs ſtipulation between the two crowns, for ſequeſtering the place in a third hand, and keeping it in a ſtate of neutrality. A peace was however patched up for ſome time; till *Henry* aſſiſting his nephew *Theobald*, count of *Blois*, in his revolt againſt *Louis*, a new rupture enſued: and the latter engaging the counts of *Flanders* and *Anjou* in his intereſts, and in ſupport of the young heir of *Normandie*, *Henry's* preſence in this laſt country became abſolutely neceſſary to prevent a revolt.

The king continued two years abroad, in war all the time with various ſucceſs, but haraſſed by none of his adverſaries ſo much as by *Robert de Beleſme*; who took his ſon-in-law *Rotrou*, count of *Mortagne* or *Perche*[3], priſoner, and treated him very harſhly: but he found at laſt an opportunity of getting this enemy into his hands; which, though not very honourable, anſwered his purpoſe. *Beleſme* lying in the dominions of *France*, *Robert* was a ſubject of that crown: and being ſent by *Louis* on an embaſſy about a treaty and conference in order to an accommodation, came to *Bonneville* on the *Touque*; where as ſoon as he had delivered the propoſitions, with which he was charged, *Henry* cauſed him to be arreſted. The pretence for this treatment of an embaſſador was, that *Robert* having been ſummoned thrice to the court of his lord, of whom he held lands in *Normandie*, had not appeared, either to anſwer for his treaſonable conduct, or to give account of thoſe revenues of the dutchy, which he collected in virtue of his offices: and not giving ſatisfaction on theſe heads, he was ſent to *Cherbourg*, and from thence into *England*, condemned to a perpetual priſon at *Wareham* in *Dorſetſhire*. If a breach of the law of nations can be excuſed by the advantages attending it, *Henry* had reaſon to rejoice in the ſeizure of *Robert*; which extricated him for a time out of all his troubles: for having taken *Alenſon*, one of this nobleman's ſtrongeſt fortreſſes, and going on with ſucceſs in his enterprizes, the king of *France* and the count of *Anjou* were glad to hearken to a peace, which was made on terms favourable enough to *Henry*; who was thereupon aſſiſted by the latter of thoſe princes in taking the caſtle of *Beleſme*, which he reduced to aſhes. By the articles of this treaty, *William* count of *Evreux*, *Amaury de Montfort*, and *William Criſpin* were reſtored to their lands in *Normandie*; the count of *Anjou* was confirmed in the poſſeſſion of *Maine* upon his doing homage for it to *Henry*, and pro-

[1] *Ord. Vit.* l. xi. [2] *Suger in Vita Lud. Groſſi.* [3] *Ord. Vit.*

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miſing to give in marriage to the latter's ſon *William*, that very daughter, which he had before either promiſed or affianced to *William* ſon of duke *Robert*. The pretence for diſſolving this pre-contract was the conſanguinity between the parties; *Fulk* count of *Anjou's* mother *Bertrade* being great grand-daughter to *Robert* archbiſhop of *Roüen*; who was brother to *Richard* II, duke of *Normandie*, great grandfather to *Robert* the laſt *William's* father: and yet there was exactly the very ſame degree of conſanguinity between *Fulk's* daughter and *William* ſon of *Henry*, with whom the new ſtipulation was made for a marriage. The young prince of *Normandie*, being now forced to quit *Anjou*, took refuge at laſt in the court of *Baldwin* count of *Flanders*; who generouſly aſſured him of his protection and aſſiſtance.

LX. THE king leaving *Normandie* in peace for a ſhort time, returned into *England*: and in the ſpring following thought fit to fill up the ſee of *Canterbury*, after it had been vacant a few days more than five years; *Ralf*, biſhop of *Rocheſter*, having [1] all that while dedicated churches, and done other primatial acts throughout the province, without regard to the biſhops of the dioceſes, but probably by the appointment of the prior and monks of *Canterbury*. For this purpoſe, *Henry* ſummoned a great council of his prelates and nobility at *Windſor*, either to have their advice in the choice of a proper perſon, or perhaps by the weight of their authority to over-awe the monks of *Canterbury* in their election of an archbiſhop. The prior and monks, being ſent for, were not a little pleaſed to be told on the road, that *Faricius*, abbot of *Abingdon*, was the perſon deſigned by the king: but this was oppoſed by the remonſtrances of the biſhops and ſome of the lay-nobility, who wiſhed to have ſome biſhop that had been a ſecular clergyman, or one of the king's chaplains, promoted to that dignity. This was a point which they were very earneſt to carry: but the monks repreſenting it as unreaſonable to break, without any apparent neceſſity, through the general cuſtom of the church of *Canterbury*, which uſed to be filled with *Regulars*, the biſhops at laſt deſiſted from their attempt in favour of a *Secular*, and agreed to *Ralf* biſhop of *Rocheſter*; who being on *April* 26 elected by the monks, approved by the council, and confirmed by the king, was enthroned on *May* 17 at *Canterbury*. *Henry* took care at the ſame time to fill up the other vacant prelacies throughout his kingdom: but filled them all with foreigners; no learning, wiſdom, ſanctity of life, and regularity of manners, virtue, or merit whatever, being able to advance a man to any dignity, if he lay under the diſadvantage of being an *Engliſhman*.

A. D. 1114. *Ralf* made archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and receives a pall from *Rome*.

THE king having thus ſettled the eccleſiaſtical affairs of this realm, made about midſummer an expedition into *Wales*, with ſuch a number of forces as flattered him with hopes of making an entire conqueſt of the country. His troops entered it at three different quarters: but after all their ravages, he found himſelf under a neceſſity of making peace with the *Welſh* princes, to keep them quiet; whilſt he paſſed at the latter end of *September* into *Normandie*, to get his ſon *William* [2], then twelve years old, recognized for his ſucceſſor by the nobility of that dutchy, who all ſwore fidelity to the young prince and did homage. He returned thence about the middle of *July* in the year following, having firſt received letters [3] from the *Pope*, dated *March* 30, and *April* 1, and full of complaints, "that he would not "ſuffer either his nuncio's or briefs to enter the kingdom of *England*, without his "expreſs licenſe or orders; that no appeals or cauſes were allowed to be brought "from thence to the ſee of *Rome*; that little reverence was ſhewn to St. *Peter* in "his realm; and that *Peter pence* was ſo ill collected, that the church of *Rome*

[1] *Eadmer*, p. 109. [2] *Chr. Sax. M. Paris.* [3] *Eadmer*, p. 112, 113, 115.

Henry I. A. D. 1115. " had not received the half of what was due on that account; that the weightieſt " points in eccleſiaſtical matters, the cauſes of biſhops, were determined, and " tranſlations made of biſhops from one ſee to another (as in the caſe of *Ralf*, " promoted from the ſee of *Rocheſter* to that of *Canterbury)* without the papal au- " thority or licenſe, in contempt of the ſupremacy over all the churches of *Eu-* " *rope*," claimed by the ſee of *Rome*, in virtue of ſome paſſages in the ſpurious decretal epiſtles aſcribed to *Victor*, *Zepherinus*, and other Popes in the primitive ages, and forged purely to countenance her uſurpations. Theſe letters were brought by *Anſelm*, a *Roman* abbot, in great favour with *Paſchal*, and nephew to the late archbiſhop of that name; who being charged with a pall for the new archbiſhop, the king allowed him to proceed to *England*, to execute this laſt part of his commiſſion. *Ralf* accordingly received it at *Canterbury*, on *June* 27, with great ſolemnity, in the preſence of a good number of biſhops, abbots, and noblemen; having firſt made a profeſſion of canonical obedience and fealty to the *Roman* pontiff. *Anſelm* returned to *Rome* ſo well ſatisfied with his reception here, that it encouraged the Pope to ſend him back the year following, with a legatine authority, to [1] exerciſe the papal juriſdiction in this kingdom: but the legate meeting the king in *Normandie*, was ſtopped from proceeding further.

A. D. 1116.

LXI. Henry had paſſed over thither ſoon after *Eaſter* [2], having firſt, in a great council of his prelates and nobles, aſſembled on *March* 20 at *Saliſbury*, cauſed them all to ſwear fealty, and to do homage to his ſon *William*, as his ſucceſſor in the throne of *England:* and laid heavy taxes on the nation to defray the vaſt expences of his wars in *Normandie*. Theſe were owing to the ſuccours [3] of troops, that the king had furniſhed to ſupport his nephew *Theobald* count of *Blois* in a new revolt againſt the crown of *France:* which was ſo reſented by *Louis le Gros*, that he openly eſpouſed the intereſt of *William* ſon of *Robert*, and ſent to *Henry* to demand, that the young prince's father might be ſet at liberty. He did not expect a compliance with a demand of ſuch a nature: and had taken care to make a league with the counts of *Flanders* and *Anjou*, to have their aſſiſtance in the war he deſigned; which was declared upon *Henry's* refuſal. Theſe three princes invaded *Normandie* in three different quarters, on the ſide of their reſpective territories: and did the more miſchief, becauſe they were joined by ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable nobility. *Amaury de Montfort*, ſiſter's ſon and heir to the late count of *Evreux*, had been refuſed his uncle's ſucceſſion: and took up armes to recover the poſſeſſion of his inheritance. *Hugh de Gournay*, the counts of *Eu*, *Aumale*, and *Breteuil*, *Richier* baron of *l'Aigle*, *Reginal de Bailleul*, *Robert de Newbourg*, with abundance of other noblemen, declared in favour of *William's* right to the dutchy during his father's impriſonment. Theſe troubles laſted ſeveral [4] years, to the general devaſtation of the country and the great diſquiet of *Henry*, who knew not whom to truſt; the *Normans* in general, and even thoſe who ſtill continued about his perſon, being ſtrongly attached to the intereſts of his adverſary, and a conſpiracy [5] formed againſt his own perſon by one of his favourites and ſome officers of his bed-chamber. He had ſeized the perſons of ſome that he ſuſpected, and had confined *Hugh de Gournay* and *Henry* count *d'Eu*, till they delivered their caſtles into his hands: but though he had endeavoured to oblige the former by a reſtitution of his, they both took up armes againſt him, as ſoon as they were out of his power. In theſe difficulties, ſcarce daring to employ the *Normans*, his forces conſiſted chiefly of [6] *Engliſh*, and ſuch troops of *Bretons* as he took into his pay; and with

[1] *Chr. Mailroſ. Chr. J. Abb. de Petriburg.* [2] *Eadmer*, p. 117. [3] *H. Hunt.* l. vii. *Chr. Sax.* [4] *Ord. Vit.* l. xii. [5] *Suger in vita Lud. Groſſi.* [6] *Annal. Waverl.*

theſe he carried on the war with various ſucceſs; though generally to his own diſ- HENRY I.
advantage, through the defection of his ſoldiers and officers, who frequently be- A. D. 1117.
trayed him, deſerted to the enemy, andde livered up their caſtles.

EVREUX had been ſurprized and delivered to *Amaury de Montfort:* nor could any offers of the quiet [1] poſſeſſion of that place, and the county about it, draw him over to *Henry's* party in the bad ſituation of his affairs. The *French* had taken *l'Aigle:* and the king, with the count of *Blois*, attempting to recover the place, had like to have loſt his life, and was forced to raiſe the ſiege. The count of *Anjou* had inveſted *Alenſon:* and having defeated *Henry*, as he advanced to the relief of the place, took it, with ſeveral other fortreſſes in the neighbourhood. *Baldwin* count of *Flanders* made ſuch terrible havock in the county of *Eu* and *Pais de Caux*, that the king was provoked to ſend him a meſſage, that "if he continued "his ravages in that manner, he would march in perſon at the head of an army "to waſte his country as far as *Bruges*." The count returned him a ſmart anſwer, that "he would ſave him the trouble of ſo long a march, and would ſoon "have the honour of making him a viſit at *Roüen*." He kept his word: and advancing under the walls of the place, challenged *Henry* to a battle; which he durſt not accept, nor offer to make a ſally, whilſt the walls of his deer-park were demoliſhing, and the ſuburbs of the town plundering; ſo that the count, contenting himſelf with this inſult, retired.

SOME lucky events however enabled the king at laſt to get over all his diffi- A. D. 1118.
cul:s. *Baldwin*, in an engagement with a body of *Bretons* near *Eu* [2], received a dangerous wound in the face from the lance of *Hugh Boterel:* and having languiſhed of it for ſome months, died the year following in *Flanders*; being ſucceeded in his dominions by *Charles*, ſon to *Canute* king of *Denmark*. *Enguerrand de Chaumont*, an active and brave commander, who had ſurprized *Andely*, and kept all the country as far as *Roüen* in continual alarms, chanced to die about the ſame time, of ſickneſs. But nothing was of ſuch great ſervice to *Henry*, as the gaining of *Fulk* count of *Anjou*, by the force of money, and the marriage of his ſon, (now grown up to a proper age for performing the contract between them) to the count's A. D. 1119.
daughter. Thus freed from the diverſions, which employed a great part of his forces on the ſide of *Anjou*, *Maine*, and *Flanders*, he was able to unite them all together in a body, and to march for the relief of *Noyon*, a caſtle three leagues from *Andely*; which *Louis le Gros* had formed a deſign of ſurprizing. His march was ſo ſecret as well as ſudden, that he came up [3] with the *French* as they were marching in great ſecurity, and ſo little order, that they had ſcarce leiſure to draw up their *Avant-garde* in battle-array, before the attack began. Their van was commanded by *William* ſon of duke *Robert*; who being ordered to ſuſtain the firſt ſhock of the enemy, whilſt the reſt of the army was putting in order, did it with ſo much bravery and intrepidity, that he not only broke the van of the *Engliſh*; but purſuing his advantage, pierced their main body commanded by the king in perſon; all whoſe efforts could not keep it from breaking. Here it was that *Henry* had occaſion to ſhew his courage, to ſave himſelf from an imminent danger: he had received on his head from *William Criſpin*, a gallant *Norman* formerly mentioned, two ſtrokes of a ſabre, given with ſuch force, that notwithſtanding the goodneſs of his helmet, they made a wound, at which iſſued abundance of blood, and he was ſtaggered by it for ſome time; but coming to himſelf, ſtruck *Criſpin* down from his horſe, and took him priſoner. Had the young *Norman* prince's efforts been well ſeconded, the victory on his ſide would have been certain: but the *French*, inſtead of improving his ſucceſs by redreſſing the diſorder

[1] *Ord. Vit. ib.* [2] *Chron. Sax.* [3] *H. Hunt.*

which

Henry I. A. D. 1119.

which their march had occaſioned, were flattered by it to fall into a greater, and to advance haſtily in a wild confuſion againſt the enemy; thinking of nought but ſlaughter and plunder. In this condition, they were attacked by the rear of the *Engliſh*; which, compoſed of the beſt of their foot, had not yet fought, and ſoon turned the fate of the day; the *French* flying in ſuch an hurry that it was impoſſible to rally them, the king himſelf being dragged along by the runaways, unhorſed in the preſs, and forced to truſt himſelf to an unknown peaſant, in order to make his eſcape on foot through woods and bye-ways to *Andely*. Such was the iſſue of this battle fought in the plain of *Brenneville*, near the caſtle of *Noyon ſur Andelle*, highly to the glory of the king of *England*; but with no great diſadvantage to the *French:* who fled too haſtily to loſe many, and rendezvouſing at *Andely*, found themſelves near as numerous as before; and *Louis* having received a reinforcement, defy'd *Henry* to a ſecond engagement, which the latter thought fit to decline.

The king of *England* diſmiſſed all the priſoners, except about an hundred and forty knights; ſent to *Louis* his horſe and furniture which were taken[1]; and perſuaded his ſon to ſend back his couſin-german *William's* palfrey, with ſome preſents of other neceſſaries fit for a perſon in exile; politicks prompting him to an act of politeneſs, which greater minds would have done out of generoſity. The king of *France* afterwards took *Chartres* from the count of *Blois*[2], and reduced the ſtrong fortreſs of *Ivry:* whilſt *Henry* employed his troops to bring the *Normans*, ſtruck with terror at his victory, to obedience. Whilſt the war was thus carrying on[3], Pope *Calixtus* II, coming into *France*, held a council at *Reims* in the latter end of *October*, and when it broke up made a viſit to the king of *England* at *Giſors*; offering his mediation for a peace between the two crowns and their allies. Both the kings were by this time weary of the war: and willingly hearkened to an accommodation; which was concluded the year following, the places taken on both ſides being reſtored; the priſoners releaſed; and *Louis* granting *Normandie* to *Henry's* ſon *William*, to be held as a fief of the crown of *France* upon his performance of homage. The count of *Flanders* and the revolted *Normans* were included in this treaty: but no proviſion was made for prince *William* ſon of duke *Robert*; who was however much eſteemed and beloved by *Louis*, and received from him, a few years after, very ſignal marks of his friendſhip.

Thurſtin recovers the independency of his ſee of *York*.

LXII. The entire pacification of *Normandie* was the natural conſequence of this treaty; a ſervice of great importance to *Henry*, and which he had ſo much at heart, that he eaſily forgot his reſentment at a ſtep, that the Pope had taken in the abovementioned council. When the king, about *A. D.* 1115, filled up the vacant prelacies in *England*, [4] *Thurſtin*, one of his chaplains and ſecretaries, had been elected to the ſee of *York:* and preſuming upon his intereſt at court, revived the old diſpute between the two metropolitical ſees; declining to make any profeſſion of canonical obedience to the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. The diſpute had laſted near a year; when *Ralf*, meeting *Thurſtin*[5] at the great council of *Saliſbury*, required him to come to *Canterbury* for receiving conſecration, and making the uſual profeſſion of his predeceſſors: but the elect of *York*, inſtead of complying with this ſummons, ſent agents to *Rome* to procure by money, the prevailing argument in that court, a diſpenſation from ſuch an act of humiliation; to which the chapter of his ſee were infinitely averſe. The king was incenſed at this proceeding: and gave him to underſtand, that he muſt either comply in the profeſſion of obedience

[1] *Ord. Vit.* p. 855. [2] *Suger.* [3] *Eadmer*, p. 124. [4] *Ib.* 110. *Stubbs*, col. 1714. [5] *Ib.* 117.

to *Canterbury*, as his predeceſſors had done, or elſe renounce his archbiſhoprick. *Thurſtin*, puſhed on by his clergy, choſe the latter party: but finding himſelf leſs conſidered afterwards, ſoon repented of what he had done, and followed the king abroad to ſollicite the being reſtored to his prelacy [1]. The chapter of *York* likewiſe ſent agents to *Rome*, to plead in his behalf: and ſucceeded ſo far, that *Paſchal* wrote to the king in favour of *Thurſtin*; inſiſting on his being reſtored, and undertaking to do juſtice between the two churches in the diſpute about their privileges. This Pope dying ſoon after, and his ſucceſſor, *Gelaſius* II, not filling the papal chair above a year, the affair ſeems to have ſlept till *Calixtus* held the general council of *Reims*: at which four *Engliſh* biſhops aſſiſted [2]; ſetting a precedent to aftertimes for ſending the ſame number out of *England* on the like occaſions. Thither alſo *Thurſtin* went; having got leave from the king, upon a ſolemn promiſe, that he would neither receive conſecration from the Pope, nor ſollicite him for any thing to the prejudice of the ſee of *Canterbury*. The king ſent *Sieffred*, archbiſhop *Ralf's* brother, to the pontiff, to acquaint him with the diſpute, "and preſs him neither to "conſecrate *Thurſtin*, nor allow him to be conſecrated by any other, but the pri-"mate of *Canterbury*; and if he was not gratified in this requeſt, he would never "ſuffer that prelate *elect* to live in his dominions; a reſolution which no con-"ſideration upon earth ſhould make him violate." The *Pope* promiſed to act as the king deſired [3]: yet on the *Sunday* before the council opened, and before the *Engliſh* biſhops arrived, he conſecrated *Thurſtin* (notwithſtanding a proteſt publickly made, in the preſence of a great number of biſhops, by *John* archdeacon of *Canterbury* [4], in behalf of the rights of that church, againſt the injuſtice of this proceeding) and gave him the pall twelve days after. *Henry*, upon this, forbade *Thurſtin* to return into *England*, *Normandie*, or any other part of his dominions: but the *Pope*, in his viſit to the king at *Giſors*, uſing ſtrong inſtances in his behalf, and offering to abſolve *Henry* from his vow of not ſuffering that prelate to ſet foot in his territories, the king was at laſt ſo far mollified, as to allow *Thurſtin* to be reſtored to his ſee, upon his firſt making the uſual profeſſion of obedience to the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Whether *Thurſtin* depending on his favour with *Calixtus*, did not care to ſubmit to this condition [5], he continued abroad till the beginning of the year 1121; when by his money he obtained letters from the *Pope*, menacing the king with excommunication, *Ralf* with ſuſpenſion, and the kingdom with an interdict, if *Thurſtin* was not, within a month, put in poſſeſſion of his ſee, without making any profeſſion of obedience. Things being come to this extremity, the great council of the realm, then aſſembled, thought it proper to permit his return into *England*; provided he went ſtraight to *York*, without being ſuffered to celebrate divine ſervice any where out of his own dioceſe, till he had made ſatisfaction to the church of *Canterbury*. It doth not appear, either that he made ſuch ſatisfaction, or that any of his ſucceſſors ever made the profeſſion of canonical obedience to the ſee [6] of *Canterbury*, which was firſt exacted by *Lanfranc* after the death of *Aldred*: but the church of *York*, from this time maintaining its independency, had, a few years after, ſome ſuffragans [7] aſſigned to it; over whom it exerciſed a primatial authority.

HENRY I. *A. D.* 1119.

LXIII. THE king, though he had made peace with *France* in the beginning of the year 1120, ſtill continued abroad; taken up with ſettling the affairs of *Nor-*

A. D. 1120. The *Norman* nobility ſwear to the ſucceſſion of prince *William*, who is ſoon after drowned.

[1] *Ib.* 119, 120, 124, 126. [2] *Seldeni Not. in Eadmer.* p. 213. [3] *Angl. Sac.* 1. 70
[4] *Stubb's Acta Pont. Ebor.* col. 1715.
[5] *Eadmer*, p. 136. *Hoveden.* [6] The bull of Pope *Honorius*, in the year 1215, exempted the archbiſhops of *York* from making that profeſſion, and from being ſubject to the juriſdiction of the church of *Canterbury*, putting both the primates on an equal foot, without any precedence, but what ſhould ariſe from the priority of the conſecration of either. *Concil. M. Britan.* t. i. p. 407.
[7] *Stubb's* col. 1718, 1719.

Henry I. *A. D.* 1120.

mandie, and making the nobility of the country repeat their oath of fealty, and renew their homage to his ſon, now in the eighteenth year of his age: but at laſt, on *November* 25, in the evening, ſetting ſail from *Barfleur* [1] with a fair wind, he arrived the next morning in *England*. *Thomas Fitz Stephen*, whoſe father had carried *William the Conqueror* thither in his expedition againſt *Harold*, had fitted out a very good new ſhip, in hopes of doing the ſame office to *Henry*: but the king having ordered it for his ſon's paſſage, the ſeamen waited upon the prince, and aſking for ſomething to drink, had three hogſheads of wine given them; with which they regaled themſelves too freely. All the young nobility were fond of attending prince *William*; and near three hundred of them went on board with him: but they were ſo diſorderly in their behaviour, and the ſhip was ſo much crouded with them, that *Stephen* count of *Mortain*, the king's nephew, *William de Roumare*, *Rabel* the chamberlain, *Edward de Saliſbury*, and a great many others quitted it, and went on board another veſſel. The prince was very eager for overtaking the king's fleet, which was got a good way a head. *Thomas* undertook it, truſting to his ſeamen; but they were drunk, and himſelf not a little fluſtered: ſo that they heedleſsly ſtruck on a rock, called the *Catte-raze*, being viſible only at low water, and lying a little way out at ſea, and the ſhip was ſhattered in pieces. Prince *William* had got into the long boat; and might, in all probability, have eſcaped, had not the cries of his natural ſiſter, the counteſs of *Perche*, made him order the ſeamen to row back to the ſhip to take her in: but in doing this, ſuch a number of others leaped into the boat with her, that being overloaded, it ſunk immediately. With theſe, periſhed *Richard*, one of the king's natural ſons, *Richard* earl of *Cheſter*, and his brother *Ottuel*, with *Geffrey Ridel*, *William Bigot*, and above an hundred and forty young noblemen of the firſt quality and chief officers of the houſhold; the onely perſon ſaved of thoſe that were on board, being *Bertoud*, a butcher of *Roüen*; who holding faſt by the maſt, was taken up in the morning by fiſhermen. *Geffrey*, ſon of *Gilbert de l' Aigle*, caught hold of the ſame maſt: but being a boy, weak, and benummed with cold, dropped off before day-light appeared. *Thomas*, the maſter of the veſſel, after being under water, and ſwallowing enough of it to qualify his wine, recovered himſelf; ſwam to the two perſons he ſaw clinging to the maſt; aſked them what was become of the prince? and being told that he was drowned, ſaid he would not live, and ſunk immediately. *Roger* biſhop of *Coutances* (whoſe ſon *William*, one of the king's chaplains, was on board the ſhip) with many others on the ſhore, heard the ſhrieks of the affrighted ſinking perſons, but knew not the meaning thereof till the next day: nor did the king know of it till three days after, though the ſame noiſe was heard in his ſhip, and on board other veſſels in his company. That which was wrecked being weighed up by the inhabitants of *Barfleur*, the treaſure and all the goods put on board it were found: but not ſo much as a ſingle corpſe; only the earl of *Cheſter's* was driven aſhore ſome time after, at a great diſtance from the place of the ſhipwreck.

Several hiſtorians [2] conſider this diſaſter, as a judgment upon the prince, and many of the young nobility that periſhed with him, on account of the vices; particularly that of unnatural lewdneſs with which they were infected: and the *Engliſh* had the leſs reaſon to lament it, becauſe *William* had an utter averſion to them, and had been raſh [3] enough to declare openly, "that whenever he came to "the crown, he would make them draw the plough like oxen;" ſuch was the return he propoſed to make them for contributing to his father's uſurpation. It

[1] *Ord. Vital.* p. 867, 868, 869. *M. Paris. W. Malmeſb.* [2] *Ord. Vital. M. Paris. Knighton*, col. 2381. [3] *Ib.* col. 2382. *Brompton*, col. 1013.

was

was certainly a very fatal accident to *Henry*; who, in the height of his ſatisfaction for the pacification of *Normandie*, ſaw all the meaſures, he had been taking for the quiet of that country, undone in a moment, and himſelf deprived of the beſt ſupport of his government in *England*; where the ſucceſſion becoming uncertain, the inclinations and intereſts of the great men, varying in regard to thoſe that might pretend to it, leſſened their attachment to their preſent ſovereign; and the views, as well as hopes, of his ſubjects were carried out of his family, and ought naturally to be fixed on the ſon of his elder brother; a young prince, whoſe virtues had gained him the affections and eſteem of all that knew him, and had already made him the darling of the *Normans*. The king, for a few days after his landing at *Southampton*, flattered himſelf with hopes, that his ſon had put into ſome other *Engliſh* port: but when the news was broke to him, he was ſo ſtruck with it, that he fainted away; yet coming ſoon to himſelf, he thought it beſt to cover his grief, and ſeemed to bear the loſs with extraordinary patience. The calamity itſelf afforded him one advantage, which he improved for the ſervice of his affairs[1]; diſpoſing of the honours and eſtates that fell into his hands by the death of ſo many of the nobility, and beſtowing their widows, daughters, and ſiſters among his courtiers, and ſuch as were moſt likely to eſtabliſh his intereſt in *England*. But this proviſion was not adequate to the evil: his daughter *Maude* was married to the emperor, and in a diſtant country abroad; the *Engliſh* and *Normans* were alike averſe to a foreign government; and it behoved him to take ſome further precautions againſt the miſchiefs of a diſputed ſucceſſion.

Henry I. A. D. 1120.

LXIV. With this view the king called a great council of his prelates and nobility on *January* 6, at *London:* and by their advice reſolved to marry *Adelais*[2], daughter of *Godfrey*, duke of *Lovain*, or the *Lower Lorraine*; who was ſoon after brought over, and the nuptials were ſolemnized at *Windſor*. This caſtle lying in the dioceſe of *Saliſbury*, the biſhop of that ſee claimed the right of performing the marriage ceremony: but it was adjudged to the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; the king and queen being, by ancient uſage, deemed his proper pariſhioners, and under his peculiar care, wherever they were throughout the whole iſland; and his province extending to all the dioceſes of the other biſhops, who derived all their authority from his conſecration. To avoid all pretences of renewing the like claim for the future, *Ralf*, being very infirm, ſo as not to be able to do the office[3] himſelf, excluded the biſhop of *Sarum*, and ordered the biſhop of *Wincheſter* to officiate at the marriage. The queen was crowned the next day, being *Sunday*, *January* 30; when an accident happened, which gave occaſion to the archbiſhop to exert himſelf in a pretty rough and extraordinary manner, for ſupporting another right of his ſee of *Canterbury*, in relation to the performing of divine ſervice, and putting of the crown on the king's head; not only at the ſolemnity to which the term of coronation is uſually appropriated, but at all other times, whenever he wore it in his court of barons at the great feſtivals. It was on one[4] of theſe latter occaſions, at the *Chriſtmas* after *Anſelm's* death, that the archbiſhop of *York* attempted to invade it: but being oppoſed by *Richard* biſhop of *London*, who, in the vacancy of the ſee, aſſerted it to be his right, as dean of the church of *Canterbury*, it was adjudged to the latter; who accordingly put the crown on the king's head, led him by the right-hand into the church, and officiated at divine ſervice. At the queen's coronation, archbiſhop *Ralf* reſolved, notwithſtanding his weakneſs, to officiate himſelf: and obſerving after the introit was ſaid, and he was going to begin the ſervice, that the king was ſitting on his throne with the crown on his head, though

A. D. 1121. The king marries *Adelais* of *Lovain*.

[1] *Ord. Vit.* p. 871. [2] *Eadmer*, p. 136. [3] *Ib.* 137. *Gervaſ. Cant.* col. 1661. [4] *Eadmer*, p. 105.

Henry I. A. D. 1121.

he had neither put it on, nor could it be done rightly by any other in his preſence, he retired from the altar, and going to his majeſty, who roſe up to him, aſked, "who had put the crown upon his head?" The king, a little out of countenance, replying modeſtly, "that it was done in an hurry, and he had not minded, or at "leaſt had forgot who put it on:" *Ralf* ſaid, "it was done illegally, and in pre-"judice of his right, and whilſt it was thus upon his head, he could not go on "with the office." The king had the goodneſs to ſatisfy the archbiſhop in his ſtiffneſs, and bidding him, "ſince it was not rightly put on, to do what he thought "proper; for he ſhould not oppoſe him." *Ralf* looſed the loop by which the crown was faſtened under his chin to keep it from tottering on his head, and having taken it off, put it on again with his own hands: and then went on with the office of the queen's coronation.

Expedition into *Wales*, and election of *William* to the ſee of *Canterbury*.

LXV. The king now began to feel ſome of the unhappy effects of the late ſhipwreck; the death of the valiant earl[1] of *Cheſter* encouraging the *Welſh* to invade *Cheſhire*, where they burnt two caſtles, and took a great booty. *Henry*, to revenge this inſult, raiſed a powerful army, and marched in the ſummer into *Wales* as far as the mountains of *Snowdon* in *Carnarvonſhire*: but there meeting with unſurmountable difficulties, and having been himſelf in danger of being killed by the ſtroke of an arrow, which was repelled by the goodneſs of his armour, he thought fit to make peace with *Griffith ap Conan*, prince of the country, upon the receipt of a thouſand head of cattle, either by way of preſent, or of compenſation for the damages done in *Cheſhire*, and of hoſtages for performance of the treaty.

A. D. 1122.

The evil conſequences of the death of the prince did not begin to appear till the year following, when there happened likewiſe another event; which deſerves notice: becauſe it ſhews what ſhare of power ſtill remained to the crown in the donation of prelacies. *Ralf*, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, dying[2] after a lingering

A. D. 1123.

illneſs on *October* 20, the king, about the *Candlemas* following, called a council of his prelates and nobility at *Glouceſter*, to conſider of a proper perſon to ſucceed him: ſome of the monks of *Canterbury* were likewiſe ſummoned thither, either to elect, or admit and receive the ſucceſſor. When the council met, the king deſired the biſhops to agree in a fit man to fill that dignity, and he would approve whomever they recommended. The biſhops, at the inſtances of *Roger* biſhop of *Sarum* and *Robert* of *Lincoln*, and in a ſenſe of the inconveniencies ariſing from monks, ever attached to the intereſts of the papacy, being put at the head of the church of *England*, deſired leave to recommend a ſecular clergyman; which was readily granted. The prior and monks of *Canterbury*, throwing themſelves at his majeſty's feet, and remonſtrating againſt the indignity offered to their profeſſion, in this deviation from what, they pretended, was the ancient practice, begged hard for one of their order to be choſen: but they were neither gratified in this requeſt, nor in another which they made for time to conſult their convent, and the biſhop of *Rocheſter*; who was hindered by an indiſpoſition from coming to the council. At laſt, after holding out two days, and in dread of the excommunication[3] with which the biſhops threatned them; out of the four ſecular clergymen named to them for their electing one of the number, the monks made choice of *William de Corboil*, prior of the canons of *Chiche*; who was immediately confirmed by the king, and accepted by all the biſhops for their primate. *Thurſtin* of *York* offered to conſecrate the new archbiſhop; but not conſenting to own him for primate of all *England*, his offer was rejected: and *William* was conſecrated[4] at *Canterbury*, on

[1] *W. Malmeſb. H. Hunt.* [2] *Eadmer*, p. 141. *Angl. Sacr.* 1. 7. *Chr. Sax. Gervaſ. Cant.* col. 1661. [3] *Sim. Dun. De geſt. reg. ann.* 1123. [4] *Angl. Sacr.* 1. 110. *Gervaſ. Cant. Chr. Sax.*

Sunday,

Sunday, February 18, by *Richard* biſhop of *London*, aſſiſted by thoſe of *Wincheſter*, *Rocheſter*, *St. David's*, and *Sarum*. He ſet out ſoon after in *Lent* for *Rome*; and though the Pope diſliked, and at firſt ſcrupled his election, becauſe he was not a monk, money at length made all matters eaſy: and he returned with his pall into *England*; having firſt ſwore to be ſubject to the Pope in every thing that he required. HENRY I. *A. D.* 1123.

LXVI. NOT long after his election, the king found himſelf obliged to leave *England*, the government whereof he entruſted, during his abſence, to *Roger* biſhop of *Saliſbury*, and to paſs over into *Normandie*; where a conſpiracy had been carrying on ſome time in favour of *William*[1], ſon of duke *Robert*. It was ſupported by *Fulk* count of *Anjou*; who finding upon his return from *Jeruſalem* in *A. D.* 1121, that his daughter was left a widow by the death of *Henry's* ſon, had required her to be ſent back to him; which was done without any difficulty or delay: but when he demanded afterwards to have the lands and caſtles he had given for her fortune reſtored, being denied in that point, he was highly incenſed againſt *Henry*, and inviting the young *Norman* prince to his court, promiſed him his daughter *Sibylle* in marriage, with the county of *Maine*, till he recovered poſſeſſion of the dutchy of *Normandie*. Encouraged by *Fulk's* aſſiſtance, *Walleran* count of *Meulant*, *Amaury* count of *Evreux*, *William de Roumare*, *Hugh de Montfort*, *Hugh de Neufchatel*, *William Louvel*, *Balderic de Bray*, and *Poyen de Giſors* met in *September*, *A. D.* 1122, at *La Croix S. Leuffroy*, to concert meaſures for driving *Henry* out of *Normandie*, and putting the dutchy into the hands of his nephew *William*. Reſolving to draw in as many of the *Norman* barons as they could into their party, they did not take up arms till the next year, after *Henry* came over, and they found he had got ſome information of their conſpiracy. This diſcovery forcing them into the field before they were prepared with ſufficient forces for a war, *Henry* ſoon made himſelf maſter of *Montfort*, *Pont-Audemer*, and ſome other places: but the war was carried on afterwards with various ſucceſs till *March* 25, in the year following. On that day the counts of *Meulant* and *Evreux*, *Hugh de Montfort*, *William Louvel*, and *Hugh Fitz Gervaſe*[2], paſſing careleſsly with a ſmall party from *Beaumont* to *Vatteville*, were ſurprized by *William de Tancarville*[3], the king's chamberlain, at the head of a much ſtronger body of troops aſſembled out of the neighbouring garriſons: and were all taken, with twenty-five of their knights, except the count of *Evreux* and *Louvel*, who eſcaped by the favour of thoſe, that had taken them priſoners, and choſe rather to run their fortune, than deliver them into the power of *Henry*, from whoſe implacable temper no mercy was to be expected. The taking of the count of *Meulant* was followed by the ſurrender of his caſtles of *Brioſne*, *Vatteville*, and *Beaumont le Roger*: and was of great ſervice to *Henry* in other reſpects. It prevented ſeveral revolts that were deſigned; it put the count of *Evreux* and *William Louvel* upon making their peace with him: and the count of *Anjou*, in deſpair of ſucceſs, diſmiſſed prince *William*; his marriage or contract with *Fulk's* daughter being firſt annulled by the Pope at the inſtance of *Henry*, whoſe queen *Adelais* was niece to the pontiff by *Clemence de Bourgogne*. But the young prince finding a protection in the court of *France*, and *Louis le Gros* giving him his queen's ſiſter in marriage, with *Pontoiſe*, *Chaumont*, *Mante*, and all the *Vexin François*; and ſupplying him with a body of troops, to enable him to advance his affairs in *Normandie*, the troubles of that country were not likely to be ſoon over.

Inſurrection in *Normandie*; and grievances in *England*.

A. D. 1124.

IN the mean time a general diſcontent reigned over *England*, on account of the intolerable load[4] of taxes laid upon the people to ſupport this foreign war, the

[1] *Ord. Vit.* l. xii. [2] *Chr. Sax.* [3] *M. Paris.* [4] *Chr. Sax.*

HENRY I. A. D. 1124. excesſive price of all ſorts of grain, and the terrible inconveniencies ariſing from the coin's being adulterated to ſuch a degree, that a pound of it would ſcarce buy twelve pennyworth of goods in a market. The unjuſt ſeverity of the king's juſticiaries was another ſubject of complaint; an inſtance whereof is given in *Ralf Baſſet's* condemning in a court of barons forty-four men to be hanged for robbers, and ſix others to be deprived of their eyes and teſticles. Upon this occaſion our old hiſtorians remark, that many of theſe were puniſhed unjuſtly, and lament the hard caſe of the common people, oppreſſed againſt all right, firſt robbed of their ſubſtance, and afterwards of their lives; thoſe that had any thing to loſe, being ſtripped of it by heavy taxes, and ſuch as had not, being ready to die of famine. One of theſe evils, from which his ſoldiers ſuffered abroad, where the *Engliſh* money would not paſs for more than its intrinſick value, the king took care to redreſs; ſending orders from *Normandie* for cutting off the right-hands and the teſticles of all the coiners of money throughout *England*. *Roger*, biſhop of *Saliſbury*, upon receipt of theſe orders, ſummoned them all to attend him at *Winchester*: and when he had got them together, calling them out one by one, executed his orders very punctually. Though this ſeems to have been done without any form of trial, they were ſo univerſally thought to deſerve their fate: and ſo great and extenſive were the miſchiefs of their falſe coining, that their puniſhment was very acceptable to the nation.

A. D. 1125.

Cardinal *de Crema* ſent *legate* into *England*.

LXVII. IN this ſituation of the king's affairs, *John de Crema*, a cardinal prieſt, came to him in *Normandie*; being ſent by Pope *Honorius* II (who had, at the latter end of the precedent year, ſucceeded *Calixtus* in the ſee of *Rome*) in the quality of his *legate a latere*, to viſit *England* and *Scotland*, and execute his legatine powers in both countries. Former Popes had made ſeveral attempts of this kind in order to bring the church of *England* into an entire ſubjection to their authority: but had hitherto been diſappointed in their meaſures. Thus in *A. D.* 1101, *Guy*[1], archbiſhop of *Vienne*, had been ſent over as legate of all *Britain*, to the amazement of all the world; it being a thing unheard of, that any body ſhould pretend to exerciſe a ſupreme eccleſiaſtical authority in this nation, beſides the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; who, at that time, was *Anſelm*, a prelate above all others devoted to the papacy: but he was obliged ſoon to return, without being received by any body as legate, or exerciſing any act of his legatine office. In *Auguſt*, *A. D.* 1116, *Anſelm*[2], abbot of *S. Sabas* at *Rome*, came to the king in *Normandie*, with a like legatine power to be exerciſed in *England*: but was not ſuffered to enter the kingdom. This was the ſame perſon, who the year before had brought the Pope's letters to the king and biſhops, complaining of the little reſpect there ſhewn him, of no appeals coming thence to *Rome*, and of the non-exerciſe of the *papal* juriſdiction in that realm by his legates; which he claimed a right of ſending into all countries to exerciſe his authority. Theſe complaints, with what had been done a little before in *France*, where cardinal *Cono*, in virtue of his legatine powers, had held councils, and ſuſpended the biſhops of *Normandie* for not attending at them, alarmed the prelates and nobility of *England* with ſuch apprehenſions, that they thought it proper to ſend over archbiſhop *Ralf*, whoſe authority was chiefly ſtruck at by theſe meaſures, to the king in *Normandie*, and from thence to *Rome*, to remonſtrate againſt thoſe innovations, and prevent the like encroachments on the rights and independency of the church of *England*. *Ralf* coming to *Rome*, when the Pope, driven thence by the emperor's forces, was retired to *Benevento*; and not being able to wait upon him in perſon, was forced to treat of the matter by his agents: and

[1] *Eadmer*, p. 58. [2] *Ib.* p. 116, 118.

Paſchal, in diſtreſs, thought it proper to ſpeak a ſmooth language; to promiſe redreſs in general terms; and to aſſure the king and *Engliſh* biſhops by his letters, that he would preſerve the primacy of the ſee of *Canterbury* entire and inviolate. Pope *Calixtus*[1] had afterwards, at *Giſors*, in the year 1119, promiſed *Henry*, that he would never offer to violate any of the rights and cuſtoms which his father had enjoyed either in *England* or *Normandie*, nor ſuffer any one to exerciſe a legatine authority in *England*; unleſs the king himſelf deſired it, for the deciding of ſome cauſe, which could not be terminated by the archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the other biſhops of the kingdom. *Calixtus* was at that time under difficulties, contending for his dignity[2] with the anti-pope *Gregory*; who had been ſet up in the time of his immediate predeceſſor *Gelaſius*, and was ſupported by the power of the emperor: but having, in the year 1121, taken his rival priſoner, and ſhut him up in a convent, he thought himſelf at liberty to exerciſe all his papal authority without any reſerve; and forgetting his ſolemn promiſe to *Henry*, ſent *Peter*, a monk of *Cluny*, but of the nobleſt family about *Rome*, with legatine powers over *France* and the *Britiſh* iſlands. This legate, coming into *England*, was brought to the king, without being ſuffered to be a burden to any church, or to lodge in any monaſtery by the way: and when he had given an account of the cauſe of his coming, *Henry* told him, "that he was going on an expedition into *Wales*, and had not time to "conſider a matter of ſuch weight, ſince the authority of his legation could not "take place without the conſent and confirmation of the prelates and nobility in a "great council of the nation; and beſides, he could not give up the ancient rights "and cuſtoms of *England*, which the Pope himſelf had allowed; one of the prin-"cipal whereof was, that the realm of *England* was free, and not ſubject to any "legatine authority and juriſdiction." *Peter*, ſatisfied with this anſwer, and pleaſed with the honourable reception and great preſents made him by the king, declared, he would not offer to derogate in the leaſt from his ancient dignity: and returned without exerciſing in this realm any act of his legatine authority. *Henry*, a *Roman* abbot[3], was afterwards, in the year 1123, ſent into *England* with the character of legate: but it was only for the collecting of *Peter-pence*; which our kings never oppoſed.

HENRY I. *A. D.* 1125.

THUS free from the legatine juriſdiction did *England* continue, till the year 1125; when the cardinal *de Crema*, waiting upon the king in *Normandie*, at a time when his apprehenſions with regard to the diſaffection of the people of that country, and the deſigns of his nephew *William*, were at the height, and his ſubjects in this kingdom were in a deplorable and complaining condition, got leave to paſs over into *England*. He was at his arrival well received by the archbiſhop at *Canterbury*: and being there on *Eaſter day*[4], though he was only in prieſt's orders, officiated at divine ſervice in the archbiſhop's place, ſat[5] in the higheſt ſeat, and wore the pontifical habit, to the great amazement and indignation of numbers of perſons; who ſaw with grief this inſult on the liberties of the church of *England*, and knew very well that from the firſt converſion of the *Engliſh* nation, the archbiſhops of *Canterbury* had always been deemed and acted as primates and patriarchs, and were never before ſubject to the juriſdiction of a *papal* legate. This cardinal had it in his commiſſion to enquire into the controverſy between the archbiſhop of *York*, and the *Scotch* prelates that refuſed to acknowledge his primacy: and making a progreſs into the north, as far as *Roxburgh*, had there a conference with *David* king of *Scotland* on the ſubject. Upon his return thence he preſided in a general ſynod of the prelates and clergy of the whole nation, called together[6] by the mandate of

[1] *Ib.* p. 125. [2] *Ib.* p. 137, 138. [3] *Chr. Sax.* [4] *Ib.* [5] *Gervaſ. Cant.* col. 1663.
[6] *Ib. Chr. Sax. Concil. M. Brit.* t. i. p. 408. *Sim. Dun.*

William,

Henry I. *A. D.* 1125.

William, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and held on *September* 8, at *London*: and to ſhew his ſuperiority over all the reſt of the aſſembly, ſat on a throne, raiſed to an uncommon height above the ſeats of the archbiſhops, biſhops (of which twenty were preſent) and all the temporal nobility that aſſiſted at the council. The moſt remarkable of the canons made in it, were levelled againſt the clergy [1] and monks receiving churches or tythes from laymen, without the conſent of the biſhop of the dioceſe; againſt ſons [2] ſucceeding their fathers in churches or prebends by an hereditary title; againſt [3] the ordaining of clergymen without a title, or by any biſhop but their proper dioceſan; againſt perſons [4] enjoying ſeveral dignities in the ſame church; and againſt the marriages of couſins to the ſeventh generation. There was ſtill another canon to provide for the celibacy of the clergy, on which the legate laid the greateſt ſtreſs; declaiming againſt their marriages with a deal of intemperate language, and ſaying, among other things, that "it was an iniquity of the blackeſt kind "for a man to conſecrate the body of our Saviour, when he had juſt parted from a ſtrumpet," the title he was pleaſed to give the wives of the clergy. But the legate's [5] being caught in bed with a common whore, the very night after he had made this harangue, and after he had conſecrated the euchariſt in the morning, threw ſuch a ſlur upon this canon, that thoſe to whom it belonged, ſeem to have been aſhamed of putting it in execution: and he himſelf was in ſo much confuſion on this occaſion, that he ſlunk away privately on the morrow, and the council broke up abruptly the third day of their ſitting.

This legation of cardinal *de Crema* was conſidered as ſo grievous an invaſion of the liberties of the *Engliſh* church, and ſuch an affront to the primatial authority of the ſee of *Canterbury*, that archbiſhop *William* went to *Rome* to remonſtrate againſt it, and prevent any thing of the like nature for the future. But this prelate ſeems to have had much leſs regard to the rights of the church, than to his own power; all that he did being to procure a bull, dated *January* 25, *A. D.* 1127, directed to the prelates, barons, and clergy of *England* [6], and conſtituting him the Pope's legate throughout the kingdom; a remedy full as bad as the diſeaſe, and a precedent fruitful in evil conſequences. It was an affirmance of the papal power to appoint legates here; the grant was perſonal to him, and conveyed nothing to his ſucceſſors: and though many of theſe afterwards obtained the like grants, the Popes, being got into poſſeſſion of their claim, gave, as they ſaw occaſion, ſuch legatine commiſſions to other *Engliſh* biſhops, and even to foreigners. Far from maintaining, it was betraying the rights of his own ſee, and a mean thing in *William* to accept ſuch a legation: his doing ſo raiſes no advantageous idea either of his underſtanding or probity. For whatever benefit might be thence hoped, was perſonal to himſelf; and if his ſucceſſors ordinarily enjoyed the like commiſſion, they made uſe of it to arrogate new and illegal powers to themſelves, to oppreſs the church, to encroach on the juriſdiction of other biſhops within their proper dioceſes, and to invade the rights of univerſities and eccleſiaſtical bodies: which ſuffer to this day, even when the papal power is aboliſhed, from corruptions introduced whilſt it was in force, and by many arbitrary acts of the primates of *Canterbury*, in whom the legatine and archiepiſcopal authorities were united; it being almoſt impracticable now to diſtinguiſh, in virtue of which of thoſe powers they acted in ſuch caſes as have ſerved ſince for precedents to juſtify their conduct in the like inſtances. However unhappy it proved to the church of *England*, *William* rejoiced in his new authority [7], and calling, in his legatine as well as archiepiſcopal capacity, a general council of all the prelates and clergy of *England* at *Weſtminſter Abbey*, took care to confirm in it moſt of the canons paſſed in that held by the cardinal *de Crema*; par-

A. D. 1127.

[1] *Can.* 4. [2] *Can.* 5. [3] *Can.* 8 and 10. [4] *Can.* 12 and 16. [5] *M. Paris. H. Hunt. Hoveden. M. Weſtm. Brompton. Knighton. Chron. Hemingford. Chron. Joh. Abbat. Petriburg.*
[6] *Concil. M. Brit.* t. i. p. 409. [7] *Ib.* p. 410.

ticularly

ticularly that againſt the marriage of the clergy. This however, though it had, amongſt the reſt, the ſanction of [1] the royal authority, doth not ſeem to have been better executed than the former: and though in another ſynod [2], two years after, he renewed the prohibition, it did not produce the effect propoſed, through the king's granting diſpenſations to ſuch as were deſirous to keep their wives. HENRY I. *A. D.* 1127.

LXVIII. HENRY's thoughts were at this time employed on the meaſures proper to be taken for oppoſing the attempts of his nephew *William*, who had ſurprized *Giſors*, and for ſecuring the poſſeſſion of all his dominions to his daughter *Maude*; who having buried her huſband the emperor, had come to him the year before into *Normandie*. At the latter end of that year, he brought her over with him into *England:* and in the beginning of this [3], cauſed all the prelates and barons of *England* to take a ſolemn oath (in caſe he ſhould leave no iſſue male) to put her on the throne after his deceaſe. Soon after this precaution, he had advice of *Charles* the *Good's* being aſſaſſinated in *Lent*, by *Bouchard de L'iſle*, before the altar of a church, where he was praying: and that the king of *France* had put *William*, ſon of duke *Robert*, in poſſeſſion of the county of *Flanders*, of which he was the true heir in the right of his grandmother. This gave *Henry* infinite diſquiet [4]; and being apprehenſive, that ſuch an acceſſion of ſtrength to the young prince would encourage the *Normans* to another revolt, he immediately ſent over his daughter *Maude*, with his natural ſon *Robert* earl of *Glouceſter*, and *Brian* ſon of count *Alan Fergant*, to defend the country. He went over himſelf on *Auguſt* 26 following [5], and thinking it neceſſary to ſecure *Fulk* count of *Anjou* in his intereſts, agreed to marry his daughter to *Fulk's* ſon *Geffrey*, ſurnamed *Martel*, a young prince of great merit, courage, and fortitude. The nuptials were ſolemnized on the [6] octaves of *Whitſonday* at *Roüen: Fulk* was preſent at the wedding; and returning after three weeks feaſting to *Angers*, reſigned his territories to *Geffrey*; and went into the holy land, to receive the crown of *Jeruſalem*. Empreſs *Maude* declared the king's ſucceſſor, and married to *Geffrey* of *Anjou*. *A. D.* 1128.

THIS marriage gave great offence to moſt of the *Norman* as well as *Engliſh* nobility; it being made, and the heireſs of the crown given to a foreigner, without conſulting any of them, beſides the two abovementioned: and this reſentment was ſo keen and general, that ſome writers aſcribe to it the facility of *Stephen's* uſurpation. The dangers, ariſing from this general diſcontent, more immediately affected *Normandie*, which the new count of *Flanders* was raiſing forces to invade; ſo that *Henry* thought his preſence abſolutely neceſſary in that country. During his ſtay there, *Hugh* [7] a knight templar, coming to him from the holy land, to ſollicite ſupplies of men and money, the king made him great preſents: and by his recommendation the knight raiſed vaſt ſums of money in *England*, and ſuch a number of forces, as had not been ſeen in any of theſe expeditions, ſince the time of the firſt general croiſade. But *Henry's* fears were ſoon after removed by the death of his nephew *William* [8]; who having beſieged *Aloſt*, and routed the forces of *Thierry Landgrave* of *Alſace*, as they advanced to relieve the place, received the ſame day, in a ſkirmiſh with a party of the garriſon, a thruſt with a lance which he catched at, under the ball of the thumb of his right hand, into the wriſt; and died [9] of the wound within five days, on *July* 27, in the abbey of *St. Bertin*, after having been ſixteen months in the poſſeſſion of *Flanders*. In him was extinct the legitimate iſſue of *Robert Curthoſe*; who was then in priſon at *Car-*

[1] *Flor. Wig. Contin.* p. 114. *H. Hunt. M. Paris. Chr. Sax. Hemingford.* [2] *Conc. M. Brit.* t. i. *Sax. W. Malmeſb.* [3] *Chr. Sax. W. Malmeſb. Hiſt. Novell.* [4] *Epiſt. H. Hunt. in Angl. Sacr.* 2. 699. *Chr. Mon. Major. Monaſt.* p. 13, 14, 19. 80. [5] *Sim. Dun.* [6] *Joan. Vita Galfredi Ducis Norm. Vit.* l. xii. p. 885. [7] *Chron. Sax.* [8] *Ord.* [9] *Gul. Gemet.* l. viii. c. 16.

Henry I. A. D. 1128.

diſſ, and having dreamed in [1] the night, that his ſon was wounded with a lance in the right arm, and had loſt it immediately, ſaid to thoſe about him in the morning, "Alas! my ſon is dead:" which ſurprizing them at firſt, becauſe there was not the leaſt rumour of ſuch an accident, they found ſoon after verified by the event. By the death of this prince, *Henry* got rid of all his fears and troubles, being now ſecure in the poſſeſſion of his dominions: for *Thierry* of *Alſace* ſucceeding to the county of *Flanders*, entered into a league with him, and married his ſon's widow; the king of *France* ceaſed to give him any further diſturbance; and the *Normans*, in deſpair of ſucceſs againſt him, began to reconcile themſelves to his government.

A. D. 1129. *Henry's* acts of grace in *Normandie* and *England*.

LXIX. The king however ſtaid the greateſt part of the next year in *Normandie*, to ſettle the country in peace, by meaſures, that claſhed with his natural diſpoſition, but were dictated by prudence and good politicks; extending his grace to all that ſought it and engaged to live obedient to him for the future, and even binding ſome of them to him by great favours and acts of beneficence. Thus he gained *William de Roumara*, giving him *Maude*, daughter of *Richard de Redvers*, earl of *Devon*, in marriage, and reſtoring him his poſſeſſions in *England*: and ſending for *Walleran* count of *Meulant* and *Hugh Fitz Gervaſe* from their priſons in that kingdom, gave them their liberty, and put them into poſſeſſion of their eſtates in *Normandie*. When the king returned to *England* at the latter end of *July*, *Walleran* went along with him; and they were ever after as great friends, as they had before been enemies.

It was probably about this time, that the king made the alteration in the revenue of his demeſne lands; which is mentioned in the *Dialogue of the Exchequer*, uſually aſcribed to *Gervaſe* of *Tilbury*. The tenants of theſe lands had been uſed from the conqueſt, inſtead of *Rents* and payments in money, to furniſh proviſions for the king's houſhold; the quantity, kinds, and nature whereof were ſettled at a conſtant rate or proportion, and the times regulated, when they were to be brought to court from every quarter of the kingdom. Theſe tenants being all liable to talliage, when the king's occaſions required it, were much impoveriſhed by the heavy taxes laid upon them to defray the expences of the wars of *Normandie:* and ſome bad years happening about this time, a grievous famine enſued, agriculture failed, and it was difficult for the country people to ſupply the houſhold with their uſual proportion of victuals. Hence, when the king went his progreſs, they ſeized all opportunities of meeting him; offering him their plough-ſhares, as things of no uſe to them; complaining of numberleſs hardſhips; particularly of being forced in many parts of the realm to come from their own dwellings to court with proviſions; which they could not furniſh in this manner without great inconveniences. The king hereupon appointed commiſſioners to go through the counties, whence theſe victuals and neceſſaries for the houſhold were ſupplied, and computing the value thereof in money, to fix a certain annual ſum in lieu thereof; which being received by the ſheriff of each county, was to be paid by weight into the exchequer. This compoſition ſeems to have been very advantageous to the tenants [2]; the rates of proviſion being then exceeding low, and as they roſe, the intrinſick value of money continually leſſening.

[1] *Ord. Vit.* p. 887.

[2] It is ſaid in the ſame place of the *Dialogue*, that a meaſure of wheat ſufficient to ſerve an hundred men with bread, was valued at a ſhilling; a fat ox five ſhillings, a wedder or ſheep four pence, and a ration for twenty horſes at four pence.

LXX. Henry, in the latter part of his reign, was at peace with all his neighbours: and though he paſſed about *Michaelmas A. D.* 1130 into [1] *Normandie*, it was not to quell or prevent any diſturbance in that country; but rather to meet *Innocent* II at *Chartres*, whom he had acknowledged for the true Pope, in oppoſition to his rival *Anacletus*, and to make a viſit to his daughter *Maude* the empreſs, of whom he was extremely fond, and who ſeems to have had a quarrel with her huſband. He ſtaid there till after *Midſummer* in the year following: and then bringing her over with him into *England*, called a great council of all the prelates [2] and nobility of his realm on *Sept.* 8, at *Northampton*; where they all either renewed or took an oath of fealty to his daughter; about whoſe ſucceſſion to his dominions, he was very ſolicitous. He was now ſixty three years of age, his conſtitution much hurt by the enormous debauches of his youth, and in deſpair of getting any more children: he ſeems to have made them take an oath to *Maude* in abſolute terms for maintaining her ſucceſſion, which moſt of them had taken before only on condition that he died without male iſſue. Her huſband *Geffrey*, called *Plantagenet* (from a ſprig of broom he wore in his bonnet) [3] was out of humour with *Henry*, becauſe he did not conſign to him the dutchy of *Normandie*, and refuſed flatly to do it before his death: and as if he miſliked this voyage of his wife's to *England*, demanded her back; a requeſt readily granted by the advice of the council, which the king conſulted on that occaſion.

Henry I.

Henry goes into *Normandie*; and dies there.

A. D. 1131.

Maude had lived four or five years with her huſband without having any child: but ſomewhat above a year after her return to him, ſhe was delivered of a ſon [4], named *Henry*, afterward king of *England*. Some [5] writers place the birth of this prince in *A. D.* 1132; but as they are not particular with regard to the month or the time of the year, I am more inclined to follow the accounts of *Ordericus Vitalis* and *Ralf de Diceto*, who ſay, he was born at *le Mans* in *March* 1133; herein agreeing with *Robert* of *Glouceſter*, who ſpeaks of his birth as happening a little before *Eaſter*; which *Henry* kept this year at *Oxford* with the greater joy and magnificence on that occaſion. It was [6] either in the court held at this feſtival, or in a general aſſembly of the prelates and nobility of this realm called for this purpoſe, that he cauſed them all to take a new oath of allegiance for preſerving the ſucceſſion of the crown, not only to his daughter, but to the heirs of her body. Impatient to ſee his daughter and grandſon, he ſet ſail for *Normandie* on the ſecond of *Auguſt* [7]; a total eclipſe of the ſun happening that day as he was ſleeping on ſhip-board. He then took a final leave of *England*; being too much delighted with *Maude's* bringing forth a ſecond ſon, named *Geffrey*, the next year, and a third called *William* the year following, to think without pain of returning thither [8], and his daughter oppoſing it with all her arts and influence. Some ravages and victories of the *Welſh* over his ſubjects put him at laſt upon attempting to paſs over into *England* with a body of archers; but the wind [9] being contrary, he eaſily laid aſide that deſign: and going to hunt in the foreſt of *Lyons* on *Nov.* 25, was taken ill the [10] next day after his ſport, by ſupping too plentifully on lampreys, a fiſh which never agreed with him, and yet he loved to exceſs, and died in the ſixty ſeventh year of his age at *St. Denis le Forment*, in the beginning of the night on *Sunday Dec.* 1, *A. D.* 1135.

A. D. 1133.

A. D. 1135.

[1] *Chr. Sax. W. Malmeſb.* [2] *Chr. Sax. Annal. Waverl.* [3] *Ord. Vit.* l. xiii. p. 900. [4] *Vit. Gauffred. Duc. Norman.* p. 80. [5] *M. Paris. M. Weſt. Hoveden*, p. 490. [6] *Ypod. Neuſtr.* p. 444. *Rad. de Diceto*, col. 505. [7] *Chr. Sax. Flor. Wig. Cont. Annal. Waverl.* [8] *Brompton*, col. 1020. *H. Hunt. Hoveden.* [9] *Ord. Vit.* p. 900. [10] *Ib. Annal. Abb. de Crokeſden. Bibl. Cotton. W. Malmeſb. Vita Gauffred. H. Hunt. Chron. J. Abb. de Petriburg.*

LXXI. Robert

HENRY I. A. D. 1135. His will, children, character, and laws.

ROBERT earl of *Glouceſter*, one of his natural ſons by *Neſta*, the beautiful daughter of *Rees ap Theodore*, prince of *South-wales*, *William de Warenne* earl of *Surrey*, *Robert* earl of *Surrey*, *Robert* earl of *Leiceſter*, *Rotrou* and *Walleran* counts of *Mortagne* and *Meulant* were preſent at his death, with ſeveral other noblemen and governors of places. When they aſked him [1], whom he would leave his ſucceſſor, he declared that he left all his territories, both in *England* and *Normandie*, to his daughter and her heirs, by lawful and perpetual ſucceſſions, and bequeathed nothing to her huſband, who had incenſed him by ſeveral inſults. It was in their preſence likewiſe, that he remitted all the forfeitures of the exiles who had adhered to his nephew, reſtoring them to their country and eſtates; that he ordered his ſon *Robert* to take ſixty thouſand pound out of his treaſure, then at *Falaiſe*, to be diſtributed among his ſervants and ſtipendiary ſoldiers for a reward of their ſervices; and directed his body to be interred in the abbey of *Reading*, which he had founded. His corpſe was removed the next day to *Roüen*; twenty thouſand people attending it, and the noblemen carrying of it on their ſhoulders by turns: the bowels, being there taken out, were buried in the priory of *Notre Dame du Pré*; and his corpſe being either embalmed, or ſalted in a butcherly manner, was carried to *Caen*, in order to be tranſported into *England*.

As to his perſon he [2] was of a middle ſtature, but rather taller than his brothers; broad cheſted and ſtrongly made; his hair of a dark brown, and thick; his eyes clear and ſerene: in his humour facetious, pleaſant in converſation, fluent in diſcourſe, affable in his behaviour. He had great natural parts, improved by ſuch an uncommon ſhare of learning that he was called *Beauclerc*; he was diſtinguiſhed by his penetration, foreſight, and judgment; being ſuperior to all the princes of his age in the art of politicks. His caution was ſo very great, that he never neglected ſmall matters, nor cared to undertake a war, unleſs it became abſolutely neceſſary, or he was ſure of ſucceſs; though when once engaged, he went through it with courage and ſpirit; ſignalizing his valour on occaſion, and being firm, perſevering and reſolute in all his enterprizes. He was impatient of injuries, keen in his reſentment, and immoderate in the puniſhment thereof; equally tenacious of hatred and friendſhip towards all perſons; too furious in one caſe, too bountiful in the other; depreſſing his enemies to the extremeſt miſery, and raiſing his friends, favourites, and followers, even to envy. He was temperate in his diet, rigid in the execution of juſtice, inexorable to offenders, diligent in finding out, and ſevere in taking vengeance on, robbers, falſe coiners, deceivers in weights and meaſures, and other criminals, whom he puniſhed with maiming, to deter others by the terrour of examples; though he changed this puniſhment at laſt into pecuniary mulcts to increaſe his revenue. He was [3] ſo unmeaſurably fond of hunting, that he multiplied his foreſts, though too numerous and oppreſſive in the times of his predeceſſors; and the killing of a deer was a crime equally capital with that of homicide. What chiefly in the eye of the world ſullied his ſpecious virtues was, his [4] inſatiable lewdneſs with all ſorts of women, his exceſſive cruelty, even to his neareſt relations, and his boundleſs avarice, which put him upon ſcraping together ſuch a maſs of treaſure, that notwithſtanding all his foreign wars, he died the richeſt prince in *Europe*. It was to defray the expences of thoſe wars, that the intolerable exactions, complained of by all our hiſtorians, were laid on the common people; as the heavy tax of three ſhillings an hyde (which raiſed, according

[1] *Ord. Vit.* p. 901. [2] *Malmeſb. Robert of Glouceſter.* [3] *W. Malmeſb. Gul. Newbrig.* l. i. c. 3.
[4] *Ep. H. Hunt. in Angl. Sacr.* 2. 699.

to Dr. *Brady's* computation [1], the value of eight hundred and twenty-four thouſand eight hundred and fifty pounds, as money runs at preſent) was for the marriage of his daughter to the emperor. *Danegeld*, at the rate of one ſhilling an hyde, ſeems to have been paid all his time; for though in a ſickneſs [2] which brought him to the point of death, in *A. D.* 1132, he made a vow to remit it for ſeven years, it doth not appear that this remiſſion took place: but as no mention is made of any extraordinary aids or ſcutages levied upon the military tenants, moſt of his wealth was probably raiſed by the forfeitures of offenders, and the fines he took of the married clergy. His birth in *England* did not take away that contempt and hatred which his *Norman* deſcent, acquaintance, and education inſpired into him againſt the *Engliſh*: and yet the quiet of his government there was not interrupted by a ſingle inſurrection; which was probably owing to the influence of the biſhops and abbots, whom he always took care to keep in his intereſt. Whether it was owing to his wiſdom or good fortune, he was generally ſucceſsful in his enterprizes: and the difficulties he met with in the courſe of his reign, ſerved only to diſplay his talents, and to raiſe his reputation both at home and abroad.

HENRY I. *A. D.* 1135.

HENRY had by his firſt wife [3] a ſon and a daughter, *viz. William*, unfortunately drowned in his life time, and *Maude* the empreſs; by his ſecond, with whom he lived fifteen years, and who, ſoon after his death, was re-married to *William Albiney*, the firſt earl of *Arundel*, he had no iſſue [4]: but his natural children by his concubines were very numerous. Among theſe were *Robert* earl of *Glouceſter* abovementioned; *Richard*, born of the widow of *Anſchil*, a nobleman near *Abingdon*; and *Reginald*, earl of *Cornwall*, whoſe mother was *Sibylle*, daughter of Sir *Robert Corbet*, of *Alceſter* in *Warwickſhire*. *William*, called *de Tracey* [5], from a town of that name in *Normandie*, given him by his father, was probably born of the ſame mother as *Reginald* [6], being in the *Red book of the Exchequer* ſtyled his brother: and died ſoon after his father. Another, named *Robert* [7], was born of *Edith* or *Eda* (daughter of *Forne*, a great baron in the north, and wedded afterwards to *Robert D'Oiley*, baron of *Hokenorton* in *Oxfordſhire*) and marrying *Maude Avenel* or *D'Avranches* [8], had by her a daughter, named alſo *Maude*, and married to *William de Courtenay*. The monk of *Bec*, that interpolated *William* of *Jumieges*, mentioning an illegitimate ſon of this prince, named *Gilbert*, ſays nothing of his mother: but it is well known, that *Henry*, from whom the family of the preſent earls of *Pembroke* is deſcended, was born of the *Welſh* princeſs *Neſta*. Among this king's illegitimate daughters, mention is made of *Maude*, counteſs of *Perche*, drowned near *Barfleur*; *Maude*, wife of *Conan le Gros*, count of *Bretagne*; *Juliana*, married to *Euſtace de Pacey*, natural ſon of *William de Breteuil*, ſon and heir of *William Fitz Oſbern* earl of *Hereford* [9]; *Euſtache*, wife of *William de Gouet*, a *Norman* baron; *Conſtance* [10], married to *Roſcelin*, viſcount of *Beaumont*; *Aline*, wife of *Matthew* [11], ſon of *Bouchard de Montmoroncy*; and *Elizabeth*, born of *Elizabeth* ſiſter to *Walleran* count of *Meulant* [12], and wife of *Alexander* king of *Scotland*. There are more illegitimate children aſcribed to *Henry*; particularly a daughter [13], married to *William de Chaumont*: but their names are not preſerved.

[1] *Hiſt. of England*, vol. ii. p. 270. *LL. H.* I. c. 15. [2] *Brompton*, col. 1019. [3] *Gul. Neubrig.* l. i. c. 3. [4] *Hiſt. Norm.* p. 1073. *Gemet.* l. viii. c. 29. *Ord. Vit.* p. 852, 854.

[5] *In Certif. De feod. mil. in Devonſhire.*

[6] *Sim. Dun. Contin. A. D.* 1142.

[7] There is ſtill preſerved a charter of this *Robert*, being a grant of the manor of *Porloch* to *Hugh de Raleigh*, and another of lands beyond the *Exe* to *Richard Floyer*, among the writings of the families of *Chicheſter* and *Floyer*; and in the tenth box in the dutchy office is a charter likewiſe of his wife *Maude* under her ſeal.

[8] *Dugdale's Baron*, t. i. p. 634. [9] *Menage Orig. Italian.* p. 506. [10] *Cart.* 1. *Joh.* pl. 1. n. 71. [11] *Hiſt. Montmor.* p. 95, 105, 106.

[12] *Dalrymple's Collect.* p. 371. [13] *Ord. Vit.* p. 856.

Henry I. A. D. 1135.

There is a code of laws, generally ſuppoſed to be eſtabliſhed by this king, and paſſing under his name[1]: but though they are inſerted in the *Red book of the Exchequer* (which in an *Inquiſition de Quo warranto*[2] in the name of *Edward* I, about the right of the prior of *S. Martin* in *Dover* to a moiety of the cuſtoms of the port, and to a third of the market, the grant whereof by *Henry* I had been carried off by the *French*, was referred to as a publick record) it is very certain that they were not enacted by his authority; nor were they obſerved in his time, as appears from the petition of the *Londoners* to the empreſs *Maude*[3], "that the laws of "*Edward the Confeſſor* might be obſerved, becauſe they were good, and not thoſe of "her father *Henry*, which were grievous and oppreſſive." The king indeed, in his charter beforementioned, paſſed immediately after his coronation (which is put at the head of this code, and takes up the two firſt chapters thereof) made a promiſe in general terms, that he would reſtore his ſubjects to the benefit of king *Edward's* law, as it was amended by the *Conqueror:* and authentick inſtruments of this charter, under the great ſeal, were lodged in the great abbeys of every county throughout the kingdom. But he had ſo little inclination to have the contents of the charter obſerved, that means were uſed to get the copies thereof out of their repoſitories, with ſo much diligence and ſucceſs, that *M. Paris* ſays in his *Leſſer hiſtory*, there were not, in his time, above three of them left, *viz.* thoſe in the archives of *Canterbury*, *York*, and *St. Albans*. The firſt of theſe was afterwards[4], in *A. D.* 1213, produced by *Stephen Langton*, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in a conference with ſome of the principal nobility of *England*, in order to animate them to recover and aſſert their ancient liberties. There is no doubt but abundance of the *Saxon* cuſtoms, and of their penal laws, were obſerved in the hundred and county courts, during the reign of this king, and even of his ſucceſſors, as long as thoſe courts enjoyed their ancient authority: and the code, being only a collection of thoſe laws and cuſtoms, as practiſed in the time of the *Confeſſor*, was probably drawn up by ſome lawyer, or other perſon, by way of comment on the general promiſe in *Henry's* charter for reſtoring the law of king *Edward*. [5] As to the time of its being drawn up, it appears plainly from *c.* 6. to have been compiled after the erection of the ſees of *Ely* and *Carliſle* (which laſt was founded but a year, or two at moſt, before *Henry's* death) and from the quotations[6] out of the papal *Decreta*, to have been made after the year 1151, when *Gratian*, a *Benedictine*[7] monk, compoſed his *Decretum* in the monaſtery of *S. Felix* at *Bologna*. Whoever was the compiler of this code of laws, it was inſerted in the *Red book*[8] before the *Dialogue about the Exchequer*, wrote by *Richard*, biſhop of *London* (high-treaſurer of *England* during the greateſt part of the reign of *Henry* II) as *Alexander*, archdeacon of *Salop*, an officer of that court in king *John's* time, atteſts in his *Treatiſe of ſcutages*[9]; which in the ſame book immediately follows the *Dialogue*. It is diſtinguiſhed into chapters, with the titles of each, written in red ink, and a very ancient hand, prefixed: and (were it not for one objection) may well enough be ſuppoſed to be drawn up under the title of *The laws of Henry* I, *ſon of the Conqueror*, in *A. D.* 1156; when *Henry* II[10] ordered the laws of his grandfather *Henry* to be obſerved inviolably throughout the kingdom. It behoved this prince, in the beginning of his reign, and after the horrible oppreſſions and diſturbances during the late uſurpation, to ingratiate himſelf with his people: he did ſo in other inſtances; and in this it cannot reaſonably be ſuppoſed that he ordered the laws, practiſed in his grandfather's days, to be obſerved, when the *Londoners* had made ſuch heavy complaints againſt them,

[1] *Lambard. Archaionom.* p. 175, & ſeq. [2] 8 *July*, 34 *Ed.* II. [3] *Flor. Wig. Contin. ann.* 1141. [4] *M. Paris*, p. 240. [5] *Hunt.* l. vii. *ad fin. Hoveden. ann.* 1134. [6] *LL. H.* I. c. 5. [7] *Baron. Annal.* t. xii. *ann.* 1151. [8] At fol. 16. [9] It begins fol. 47. [10] *Hoveden.* p. 491.

and his mother's refusal to repeal them and re-establish those of king *Edward*, was so highly, and with such mischief to her affairs, resented. What the nation, as well as the *Londoners*, desired, was the laws and usages of the *Confessor's* time; *Henry* I had promised in general, but had not taken care that they should be observed: it was therefore fit to specify them, and draw up in a body what of these were particularly to be observed; and the *Code* in question being very proper for that purpose, and known in *Hoveden's* time by the title of *The laws of Henry* I, might probably be compiled at that time, and on that occasion. This notion however is liable to one objection [1], taken from the direction given for appeals to the Pope, in case of a bishop's deviating from the faith, and continuing refractory; because such appeals [2] were not allowed by the laws, till after the absolution of *Henry* II, for the murder of *Thomas Becket*. It is evident from the long dispute between the bishops of *St. David's* and *Landaff*, and from several other instances, that appeals were frequently made to *Rome*, and connived at, before *A. D.* 1172, when they were first expressly permitted: but if, notwithstanding that connivance, the objection be still thought of weight, it must at least be allowed, that this collection of *Saxon* laws, or (as they are styled) of *Henry* I, was compiled before *A. D.* 1180; when *Ralf Glanvil*, the chief justiciary, drew up the *English* laws [3] that are preserved in *Hoveden*. This appears from the difference [4] of the law vacations mentioned in both collections; the laws of *Henry* I taking no notice of the *Saturday's* fast: which being a singular practice of the particular church of *Rome*, different at first from that of the whole Christian world besides, she was the more zealous, on the very account of its singularity, to introduce into the practice of other churches; and got it to be received in *England*, before *Glanvil* was made chief justiciary.

HENRY I. *A. D.* 1135.

[1] *LL. H.* I. c. 5. [2] See *Eadmer*, p. 39. lin. 35. lin. 3, and 30. *Hoveden. ann.* 1172. p. 530.
[3] *Hoveden. ann.* 1180. p. 600. [4] *Ib.* 601. *LL. H.* I. c. 62.

STEPHEN.

LXXII. HENRY I, ought naturally to have been succeeded by his daughter *Maude*, commonly called the *Empress*; according to the customs of the *Normans*, *Germans*, *Goths*, and all the *Northern* nations, as well as the *Britains*: among whom the next female in blood was called to the succession of the crown, when the male line of their monarchs became extinct. Her father imagined he had effectually secured it to her, by making the prelates, and the nobility, of all his dominions, swear over and over to maintain her in that succession: but we see on this occasion, what a frail security oaths are; and how little they are minded, when a breach of them appears to be for people's interests. It was one of *Henry's* frailties, to be unmeasurably kind to his favourites: and blindly following that passion, he had, contrary to the rules of good policy, raised his sister *Adela's* younger sons, *Stephen* and *Henry de Blois*, to such an height of power and dignity, as enabled them to defeat all his designs in favour of his daughter. He had procured for *Stephen* a very advantageous match with *Maude*, the onely child of *Eustace* count of *Boulogne*, by *Marie* of *Scotland*, sister to king *Henry's* first queen: and he had made *Henry* abbot of *Glastenbury*, and bishop of *Winchester*, both which dignities he now enjoyed.

STEPHEN. *Stephen* of *Blois* crowned.

Stephen. A. D. 1135.

joyed. *Stephen* was, in his wife's right, poſſeſſed not only of the county of *Boulogne*, but alſo of a vaſt eſtate in *England*; which had been given her anceſtors at the conqueſt, when *William* I, diſtributed the lands of the forfeiting *Engliſh* with a ſtrange profuſion among his fellow-adventurers. His uncle, thinking he could never do enough for a nephew he liked, had increaſed this eſtate by the grant of other conſiderable poſſeſſions in *England*, particularly of the honour of *Eye*, and all the great eſtate of *Robert Malet* [1]: and had given him likewiſe the county of *Mortain* or *Coutances* in *Normandie*. When the firſt ſolemn oath in favour of the empreſs *Maude's* ſucceſſion was taken by the prelates and nobility of *England*, he pretended to be ſo zealous for it, that *David*, king of *Scotland*, having ſworne the firſt of the laity, *Stephen* [2] contended eagerly with *Robert* earl of *Glouceſter*, who ſhould ſwear next after that king; alledging his being *Henry's* legitimate nephew was a dignity ſuperior to that of a natural ſon, and conſequently he ought to have the precedence. But oaths and gratitude are weak reſtraints to an ambitious mortal, who hath a crown in his view: *Stephen* thus owing all his great fortune to *Henry*, and bound by the moſt ſacred ties of religion to *Maude*, was unnatural enough to employ the power he derived from his benefactor to defeat his juſt deſigns, and to uſurp the dominions of his couſin-german, whoſe ſucceſſion he had ſworn to defend. He had ſeen, by the experience of the late king, how eaſy it was to ſupplant an abſent heir; little more being neceſſary than to gain the favour of the *Londoners* (in whoſe good graces he was already) and to get himſelf anointed: and being once inveſted with the royalty, a few ſmooth words and fine promiſes to gull the *Engliſh*, upon whom that ſort of coin eaſily paſſeth, would effectually ſecure his poſſeſſion.

He had been bred up in his uncle's court, and had formed an acquaintance with moſt of the nobility of *England*, by whom he was generally beloved for his good-nature and affability: this encouraged him to preſume upon their favour; and he hoped to obtain the conſent of the prelates, by the intereſt of his brother, the biſhop of *Winchеſter*. He had likewiſe the mob on his ſide [3]; having always courted the common people, and been uſed to converſe, paſs his time, and joke with thoſe of the loweſt rank: which had given him an air of popularity, at the ſame time that it leſſened his eſteem in the opinion of wiſer perſons; who thought it unbecoming his dignity. But the greateſt advantage he had, lay in the abſence of the empreſs *Maude* and her huſband; who were detained in *Anjou* by urgent affairs: and *Stephen* reſolved to improve the opportunity; following the plan which had been chalked out to him by his predeceſſor. When he received at *Boulogne* the news of *Henry's* death, he haſted immediately to *Witſand*, where he took ſhipping for *Dover*: but upon his landing there, none of the burghers would entertain him in their houſes, nor did he meet with a better reception at *Canterbury* [4]; the citizens apprized of the deſign of his coming, ſhutting the gates againſt him, and refuſing to admit him into the city. Theſe repulſes did not diſcourage him from advancing to *London* [5]; where he was honourably received and ſaluted as king by the citizens: and going thence to *Winchеſter*, accompanied by his brother, the biſhop of the place, got poſſeſſion of the late king's treaſure; which, at that prelate's inſtances, was delivered to him by *William de Pont-del-arche*, to whoſe cuſtody it had been intruſted. This amounting to an hundred thouſand pounds in money [6], beſides plate and jewels, was of great ſervice to him in gaining the nobility and ſoldiery: and his brother's perſuaſions having engaged *Roger*, the great biſhop of *Saliſbury*, in his intereſts, there was nothing wanting to his coronation, but the conſent of *William*, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; whoſe right it was to perform the ceremony.

[1] *Camden's Britan. in Suffolk.* [2] *W. Malmeſb.* [3] *Ib.* [4] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1340. [5] *H. Hunt.* [6] *W. Malmeſb.*

STEPHEN. A. D. 1135.

THERE was ſome difficulty in obtaining it, by reaſon of the oath, which the primate had taken to *Maude*: but *Hugh Bigot*, ſteward of the late king's houſhold, making oath before him[1], that *Henry*, upon ſome difference between him and his daughter, had on his death-bed diſinherited her, and made *Stephen* count of *Boulogne*, his heir, that objection was removed; through the credulity of the old prelate, who died ſoon after of a broken heart, when he came to know how he had been impoſed on by that impudent perjury. *Stephen* was crowned at *Weſtminſter* on *Sunday*[2], *December* 22; wore his crown afterwards on *Chriſtmas-day*, and did ſo again, with great ceremony, on St. *Stephen's day*; the archbiſhop always putting it on his head, with the reſpective rites[3] adapted to thoſe ſeveral occaſions, according to ancient cuſtom. Thus *William*, who had been the firſt in taking the oath of fidelity to the empreſs, was the firſt likewiſe that ſwore to *Stephen*, and did him homage: ſetting an unhappy example to the reſt of his order, and to the barons, who aſſiſted at the ſolemnity, to follow. Theſe indeed were but few; there being preſent, beſides the archbiſhop, only the biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Saliſbury*, not one abbot, and very few of the nobility; making the ſmalleſt appearance that ever was known at a coronation. Our hiſtorians obſerve of thoſe who were preſent, that every one of them had ſworn[4] before to *Maude*; that *William* died in leſs than a year, on *November* 26, *A. D.* 1136; that *Roger*, biſhop of *Saliſbury*, was ſtripped of his all, by the very uſurper he had raiſed to the throne, and died miſerably in priſon; and that all the reſt came to unhappy ends, or were remarkably puniſhed by the heavieſt calamities. It was looked upon as a bad omen, that the kiſs of peace, uſually given after the *Agnus Dei*[5], was forgot in the ſervice: and the event ſeemed to correſpond with this notion, there being, during this prince's reign, no peace enjoyed in any quarter of the kingdom. Other writers take notice[6] of the conſecrated wafer's diſappearing or being loſt, ſo that the new king did not receive the ſacrament, as uſual, at this ſolemnity: and among other ſad preſages of turbulent times, mention is made of ſuch terrible claps of thunder and lightning, as cauſed people to apprehend the world was going to be diſſolved; which happened on the day of *Stephen's* landing at *Dover*, in the midſt of winter, a ſeaſon of the year, when phœnomena of that nature are leaſt to be expected.

A. D. 1136.

His meaſures for the ſecurity of his throne.

LXXIII. AT the latter end of the *Chriſtmas* holidays, the corpſe of the late king was brought over from *Normandie*: and being attended by *Stephen*, and all the nobles[7] aſſembled in his court, at that feſtival, who carried it by turns on their ſhoulders, was buried, with great pomp, in the abbey of *Reading*; from whence the uſurper proceeded to *Oxford* to take meaſures for the ſecurity of his government. To gain the conſent of the nobility to his coronation, he had promiſed every thing required of him; and his brother, the biſhop of *Wincheſter*, had anſwered for his

[1] *W. Malmeſb. M. Paris. Rad. de Diceto.*

[2] *W. Malmeſb. Chron. Mailroſ. Gervaſ. Cant.* col. 1340. *Rudborne*, &c.

[3] In the ceremony of the feſtivals, the crown was put on the king's head in his bed-chamber, and he wore it in going to church (*Eadmer*, p. 137.) but in the firſt coronation, the crown was carried in proceſſion to church, and after ſeveral religious rites there, placed on the king's head. No oath was taken, nor unction uſed at the feſtival coronations, as there were in the primary coronation. Our hiſtorians generally agree, that *Stephen*, about the middle of his reign, diſcontinued this rite of coronation at the great feſtivals, which has occaſioned ſeveral later writers to miſtake the day, when this prince was crowned, and ſome likewiſe the year, *i. e.* ſuch as begin the year at *Chriſtmas day*, according to the *Saxon* computation. Such miſtakes of the year ariſe alſo from our kings being uſed formerly, not to compute the part of the year in which they ſucceeded their predeceſſors, nor thoſe in which they did not reign compleat; ſo though *Stephen* was crowned *A. D.* 1135, he does not call it the firſt of his reign, but the year following is ſo called.

[4] *Ib.* col. 1664. *Knighton*, col. 2384. *Joan. Major. Mon.* p. 83. [5] *Gervaſ. Cant.* col. 1340. *Chron. J. Abbat. Petriburg. Chron. Mailroſ. Joh. Hagulſtad.* [6] *Gervaſ.* col. 1664. *Rudborne. Walter Coventr. Brompton.* [7] *W. Malmeſb. Brompton.*

Stephen. A. D. 1166.

performance of what he promiſed: but as very few of them aſſiſted at that ſolemnity, and moſt of the reſt kept aloof from his court, not caring to violate their former oath to *Maude*, he thought it proper to make a publick declaration, and take a ſolemn oath, that he would keep his word in the points particularly mentioned, and conform to his ſtipulations in the general tenor of his conduct. This was done in a great council of the nobility convened at *Oxford*[1]; where he ſwore, "that "he would not retain vacant prelacies in his hands, but would fill them immediately "with perſons canonically elected, to whoſe election he would give his conſent with-"out delay; that he would not diſturb either clergy or laity in the enjoyment of "their woods, as the late king *Henry* had done, nor ſue any body either for hunting "and taking veniſon in his own woods, or for cutting them down and committing "waſte therein, which had been made uſe of as a pretence for fining and extorting "large ſums from gentlemen that had the reputation of being wealthy; and that "he would remit for ever the tax of *Danegeld*[2], which had been levied by his pre-"deceſſors every year ſince the conqueſt." Theſe particulars of his oath are mentioned by our old hiſtorians; who obſerve that he promiſed ſeveral other things in general; but was equally falſe to his particular and general ſtipulations; uſurpers ſeldom troubling themſelves about the performance of promiſes which they make, either of courſe in the ceremony of their coronation, or with political views in the difficulties of their affairs. *Stephen* was ready to grant to every body that aſked, to ſome, honours and earldoms, to others, lands; hoping to gain the hearts of thoſe who partook of his bounty, at the expence of the crown revenue: and gave a general licenſe to all his nobility and military tenants to fortify their houſes or caſtles on their eſtates[3]. This laſt privilege was not allowed to any perſon within the dominions of the kings of *England*, either on this ſide or beyond the ſea, without a particular licenſe: and he had ſoon reaſon to repent of the general liberty, which he now gave, purely out of an apprehenſion that *Maude* the empreſs was coming to land in *England*. To guard againſt her attempts, he employed the late king's treaſure to raiſe great numbers of *Breton* and *Flemiſh* ſoldiers; whom he took into his pay, and looked upon as the beſt ſecurity of his crown; not caring to truſt the *Engliſh*, who ſeemed ready enough to ſubmit to her government. Her uncle *David*, king of *Scotland*, had ſet up her title: and falling into the provinces of *Cumberland* and *Northumberland*, had taken *Carliſle*, *Wark*, *Alnewick*, and *Newcaſtle*, with all the fortreſſes[4] in thoſe parts, except *Bamburg*, and made the moſt conſiderable of the gentry in thoſe counties, and as far as *Durham*, ſwear allegiance to *Maude*, and give hoſtages for aſſurance of their fidelity. On advice of theſe proceedings, *Stephen* marched with an army into the north: and meeting *David* about *Durham*, they came on *Aſh-wedneſday*, *February* 5, to an agreement[5]; by which the latter reſtoring the places he had taken in *Northumberland*, was allowed to retain *Carliſle*, and what he poſſeſſed in *Cumberland*. As theſe conceded territories belonged to the crown of *England*, *David* ought naturally to have done homage for them to *Stephen*: but excuſing himſelf from that ſtep, on account of the oath he had taken to maintain his niece *Maude's* ſucceſſion, it was performed by his ſon *Henry*, to whom *Stephen* gave the county of *Hungtindon*, and promiſed not to diſpoſe of *Northumberland*, till after a ſolemn hearing of his claim to that county. This young prince was mightily careſſed by *Stephen*: and accompanying him to *London*, was ſo far got into his good graces, that in the feſtival of *Eaſter*, which he kept there with great magnificence, he made him ſit on his right-hand, to the great

[1] *Brompton*, col. 1024. *H. Hunt. Chron. Walter. Hemingford.* [2] *Brompton*, *Huntingdon*, and *Hemingford* ſay, this was rated at two ſhillings an hyde, though the laws of *Henry* I reſtrain it to one ſhilling an hyde. [3] *Brompton*, *ib. Knighton*, col. 2385. *Geſta Regis Steph.* [4] *Hiſt. Joh. Hagulſt.* [5] *Chron. Mailroſ.*

offence

offence [1] of *William* archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Ralf* earl of *Cheſter*, and others of the great nobility; who being more ancient in creation then *Henry*, reſented this precedence, treated him abuſive language, and left the court; which ſo incenſed *David*, that he would not ſuffer his ſon to return thither afterwards for fear of expoſing him to the like inſult. This probably happened at the coronation dinner, after *William* had performed the office of crowning *Maude*, conſort to *Stephen*, on *Eaſter-day*, *March* 22; it being cuſtomary for the archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to ſit on the king's right hand at dinner on that ſolemn occaſion.

Robert earl of *Glouceſter* and the biſhops ſwear to him.

LXXIV. EVERY thing was now quiet all over the kingdom, except on the marches, and in the parts of *Wales*, poſſeſſed by the *Engliſh* [2]; which were infeſted, as uſual, by incurſions of the *Welſh*; who ſlew *Richard Fitz Gilbert* on *April* 15, and did an infinite deal miſchief: but being unconcerned in the diſpute about the right of the crown, a peace ſoon put an end to their hoſtilities. In this ſituation of things, *Robert* earl of *Glouceſter*, the moſt conſiderable nobleman in the kingdom, the moſt attached of any to the intereſts of his ſiſter *Maude*, and on theſe accounts the moſt dreaded by *Stephen*, came over into *England*. He was a man of great natural parts, much improved by learning, which he cultivated in himſelf, and encouraged in others; being a munificent patron to all men of letters; kind to all, affable in his behaviour, great in his mind, and generous in all his actions, eminent for his valour, military ſkill, and other talents, in which he had no ſuperiour; and diſtinguiſhed by his temper, firmneſs, ſagacity, wiſdom, and experience in affairs, in which he had no equal; ſo that this aſſemblage of virtues and great qualities, joined to the probity of his heart, the innocence of his life, the regularity of his devotions, and the real ſenſe which he had of religion, rendered him at once the moſt deſerving and the moſt popular man in the nation. He had ſtaid in *Normandie* after the deceaſe of the late king, to execute his will in the diſtribution of ſixty thouſand pounds among his ſervants, officers, and ſoldiers in the garriſons of that country; to ſecure the greateſt part of the money in his treaſury at *Falaiſe* for the uſe of his daughter, to whom it of right belonged; to take what meaſures he could there for her ſervice, and to waite, till he ſaw what turn things took in *England*. Finding at length that all things were quiet here, and that the nobility in general had ſubmitted to *Stephen*, he delivered *Falaiſe* to *Theobald* count of *Blois*, and came over after *Eaſter* to try if he could not ſpirit them up to ſhake off his yoke, and return to the duty which they had ſworn to the empreſs. It was natural for *Stephen*, upon his arrival, to inſiſt that he ſhould ſwear fealty, and do him homage like the reſt of the nobility: and the better to conceal his views, he thought fit to comply in thoſe reſpects, but upon this expreſs condition, that "the other ſhould preſerve his dignity inviolate, "and make good his ſtipulations," a condition which, he well knew *Stephen* would ſoon violate, and thereby releaſe him of thoſe obligations. In this conditional way of taking the oath of fealty, his example was followed by moſt of the prelates, who had as yet ſtood out; till *Stephen* to reconcile his uſurpation to their conſciences, had upon a promiſe of obedience to the ſee of *Rome* [3], procured Pope *Innocent's* confirmation of his title and unjuſt poſſeſſion: and then they ſwore allegiance to him, *as long as he maintained the liberties of the church, and ſupported the vigour of her diſcipline.*

STEPHEN pleaſed with being thus recogniſed by the prelates, whoſe power, influence, and example, could not but have a great effect over the whole nation [4],

[1] *Joh. Hagulſtad.* [2] *Flor. Wig. Cont.* [3] *H. Hunt. Ric. Hagulſtad.* col. 313. [4] *Ib.* col. 314. *W. Malmeſb.*

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granted them a charter, dated at *Oxford*, in which "he confirmed the liberties of "the church; disclaimed all simoniacal promotions; put the persons and estates "of all the ecclesiasticks under the cognizance of the spiritual courts and juris- "dictions of the bishops; secured the free and undisturbed enjoyment of all the "possessions belonging to the church at the death of the *Conqueror*; promised, "either a restitution, or examination of the claims of the clergy, to such as had "been taken away before that event; confirmed what estates had been since "granted; allowed them to dispose of their effects by will; and, as he was deter- "mined to make no profit of the vacancies of prelacies, he engaged to commit "the care of their possessions and revenues to clergymen and persons of reputation, "till they were canonically filled. He reserved to himself all the forests belong- "ing to the crown before the accession of the late king; but gave up all the new "ones, which *Henry* had erected in such numbers as to be an intolerable grievance: "and promising in general to give his protection and to do justice to all, and to "abolish all unjust exactions and methods of oppressions," concludes his charter with an assurance, "that he would cause the good laws and customs in the hundred "and other courts to be duely observed." Among the witnesses to it are put the names of abundance of persons of the first nobility and the greatest power and dignity in the kingdom: whom *Malmesbury* did not think it worth while to mention, because they seemed invited to attest it, only to make *Stephen's* perjury more notorious; it being soon after violated in almost every article. For he seized the treasure of churches, and gave their possessions to laymen; he ejected the incumbents and sold them to others; he raised money by giving abbeys to unworthy persons; he put bishops in prison, and forced them to alienate their possessions. What he had promised the laity, as well as clergy, met with the same neglect; [1] for going the *Christmas* following to hunt at *Brampton* near *Huntingdon*, he held pleas about the forests of his nobility, and prosecuted them for their woods and hunting. What encouraged him to break his faith so soon, was probably his late success in quelling the insurrection of *Baldwin de Redvers* earl of *Devon*, who had fortified the castle of *Exeter*: but the place being, after three months siege, reduced by famine, and the *Isle of Wight*, which likewise belonged to this nobleman, submitting readily, he was forced to seek a refuge in *Normandie*, whither *Stephen's* affairs called him the year following.

A. D. 1137.

Affairs in *Normandie*.

LXXV. Upon the first news of king *Henry's* decease, *Geffrey* of *Anjou* and his wife *Maude* had entered that country with a body of forces: and were readily received in *Danfront*, *Hyesmes*, and *Argentan*, and made themselves masters of *Seez*, and other places, by the assistance of *William de Talevas*, count of *Ponthieu*[2]. Their further progress was obstructed, either by an insurrection in *Anjou*, which recalled *Geffrey*, or by the animosity reigning between the *Normans* and *Angevins*, the effect of the frequent wars between those people. Several of the nobility, not caring to fall under the dominion of an old enemy, met at *Neubourg*: and invited *Theobald* count of *Blois*, to take upon him the government. But hearing soon after, that his younger brother *Stephen* had been crowned in *England*, and thinking it inconvenient to have two masters, they all turned about to the latter; upon whom their *English* estates depended: and persuaded *Theobald* to return home; which he did with great indignation. It was perhaps to flatter his discontent, and to promote a disunion between *Stephen's* friends, that *Robert* earl of *Gloucester*, when he left the country, delivered *Falaise* to *Theobald*, who still had a great number of adherents: and *Stephen*, not caring to send over a governor with authority to suppress the

[1] *H. Hunt.* [2] *Ord. Vital.* p. 902. *Jo. Major. Mon. Vita Gauffredi*, p. 165. *H. Hunt.*

civil wars, which had broken out, in a ſtate of anarchy, between particular noble- STEPHEN.
men, the province was miſerably ravaged. *Walleran* count of *Meulant*, to whom A. D. 1137.
he had affianced his daughter, was at laſt employed to take care of his intereſts, and to appeaſe the quarrels of the nobility: but becoming engaged himſelf in one with *Roger de Tony* count of *Conches*, the evil grew worſe; and theſe private feuds, heightened by a diverſity of ſentiments and affections in reſpect of *Maude* and *Stephen*, reduced the country to a ſtate of deſolation. *Stephen*, finding there was no re-eſtabliſhing good order in *Normandie* without going [1] over himſelf, ſailed thither in the beginning of *Lent*, this year: and was followed, in a ſhort time, by *Robert* earl of *Glouceſter*; who having concerted meaſures with the nobility of *England*, whom he knew to be firm in *Maude's* intereſt, put to ſea on *Eaſter day*, and landing in *Normandie*, applied himſelf to form a like concert in that country. Though he did this with his uſual prudence, and knew men ſo well, that nothing of his meaſures tranſpired, he could not avoid ſuſpicion; *Stephen* being jealous of his great power, and thoſe about him fully perſuaded, that he was entirely in his ſiſter's intereſt. *William d'Ypres* was the chief favourite of *Stephen*, and the man to whoſe counſels this prince paid the greateſt deference: he had brought a ſtrong body of *Flemings* to his aſſiſtance and had been made earl of *Kent* for that ſervice; he was a foreigner, and wanting to make his fortune out of *Engliſh* forfeitures, gave his maſter an advice, which could not well proceed from an *Engliſhman*, to ſeize the perſon of a nobleman of the greateſt power and merit in the kingdom upon bare ſuſpicion. It was much eaſier in thoſe days to form ſuch a deſign than to execute it; ſome art was neceſſary to be uſed to get *Robert* into their power, and *William* had laid a ſcheme for that purpoſe: but the earl, having notice of it from one that was let into the ſecret, ſtood upon his guard, came no more to court; and the deſign againſt him being reſented by his friends, who were very numerous, *Stephen* found himſelf obliged to accommodate the affair. He ſwore before the archbiſhop of *Roüen*, that he bore no ill-will to *Robert*, and would make no attempt for the future on his perſon: but this outward reconciliation, upon which the earl put the beſt face he could, did not make him neglect the precautions neceſſary for his ſafety; well knowing the other's enmity, and feeling ſome effects of it in the defalcation of his poſſeſſions.

WHEN *Stephen* landed at *la Hogue* in *Normandie* [2], he was joined by his brother the count of *Blois*: and going together in *May* to viſit *Louis le Jeune*, king of *France*, they made a treaty with him; by which the latter agreed to give his ſiſter *Conſtance* of *France* in marriage [3] to *Euſtace* ſon of *Stephen*, with the inveſtiture of *Normandie*. The count of *Anjou* in the mean time had taken *Mortain*, *St. Hilaire*, and *Pont-Orſon*: and *Stephen* aſſembling all his forces, reſolved to attack him at *Argentan*; whither he had retired, after his attempt of ſurprizing *Caen* had miſcarried. The *Normans* in his army oppoſed this reſolution; being much diſcontented at the diſtinguiſhing favours ſhewed to the *Flemings*; which cauſed ſuch a rancour between the two nations, that neither would truſt the other in a day of action: and when they were advanced to *Liſieux*, it broke out into an open quarrel, upon a diſpute about the chief command, between *William d'Ypres* and *Renaud de St. Valery*. The *Boulonnois* and *Flemings* taking part with the former, and the *Normans* ſiding with the latter, the two corps came to an engagement; which on both ſides was carried on with great fury, and ended with great ſlaughter. *Stephen's* chief confidence was in his *Flemings* and other foreign troops; and whether he declared himſelf in their favour on this occaſion, the *Norman* nobility all left

[1] *Flor. Wig. Cont. W. Malmeſb.* [2] *Ord. Vit.* p. 909, 910. [3] This marriage, as the parties were very young, did not take effect till *Feb. A. D.* 1140. *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1315. *Flor. Wig. Cont.*

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him, without taking leave or giving him the leaſt notice; and carried off with them all their followers. *Stephen*, highly exaſperated, purſued the deſerters to *Ponteau-de-Mer*; where overtaking *Hugh de Gournay*, and young *William de Warrenne*, he tried in vain to gain them by careſſes and menaces. Full of ſuſpicions, and not knowing whom to truſt, he was forced to purchaſe a truce for two years with *Geffrey Plantagenet* count of *Anjou*, by an annuity of five thouſand marks; and to ſettle another of two thouſand on his elder brother *Theobald* of *Blois*, in compenſation for his pretenſions to the dutchy. The civil wars between the nobility ſtill continued to infeſt the country: and *Stephen*, leaving *William de Roumara* with the viſcount *Roger* to take care to appeaſe them, returned in *December* to *England*, with *Walleran* count of *Meulant*, and *Robert* earl of *Leiceſter*; the earl of *Glouceſter* ſtaying behind, at full liberty to take his meaſures for the ſervice of *Maude* the empreſs.

Troubles in *England*.

LXXVI. Stephen was called back thither by the advices he received of great diſturbances breaking out in various parts of the kingdom, which he was in no good condition to ſuppreſs; having already ſquandered away all the money that he found in his predeceſſor's treaſury. The general licenſe he had given for the erecting of caſtles, had proved a ſource of infinite miſchief to the nation[1]; the country people had been put to inſupportable hardſhips and almoſt killed in building them, in every part of the realm, and were daily haraſſed by the garriſons put into them as ſoon as the fortifications were finiſhed. Parties of ſoldiers ſallying thence day and night, ſeized all perſons, men and women, that were thought to have money: and to force them to diſcover it, thruſt them into damp and naſty dungeons among toads and ſnakes, hung ſome up by the feet, ſtifling them ſo with ſmoke, and others by the thumbs or head, and then burning their feet; ſqueezing and breaking their limbs in thruſting them into narrow coffers, ſtrewed with ſharp ſtones, and uſing various kinds of torture, too tedious and ſhocking to be particularly mentioned. It is on this occaſion that we firſt find notice taken of men being loaded with gives on their hands and feet, and chains about their necks, ſo that they could neither ſit, lye, nor ſleep, and yet were forced to bear all the weight of their fetters: a barbarous and illegal practiſe, which ſerved for a precedent to that of inhuman goalers in more modern times; who, under pretence of keeping priſoners ſafe, but really to extort unreaſonable ſums from them, make uſe of the like arts of cruelty, and, what is ſtill more ſtrange, do it with impunity, in a nation that prides itſelf in its freedom. Contributions were raiſed in all parts; gelds laid upon towns; and when the wretched inhabitants had nothing more to give, the towns themſelves were fired; churches burnt; the poſſeſſions of the clergy, monks, and prelates ravaged; the country people, finding no protection, deſerted the villages; and lands being left untilled, all kinds of proviſion became exceſſive dear; the poor periſhed by want; ſome, formerly rich, begged from door to door; others fled the kingdom. Many thouſands died of famine; and though more miſchief was never done by Pagans, nor did any country ever ſuffer greater calamities, or of more various kinds, ſo that it is impoſſible to recount them all: yet the *Saxon chronicle* obſerves, that they laſted all the time of this uſurpation, every day, during *Stephen's* government, being worſe than the former. His favourite mercenaries, the *Flemings*, *Bretons*, and other foreigners, that he had taken into his pay, and entruſted with the guard of the kingdom, inſtead of preventing or redreſſing theſe grievances, increaſed them by their oppreſſions; being all profligate

[1] *Chron. Sax. an.* 1137.

raſcals,

rascals, used from their first handling of armes to continual robberies and plunder, and continuing the same practises in this country.

A. D. 1137.

It is no wonder that a nation, labouring under such heavy calamities, should grow desperate; and that people should be [1] ripe for insurrections in all places, when restrained by no principle of duty or conscience, to an usurped government. A plot was formed for killing all the foreigners on a certain day, driving the *Normans* out of the kingdom, and putting *David*, king of *Scotland*, the next lineal heir of the *Saxon* race of kings, upon the throne of *England:* but *Nigel*, bishop of *Ely*, discovering it, acquainted the prelates and nobility therewith; and *Stephen* hastened his return out of *Normandie*, to prevent its execution. Several of the conspirators were taken, convicted, and put to death by hanging, or in some other manner; many, conscious of their guilt, fled away before they were accused: the more powerful stood on their defence, and treated with the *Scots* and *Welsh* for assistance on occasion. The sons [2] of *Robert Beauchamp* had fortified the castle of *Bedford*; upon hearing that *Stephen* had given *Simon Beauchamp's* daughter, with her father's honour, to *Hugh le Poer*; being afraid of losing what they claimed as their inheritance. This was enough to make them suspected of the conspiracy; and before the *Christmas* holidays were expired, *Stephen* invested the place, contrary to his brother, the bishop of *Wincheſter's*, advice: but having lain before it five weeks, without making any progress in the siege, he was forced to have recourse to the bishop's mediation; who soon made a treaty with the besieged, and the place was yielded.

A. D. 1138.

LXXVII. DAVID, king of *Scotland*, claiming the county of *Northumberland* as the right of his son *Henry* [3], had invaded it the year before: but *Thurstin*, archbishop of *York*, going to *Roxburg*, prevailed with him to make a truce, till *Stephen's* return from *Normandie*; when the *Scotch* embassadors were absolutely refused a grant of that country [4]. This occasioned another invasion in the beginning of this year, which *Stephen* marched with his forces in *Lent* to oppose: and advanced to *Roxburg*, in the neighbourhood of which place the *Scotch* army lay strongly encamped. It was equally dangerous to besiege the town, or attack the enemy in that situation: and some discovery being made of treachery among his followers, *Stephen* thought fit to retire, without making any attempt. Upon his retreat, the *Scots*, after *Easter*, wasted *Northumberland*, and took *Norham*; sending out various parties to over-run the country: and at the latter end of summer, all their forces joining together, advanced as far as *Baggamoor*, about two miles from *North-Allerton* in *Yorkshire* [5]. There *William* earl of *Albemarle*, *Walter Espec*, *Roger Mowbray*, *Robert de Bruce*, *Bernard de Baliol*, *Walter de Gant*, and most of the barons of the north, meeting them with an *English* army on *August* 22, a bloody battle ensued; called the *Battle of the standard*, from a large chariot upon wheels, in which was set an high pole, like the mast of a ship, on the top whereof stood a cross, and under it hung a banner. The *English*, drawn up in one body about this standard, with the most experienced of their troops, some dismounted cavalry armed with lances, and intermixed with archers in the front, expected the attack of the enemy: who holding a council of war about the manner of beginning the engagement, disagreed in their sentiments. The king and most of the nobility were of opinion, to begin it with the archers and well armed part of their forces, who were an equal match to the *English:* but the *Galloway* people, descended of the ancient

The *Scots* invade *England*.

[1] *Ord. Vital.* p. 912. [2] *Ib.* p. 915. [3] *Maude*, *Henry's* mother, was daughter and heir to *Waltheof*, hereditary earl of *Northumberland*. See *Dugdale's Baronage*, vol. i. p. 58, 61. [4] *J. Hagulstad.* [5] *Ric. Hagulstad. De gestis Stephan. Ailred. Rieval. De bello standardii.*

Britains,

Stephen. A. D. 1138.

Britains, and like them, fighting without any defenſive armour, and with ſlight weapons of offence, fit only for the ſudden incurſion of parties, claimed it as their right to make the firſt onſet; not doubting but their natural courage would ſupply the defect of armour. Others thought it dangerous to begin an engagement on ſuch unequal terms; it not being likely, that unarmed men ſhould be able to cope with others well armed; and in caſe of their being put to flight, they might throw diſorder, or at leaſt terror, into the reſt of the army. The *Galloway* men however inſiſted on their right of being in the van: yet king *David* did not care to gratify them; till the diſpute occaſioning ſome high words between the earl of *Stratherne* and *Alan de Percy*, being afraid of the ill conſequences of a quarrel, he haſtily gave orders for the *Galloway* men to form the firſt battalia, and begin the engagement. The ſecond was commanded by his ſon, a beautiful, gallant, amiable, and deſerving prince, who had under him a good body of knights and archers, with the *Cumbrian* and *Tweedale* militia: and was aſſiſted by *Euſtace Fitz John*, a great *Engliſh* nobleman, lord of *Alnewick* and *Malton*, much eſteemed by the late king *Henry*, and conſulted by him in all matters of moment, on account of his excellent judgment and conſummate wiſdom; but who attending the court as uſual, had been there arreſted by *Stephen*, contrary to law, and detained priſoner till he ſurrended *Bamburg* and other caſtles which *Henry* had committed to his charge; and in reſentment of this uſage, had joined the enemy. The third body was compoſed of the *Scotch* Highlanders, and the forces of *Lothian* and *Murray*; the king himſelf being at their head with a party of *Engliſh* and *Norman* knights for the guard of his perſon.

The *Galloway* corps, making, according to their cuſtom, three huzzas, began the charge with ſuch fury, that the *Engliſh* lancers at firſt gave ground: but being ſuſtained by the firmneſs of the reſt of their body, and deriving great advantages from their armour in a cloſe engagement, whilſt the enemy, continually galled by the archers, could ſcarce ſee where to direct their blows; the *Galloway* men, having loſt their two commanders *Ulgrick*, and *Donald*, were broke, and fled in great confuſion. The prince of *Scotland*, piercing through the part of the *Engliſh* army which was oppoſed to him, and paſſing beyond the ſtandard, fell upon a party of cavalry poſted behind the main body, with the horſes of the diſmounted cavalry: and drove them before him the ſpace of two furlongs, ſuppoſing that he was followed by the reſt of his forces. The *Engliſh*, terrified with the impetuoſity of the prince's attack, were on the point of quitting the field, when they were ſtopped by the ſtratagem of an artful experienced warrior: who cutting off the head of a man that was ſlain, held it up on high with his lance, crying out, it was the head of the king of *Scotland*; and brought them on again to renew the battle with greater vigour than before. The *Scots*, diſcouraged by the flight of the *Galloway* men, and by the rumour of their king's death, made little reſiſtance in any part, flying on all ſides: ſo that few were left about *David*, who had hitherto fought on foot; but was now forced, by his guard of knights, to mount on horſeback, and retreat; which he did in good order. Thoſe that fled, ſeeing the royal banner, on which a dragon was painted, waving in the air, concluded immediately, that the king was not dead: and rallying, joined his *corps* in ſuch numbers, as to render it terrible to the purſuers. Some of theſe being taken, the reſt kept at a diſtance: and ſuffered him to retire unmoleſted to *Carliſle*; where he was two days in great pain for his ſon, of whom he could hear no tidings. The prince finding himſelf with a few of his followers in the midſt of the *Engliſh* troops, made them throw away their marks of diſtinction: and mixing with the enemy, as if a part of their *corps*, found means at laſt to get from them; and paſſing through bye-ways, and many hardſhips, got at laſt to *Carliſle*, the third day after his father's arrival.

The *Scots* did not loſe any great number of men in this battle: but ſome thouſands of thoſe that fled diperſedly were ſlain in the different counties, through which they endeavoured to make their way to *Scotland*. *Stephen* was much elated at the news of this victory: and to reward *William* earl of *Albemarle*, who ſeems to have commanded in chief, and *Robert de Ferrers*, who had brought a good body of men to his aſſiſtance, created the one [1] earl of *Yorkſhire* [2], and the other earl of *Derby*. STEPHEN. A. D. 1138.

THIS defeat did not hinder the king of *Scotland* from beſieging the caſtle of *Werk*: but finding it too well defended to be taken by force, he turned the ſiege into a blockade, and reduced it at laſt by famine [3]. Nor could he be prevailed upon by the preſſing inſtances of the *Pope's* legate (who came to him at *Carliſle* four days before *Michaelmas*) to make a peace with *Stephen*; all that he would conſent to, being a milder way of making war, and a ſuſpenſion of all other hoſtilities, except the ſiege of *Werk*, till *Martinmas*. This legate was *Albericus*, biſhop of *Oſtia*, being ſent by Pope *Innocent* II, to exerciſe the papal juriſdiction here, in the time of an uſurper; who had courted him to ſupply the defects of his title, and was too much diſtreſſed in his affairs, to venture upon oppoſing his proceedings in any inſtance. *Henry* biſhop of *Wincheſter*, had, upon the death of *William* archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, obtained a grant of the legateſhip of *England*: but the condition of the times was ſo favourable to the Pope's views, that he thought it proper to ſend a legate extraordinary, ſtyled *à latere*, to viſit all the cathedrals and monaſteries in the kingdom. This general viſitation, the firſt of its kind in *England*, was carried on without any oppoſition [4], after *Alberic's* legatine powers had been approved by *Stephen* and the nobility: who made at firſt ſome difficulty in the matter; the one miſliking them, becauſe they cauſed a ſuſpenſion [5] of his brother *Henry's* legation for a time, the other deeming them derogatory of the freedom and independency of the church of *England*. The legate afterwards ſummoned [6], and held on the third *Sunday* in *Advent*, a ſynod of the prelates and clergy of the kingdom in *Weſtminſter Abbey*; "wherein ſeveral canons were made againſt "lay-inveſtitures, or patronages of eccleſiaſtical benefices; againſt ſons ſucceeding "their fathers in livings [7]; againſt the marriage of the clergy; againſt their taking "up arms in war; againſt their impriſonment, or other inſults offered to their per-"ſons, and the ſeizure of their poſſeſſions; and againſt the erecting of churches or "oratories on any one's eſtate, without a licenſe from the biſhop of the dioceſe." At the concluſion of this ſynod, a delegation of the monks of *Canterbury* choſe on *Saturday*, *Chriſtmas-eve*, for archbiſhop of that ſee, which had been vacant a little more than two years, *Theobald*, abbot of *Bec*: who being approved by *Stephen*, and accepted by the biſhops, was conſecrated by *Alberic* about *January* 6, in the year following, and accompanied him to *Rome* in order to get his pall [8], with the biſhops of *Rocheſter*, *Worceſter*, and *Exeter*, and four abbots deputed by all the prelates of *England*, to aſſiſt at a papal ſynod to be there held about *Mid-lent*. A. D. 1139.

WHAT the legate could not effect by the moſt earneſt intreaties with *David*, king of *Scotland*, was brought about after his departure, by the addreſs and management of that prince's niece *Maude*, wife to *Stephen* [9]: who made a peace with that king, on *April* 9, at *Durham*, upon the ceſſion of all the county of *Northumberland* to prince *Henry*, except *Newcaſtle* and *Bamburg*, the value whereof was to be

[1] *Joh. Hagulſtad*, col. 262. [2] I have ſeen a deed of this *William*, granting to the hoſpital of *S. Peter* at *York*, a toft in *Heydon*, and a mark a year; in which he aſſumes the ſtyle of earl of *Yorkſhire*, and directs his high ſheriff of *Yorkſhire* to pay the ſaid mark annually. He is alſo ſo ſtyled by *Joh. Hagulſtad*, col. 268, & ſeq. [3] *Ric. Hagulſtad*, col. 323, 326. [4] *Gervaſ. Cant.* col. 1344. [5] *J. Hagulſt.* col. 265. [6] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1346. *Ric. Hagulſtad*, col. 327. [7] This was generally done by a father's reſigning a living to his ſon, reſerving a penſion out of the profits to himſelf. See *Rymer's Fœdera*, t. i. *an.* 1144. [8] *Ib.* col. 329. [9] *Joh. Hagulſtad*, col. 265.

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made good to him by lands in the ſouth of *England*. In conſequence of this treaty, all the barons of that county became vaſſals, and did homage to the prince [1] of *Scotland*, ſaving the fealty they had ſworn to *Stephen*: and hoſtages being given for its performance, *Henry* attended *Maude* to *Nottingham*; where they met her huſband, who had been taken up, during all the northern tranſactions above-related, in oppoſing various inſurrections which had been made the year before in different parts of the kingdom.

Inſurrections there, and the biſhops of *Sarum* and *Lincoln* arreſted.

LXXVIII. Stephen was very profuſe [2] in his grants of honours and caſtles; and had created ſeveral earls, giving them eſtates out of the crown lands: but the more laviſh he was in granting, the more greedy were people in aſking; and if refuſed, they preſently fortified their caſtles, and plundered the neighbourhood. He was in a manner governed by *William de Ypres*, and heaped ſuch extraordinary favours on him, and other foreigners that came over with him, that it gave a general diſtaſte to the *Engliſh* nobility: who looking upon themſelves as deſpiſed, and being free in expreſſing their diſcontent, afforded an occaſion to ſuch as had *Stephen's* ear, to infuſe into a mind naturally jealous and credulous, ſuſpicions of their fidelity; which once entertained, were ſoon followed by a too haſty ſeizure of many of their perſons and eſtates. This made others ſtand upon their defence [3]: *Geffrey de Talebot* held the caſtle of *Hereford*; *William de Mohun* maintained himſelf in that of *Dunſtar*; *Ralf Louvel* in *Caſtle-Cary*, *Robert*, ſon of *Alured de Lincoln*, in *Wareham*, *Gualchelm* in *Okeham*, *William Fitz John* in *Harpetre*, *Paynel* in *Ludlow*, *William Fitz Alan* in *Shrewſbury*, and others in different places. *Robert* earl of *Glouceſter* held the caſtles of *Dover*, *Ledes*, and *Briſtol* by the gift of the late king: and being violently ſuſpected by *Stephen*, it was reſolved to reduce thoſe caſtles; the firſt of which was ſurrendered by *Walchelin* the governor, and the ſecond was alſo taken; but all attempts on the laſt proved fruitleſs. *Gilbert Strongbow*, ſecond ſon of *Gilbert* earl of *Clare*, being inſtrumental in perſuading *Walchelin* to ſubmit, was created earl of *Pembroke*; *Robert de Ferrers* earl of *Derby*, gained his nephew *Gualchelm*; *Talebot* was driven out of *Hereford*; *Shrewſbury*, after holding out a month, was taken by ſtorm, and *Arnulf de Heſdin*, governor of the caſtle, with ninety-three of the garriſon, were either hanged or put to death in ſome other manner. This ſucceſs terrified others into a ſubmiſſion; but *Paynel* ſtill holding out *Ludlow*, *Stephen*, attended by the prince of *Scotland*, marched from *Nottingham* to reduce it: [4] and though he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, had an opportunity of ſhewing his perſonal valour in the reſcue of that prince; who being drawn from his horſe by an engive, with an iron hook at the end, let down from the walls of the caſtle, had like to have been taken priſoner. From thence, having erected two forts to block up the place, he went to *Oxford* [5]: where he took a ſtep that ruined all his intereſt with the clergy, and rendering him infinitely odious to the nation, deſtroyed all the benefit he might elſe have derived from all his ſucceſſes.

A. D. 1139.

Stephen was exceeding active, always employed [6] in expeditions, and continually marching from one caſtle to another, to reduce his adverſaries; which he was glad to do at any rate, and frequently made terms with them that coſt him dear: but there was no end of ſuch fortreſſes, and he now felt ſufficiently the ill conſequences of the general licenſe, he had given all his barons and freeholders, for erecting caſtles in their manors. Some prelates had made uſe of this licenſe, particularly *Roger* biſhop of *Saliſbury*; who had fortified *Old Sarum*, and built the caſtles of *Sherburn*, *Malmeſbury*, and the *Deviſes*; and his nephew *Alexander*

[1] *Ric. Hagulſt.* col. 330. [2] *W. Malmeſb. Novel.* [3] *H. Hunt. Ord. Vital.* p. 917.
[4] *H. Hunt. Hoveden.* [5] *Flor. Wig. Contin. Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1345. [6] *Malmeſb. Novel.*

biſhop

bishop of *Lincoln*, who had erected those of *Newark* and *Sleford*[1], with a strength and magnificence that raised the envy of the courtiers. *Robert* earl of *Glouceſter* had lately, upon the attack of his castles, sent messengers out of *Normandie* to defy *Stephen*: charging him with a breach of faith to himself, and with perjury to *Maude* the empress, whose right to the crown he had invaded; and renouncing his fealty and homage to him, because he had unlawfully usurped the kingdom. It was natural to expect, that this open defiance, dictated by the rules of honour received in those days, would be followed by an attempt upon the kingdom: and it being currently reported that *Maude* and *Robert* were coming over, *Stephen*'s favourites represented to him, that the two prelates had fortified their castles, with a design of delivering them into the hands of his enemies, and persuaded him to seize their persons. *Roger* had been raised, by the favour of king *Henry*, from a poor cure in *Normandie*, to the see of *Sarum*, and to the highest dignities in *England*; which he had governed during the greatest part of that king's reign, and was entrusted with the guardianship thereof, at the time of his decease. He had amassed an immense wealth, and by the power he had in his hands, had contributed more than any man to the placing of *Stephen* on the throne; a service which perhaps might have engaged his friendship and confidence, could a perjured traytor deserve any. But there being no reason for this usurper to expect he would be more faithful to him, than he had been to his old master and benefactor's family, he had, by a fate common to all employed under the late king, been first treated with neglect, and soon after came to be suspected. He was at his castle of *Malmesbury*, with his nephews, *Alexander* of *Lincoln* and *Nigel* bishop of *Ely*, when he was sent for to court, under pretence of being consulted about some important affairs: and as he could not imagine, how a prince under the management of his favourites should be either allowed to ask, or willing to follow, his advice, his heart[2] misgave him, when he received the message, and he presently suspected it, as designed to cover some ill design. He went however to *Oxford*, but accompanied by his two nephews, and attended by a great number of followers: who becoming engaged in a quarrel with the retinue of *Alan*, count of *Dinan* in *Bretagne*, about lodgings, a knight was killed and several persons wounded in the conflict. This fray raised (as *Ordericus*[3] says) designedly by *Walleran*, count of *Meulant*, his brother *Robert*, and count *Alan*, served for a pretext to take the bishops of *Sarum* and *Lincoln* into custody, till they delivered up their castles: but *Nigel*, who lodged without the town, made his escape to the *Deviſes*. *William d'Ypres* was sent immediately with an army to besiege the place; but it being too strong to be easily taken, *Roger* was brought before it, and threatned with being famished to death, if the castle was not delivered; which produced the desired effect; the bishop of *Ely* surrendering it upon condition of having his liberty. There was found in it to the value of forty thousand marks of *Roger's* treasure, which *Stephen* seized to his own use; a supply, which in his distress for want of money, was very seasonable, and gave him as much pleasure, as being master of the bishop's castles.

Stephen. A. D. 1139.

This affair made a great noise, and caused heavy complaints of the violation of ecclesiastical privileges, which *Henry*, bishop of *Winchester*, the Pope's legate, thought himself particularly obliged to vindicate: and convening a council on *Aug.* 30, at *Winchester*[4], summoned his brother *Stephen*, to attend it, and answer for his conduct in seizing the two bishops, whose offences, if guilty of any, he affirmed were cognizable, not in the king's court, but by an ecclesiastical synod.

[1] *Brompton, H. Hunt.* [2] *Malmesb. Novel.* [3] P. 919, 920. *Gest. Regis Steph.* 944, 945.
[4] *W. Malmesb. H. Hunt.*

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Henry in his ſpeech to the council, at which archbiſhop *Theobald* and moſt of the biſhops were preſent, ſet out the fact in the moſt odious colours: and deſiring them to conſult what was was fit to be done, proteſted that neither the loſs of his brother's friendſhip, nor that of his own head, ſhould deter him from putting their ſentence in execution. *Stephen* ſent ſome earls, with *Aubrey de Ver*, an artful ſpeaker, and well verſed in law affairs, to plead his cauſe, and to "accuſe the "biſhop of *Saliſbury*, not only of the ſedition raiſed at *Oxford* by his retinue in "confidence of their maſter's power, but alſo of ſome points of diſreſpect in his "own behaviour; of appearing rarely at court; of ſecretly favouring the enemies of "the government, and of intending, if reports might be credited, to declare for the "*Empreſs* upon her landing. It was urged further, that he was ſeized not as a "biſhop, but as the king's ſervant, who had tranſacted his buſineſs, and received "a ſalary for it; that his caſtles were not taken by force, but freely rendered, to "eſcape the penalties, which the tumult raiſed by his ſervants in court, had me-"rited, and that the ſums of money found in his caſtles, had been, in the time "of the late king, diverted from the exchequer, and were therefore either juſtly "confiſcated, or received as a compoſition for *Roger's* offences." The biſhop of *Lincoln* had nothing laid to his charge, beſides an old grudge againſt count *Alan*; which ſerved to make him deemed the author of the late tumult and breach of peace, committed by his followers. The biſhop of *Saliſbury* replied, that he had never been the king's ſervant, nor received his wages: and demanding juſtice, declared, that if he was denied it there, he would ſeek it in an higher court. The legate inſiſted, that till the biſhops were proved guilty of the crimes laid to their charge, they ought, according to the practiſe in ſecular courts, to be reſtored to their poſſeſſions: but after a debate, the affair was adjourned to the next day, upon *Stephen's* requeſt. *Hugh*, archbiſhop of *Roüen*, then undertook his cauſe: and maintaining that eccleſiaſticks were not allowed by the canons to have caſtles, required that the biſhops ſhould prove their right to them by the canons, before they were reſtored to them; and if they had a right, yet the keeping of them ſhould be left to the king, in times of danger and ſuſpicion. *Aubrey de Ver* inſinuating to them the miſchiefs they might ſuffer from *Stephen's* reſentment, in caſe they appealed to *Rome*, and that he would not ſubmit to a canonical cenſure, the council broke up the third day, *Sept.* 1. without proceeding to a ſentence, not daring to excommunicate a crowned head without the Pope's knowledge, and having reaſon to apprehend ſome danger of their lives, if they carried matters to ſuch an extremity. The legate however, with the prelates, uſed the ſtrongeſt inſtances to engage *Stephen* to reſtore the biſhops poſſeſſions; repreſenting the ill conſequences of a breach between the civil and eccleſiaſtical powers, and how fatal it would be to his intereſts: but he was deaf to all remonſtrances and ſtill detained the caſtles.

LXXIX. The reſtoring of the biſhops caſtles was probably to have been attended by a reſtitution of the effects of *Roger*; who, unable to bear adverſity, died on the 4th of *December* following, of grief and vexation for his loſſes; and *Stephen* was in too much diſtreſs for money to ſubmit to that condition. It is otherwiſe inconceivable how his counſellors, bad and corrupt as they were, could put him upon perſiſting in a ſtep, which all the writers of the age exclaim againſt, as the moſt unpolitick he could have taken; which invading the privileges of the clergy, loſt him the hearts of the powerfulleſt body of men in the kingdom, and was, at the ſame time, too arbitrary to pleaſe the laity. The evil conſequences thereof already appeared in a great degree: and were felt ſoon after in a much greater; when *Maude* the empreſs, and *Robert* earl of *Glouceſter* landed, on *Sept.* 30, at *Arundel* in *Suſſex*.

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The truce with *Geffrey Plantagenet* count of *Anjou*, expired this year, after being violated in ſeveral inſtances: and *Geffrey* falling upon the *Coſtentin*, had reduced a great part of it under his obedience. *Robert* being maſter of *Caen* and *Bayeux*, delivered them up to that prince; who ſoon after took *Liſieux*, and was continually making a progreſs in ſubjecting a country, which had no army to defend it, and was left by *Stephen* in a kind of anarchy without a governor. To facilitate *Geffrey's* conqueſts, it was reſolved that *Maude* and *Robert* ſhould make a diverſion in *England*; where their friends expected them, and waited only their arrival for making a general inſurrection. To prepare their way, they [1] ſent before them *Baldwin de Redvers*; who landing at *Wareham*, was received into *Corfe-caſtle*; where *Stephen*, quitting the ſiege of *Dunſtar-caſtle*, ſoon after beſieged him: but finding the place impregnable, and hearing that *Maude* was ready to make a deſcent nearer *London*, drew off his forces, in order to take meaſures for intercepting her paſſage by ſea, and to reduce ſome places which lay [2] in her way from the coaſt to *Glouceſterſhire*; where her friends were moſt united, and had the greateſt body of their forces. He was at the ſiege of *Marlborough*, when advice was brought him, that *Maude* and *Robert* were received into *Arundel-caſtle* by *Adelais*, relict of the late king, but ſince his death married to *William de Albiney* earl of *Suſſex*: and immediately raiſing it, marched to attack them before they were joined by the diſaffected *Engliſh*; hoping to put an end at once to all his troubles by getting the two *Chieftains* into his power. When he drew near *Arundel* he found that they had brought over only an hundred and forty knights; and [3] that the earl of *Glouceſter*, with twelve of theſe and their attendants, had gone from thence; and being met on the road by *Brian Fitz Comte*, lord of *Wallingford*, had got ſafe to *Briſtol*. The queen *Dowager* had invited her daughter-in-law over by ſeveral ſpecial meſſengers [4]: but terrified at the approach of *Stephen's* army, and the danger of loſing her eſtate and dignity in *England*, ſent him excuſes for her reception of his enemies; proteſting that ſhe had entertained them, not with any ill deſign againſt him, or in conſequence of any invitation on her part, but only as her near relations and old acquaintance in the way of hoſpitality; which he could not reaſonably expect that ſhe ſhould violate. The ſtrength [5] of the caſtle, not to be taken without a long ſiege, during which *Robert* earl of *Glouceſter* might raiſe a powerful army and reduce a great part of the kingdom, engaged *Stephen*, agreeable to his brother *Henry's* advice, to accept theſe excuſes; and to give *Maude* leave to join her brother, that he might carry on the war againſt them both at once in the ſame quarter. The biſhop of *Wincheſter* and *Walleran* count of *Meulant*, conveyed her to *Calne* in *Wiltſhire*; and the latter ſtaying there, the biſhop conducted her to the place ſhe was to be received by her brother *Robert*. She went from thence to *Briſtol*: and to be in a different place from her brother, removed on *Oct.* 15, to the caſtle of *Glouceſter*; where ſhe was honourably ſubſiſted for two years at the expence, and found a ſafe retreat under the protection, of *Milo*, to whom *Robert* had committed the cuſtody of it in the life of the late king *Henry*.

STEPHEN. *A. D.* 1139.

Milo was the ſon of *Walter* conſtable of *England*, or in the ſtile of that age, *Captain of the Guard* [6], or the conſtable of the king's houſhold; and had ſucceeded his father in that dignity: which, though he was deprived of it for ſome time by *Stephen*, continued by hereditary deſcent in his family. He was one of the few men of honour and virtue which thoſe times afforded in *England*: eminent for his prudence, wiſdom, military ſkill, and valour; and powerful by his alliances, reputation, and large poſſeſſions in the ſhires of *Glouceſter*, *Hereford*, and *Brecknock* [7].

[1] *Geſta Regis Steph.* p. 946. [2] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1349. [3] *W. Malmeſb.* [4] *Flor. Wig. Cont.* [5] *H. Hunt.* [6] *Dugd. Baronage*, t. i. p. 537. [7] *Ex magno Regiſtro in Offic. Ducat. Lancaſtr.*

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This laſt honour he enjoyed in the right of his wife *Sibyll*, eldeſt daughter of *Bernard de Neumarché*, whom the late king, of whoſe council he was one of the chief members, had given him in marriage. He had lately diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a very generous and gallant action in the relief of a diſtreſſed lady, the earl of *Cheſter's* ſiſter; whoſe huſband *Richard Fitz Gilbert*, lord of *Cardiganſhire*, having been ſurprized and ſlain in an incurſion made by the *Welſh*, upon the death of the late king, ſhe [1] was forced to ſhut herſelf up in one of his caſtles, for immediate ſafety, but under all the extremities of terror and anguiſh; beſieged and furiouſly attacked by a barbarous enemy, from whom ſhe had too much reaſon to dread all that luſt or revenge could dictate; deſtitute of neceſſaries either for her defence or ſubſiſtence, and without any proſpect or reaſonable hopes of ſuccour. In this deſperate condition, *Milo*, prompted by his natural magnanimity, and a generous compaſſion for the diſtreſſed, reſolved to attempt her relief: and marching by unfrequented ways, through woods and over mountains, under the greateſt difficulties, and with the extremeſt danger to himſelf and his party, got at laſt to the caſtle; took the lady and all her retinue under his eſcorte, and after incredible fatigues, with admirable conduct and glory equal to the ſucceſs, brought them off in ſafety. He was couſin-german to *Brian Fitz Comte*; who in right of his wife *Maude*, ſole daughter and heir of *Robert d'Oily*, given him in marriage by the late king, enjoyed the whole honour of *Wallingford*: and was alſo in his own right lord of *Overwent*, and the honour of *Abergaveny* in *Monmouthſhire*. *Robert* earl of *Glouceſter* was lord of all *Glamorganſhire*, and theſe three great noblemen poſſeſſed of thoſe counties in *South-wales* and of all the marches thereof, full of hardy, brave, and experienced ſoldiers, found no difficulty in raiſing a body of ten thouſand men in thoſe countries to ſupport the cauſe of the empreſs.

Stephen, in hopes of ſuppreſſing his enemies before they had aſſembled their forces, inveſted *Wallingford* [2]: but finding it too ſtrong to be taken without lying longer before it than was convenient for his affairs, contented himſelf with blocking up the place by two forts, which he built againſt it to curb the garriſon. From thence, taking in his way the caſtles of *Cerne* and *Malmeſbury*, he marched to *Troubridge*, and lay before it ſome time, battering it with military engines: but with ſmall hopes of taking it, by reaſon of the brave defence made by *Humphrey de Bohun*. In the mean while *Milo*, marching with a party from *Glouceſter*, took by ſtorm the two forts lately erected before [3] *Wallingford*, making moſt of the garriſon priſoners: and returning thence, reduced all the caſtles that had not yet ſubmitted to *Maude* in *Herefordſhire*. A party of the earl of *Glouceſter's* troops plundered and ſet fire to *Worceſter*; in revenge whereof *Walleran* count of *Meulant*, to whom *Stephen*, upon the promotion of *William Beauchamp* to the office of conſtable of *England* in *Milo's* ſtead, had lately granted the earldom of *Worceſter*, gathered a body of forces, and falling upon *Sudeley*, plundered the country adjoining. The length, fatigues, and fruitleſſneſs of the ſiege of *Troubridge*, making many of the barons quit the army, *Stephen* raiſed it: and leaving a ſtrong garriſon in the *Deviſes* to oppoſe the enemies excurſions, retired to *London* to recruit his forces. Every part of the kingdom [4] was now haraſſed by the lords of caſtles, who played the tyrant in the neighbourhood of their fortreſſes; every one pretending to coin money and to exerciſe the rights of majeſty. *Robert* did all that was poſſible to prevent ſuch exceſſes in thoſe that ſided with *Maude*, and ſucceeded in a great degree: but nothing could reſtrain the *Flemings* and *Bretons* in the pay of *Stephen*. This prince did not want vigour, but he ruined all his affairs by the little regard he

[1] *Geſt. Reg. Steph.* p. 930. [2] *Geſt. Reg. Steph.* p. 947, 948. [3] *Malmeſb. H. Hunt. Flor. Wig. Cont.* [4] *W. Malmeſb.*

ſhewed

ſhewed to juſtice, and the ſhifts which, however ruinous they were to the kingdom, and diſadvantageous they proved to himſelf in their conſequences, he had recourſe to in his diſtreſſes. He had, by his prodigality in a time of quiet, left himſelf ſo bare of money, that he had not wherewithal to defray his expences: and there being no means of levying a regular tax in a ſeaſon of general tumults, he tried to ſupply his wants by two wretched expedients; by diminiſhing the weight of the coin from what it was in his predeceſſor's reign, which encouraging others in the like practice, the money became ſo horribly adulterated, that out of ten or more ſhillings, ſcarce twelve pence would be taken; and by making churches, abbeys, every thing ſacred, as well as civil, venal. The difficulties he met with in reducing caſtles, held out againſt him by his enemies, put him upon arbitrary ways of getting into his hands thoſe of others, whom, giving a looſe to his jealous nature, he was pleaſed to ſuſpect of diſaffection. Poſſeſſed by this imagination, he cauſed ſeveral perſons to be arreſted [1], and forced them to deliver up their fortreſſes, with whatever elſe he thought fit to demand: being aſſiſted in this odious meaſure by his brother, the biſhop of *Wincheſter* [2]; who adding to violence a breach of hoſpitality, ſeized ſome of the nobility, whom he had invited to dinner, and detained them till they had given up their caſtles. STEPHEN. A. D. 1139.

THESE proceedings naturally made every body afraid of coming to court, and of truſting themſelves to *Stephen's* power [3]: hence the uſual aſſemblies of the prelates and nobility at the feaſts of *Chriſtmas* and *Eaſter* came to be left off; and when this prince kept his *Whitſontide* in the tower of *London*, he had no body with him but the biſhop of *Seez*; diſtaſte or fear hindering all others from coming. After *Stephen* had paſſed the *Chriſtmas* holidays at *Saliſbury* thus unattended [4], he went to *Reading:* and marched thence with a body of forces to the *Iſle of Ely*; to wreak his ſpleen againſt biſhop *Nigel*, whoſe onely crime was his being nephew to *Roger*, late biſhop of *Sarum*, and to ſeize his caſtle; which that prelate quitted upon his approach, and fled to *Robert* earl of *Glouceſter* for protection. From thence he paſſed to *Worceſter*; and whilſt the earl of this place, in a ſudden excurſion, burnt *Robert's* fine ſeat, and all the houſes within a mile of *Tewkſbury*, he marched with a numerous army to attack *Hereford:* but not meeting the ſucceſs he expected, retired inglorious to *Oxford* and *Wincheſter*. The earl of *Glouceſter* [5], in the mean time, left no means uneſſayed to engage all the nobility in the intereſts of *Maude:* and many whom he could not perſuade to join with him openly, he yet prevailed upon to be quiet. It was with a view to advance her cauſe, that he procured a match for his brother *Reginald* (called in *Normandie*, where he had done her great ſervices, *Renaud de Dunſtanville*) with the daughter of *William Fitz Richard*, a nobleman very powerful in *Cornwall*; who delivering up the king's caſtles with the county to his ſon-in-law, *Reginald* was thereupon created earl of *Cornwall* by the empreſs [6]. *Stephen* flew thither immediately: and having recoved ſome of the caſtles, and left count *Alan* with a body of men to defend them, returned with ſo much expedition, that he prevented earl *Robert's* deſign of intercepting him in his paſſage. The miſerable condition of the kingdom, divided between two parties, but more generally inclined to *Maude*, made the more moderate of each wiſh for an accommodation: and *Henry*, biſhop of *Wincheſter*, thought it agreeable to his legatine character to propoſe a treaty. This was managed in *Maude's* [7] behalf, by her brother *Robert* and others, and on *Stephen's* by his queen, the legate, and *Theobald* archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. The commiſſioners met near *Bath*, and had ſeveral conferences, in which the empreſs appeared much inclined to peace, and A. D. 1140.

[1] *Ib. Hunt.* [2] *M. Paris.* [3] *Hoveden*, p. 485. *Policratic.* l. vi. c. 18. *W. Malmeſb.*
[4] *Flor. Wig. Cont.* [5] *W. Malmeſb.* [6] *Geſt. Reg. Steph.* p. 949. [7] *W. Malmeſb.*

ready

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ready to refer all her concerns to the award of the prelates: but *Stephen*, governed by his favourites, who had an utter averſion to peace, abſolutely rejecting that arbitration, the treaty ended without any effect. The legate, in hopes of getting over all difficulties by the authority or interpoſition of the king of *France*, *Theobald* count of *Blois*, *Stephen's* elder brother, and ſome foreign prelates of the greateſt character, went, at the latter end of *September*, over into *France*, to conſult them about proper meaſures for compoſing the differences in *England*. He returned at the end of *November*, bringing with him ſuch propoſitions for peace, as found a ready aſſent from the empreſs: but *Stephen*, delaying his anſwer from day to day, and at laſt abſolutely rejecting them, the legate, in deſpair of ſucceſs, kept himſelf quiet, without uſing any further endeavours for an accommodation.

Stephen taken priſoner at the battle of *Lincoln*.

LXXX. The war had in the mean time been carried on in the uſual manner, by the attacks and ſuprizes of caſtles, in which that of the *Deviſes* had ran various fates, though it remained at laſt in *Stephen's* power: but the earl of *Glouceſter* had made a conſiderable progreſs in the middle of the kingdom; having taken *Nottingham*, and engaged his ſon-in-law *Ralf de Gernons* earl of *Cheſter*, to act in favour of the empreſs. This earl's father *Ralf*, called ſometimes *de Bourg-Achard*, and at others, *de Meſchines* [1], had obtained from *William the Conqueror* a grant of *Carliſle*, and the county of *Cumberland*, being ſtyled indifferently earl of thoſe two places: his ſon claimed the lands and honours annexed to the earldom; but was denied his ſuit by *Stephen*, who had, in the neceſſity of his affairs, granted them to the king or prince of *Scotland*. *William de Roumara* [2], half brother to the earl of *Cheſter*, claimed the earldom of *Lincoln*, as part of the inheritance of their common mother *Lucia*, ſiſter to *Edwin* and *Morcar*, and had been put by the late king in poſſeſſion of a great part of her lands: but he ſeems to have been denied the reſt by *Stephen*, becauſe it was by an act of hoſtility, and in the way of a ſurprize, that he now made himſelf maſter of the caſtle of *Lincoln*, the head of the honour or earldom; which he claimed, and is mentioned by writers [3], as enjoying the title. The two brothers were equally concerned in that ſurprize, and were with both their wives in the caſtle; when the citizens, favouring *Stephen*, ſent him word that they were there unprovided, ſecure, and apprehenſive of no danger; that it was an eaſy matter to take them, and they would aſſiſt him in the enterprize. *Stephen*, upon this advice, making an haſty march from *London*, inveſted the caſtle on *Chriſtmas-day*: and the citizens riſing in his behalf, ſeized ſeventeen men at arms that chanced to be in the city at the time of this ſudden appearing before the place, and made them priſoners. The caſtle was ſure to be reduced, at leaſt by famine, without an army ſufficient to raiſe the ſiege: and the younger brother's liberty being neceſſary for that purpoſe, *Ralf* broke in the night through the enemies guards; and getting to *Cheſter*, levied a body of forces among his own vaſſals and the *Welſh*, whom he invited to his aſſiſtance. Not thinking himſelf ſtrong enough to venture a battle with *Stephen*, or elſe willing to make the relief of his brother and their wives ſure, he applied to his father-in-law *Robert* earl of *Glouceſter*, whom he had diſobliged by his neutrality, for ſuccours; promiſing in that caſe all future fidelity to the empreſs [4]. *Robert*, ſeizing the occaſion of embarking ſo potent a nobleman in his ſiſter's cauſe, put himſelf immediately at the head of the troops he had on foot, and of others which he levied in haſte: and joining *Ralf*, they marched together towards *Lincoln*. *Stephen* had lain before the caſtle ſix weeks; when on *February* 2, being *Sexageſima Sunday*, upon the approach of the enemy, he drew out his forces to give them bat-

[1] *Dugdale's Baron.* t. i. p. 36, 37. [2] *Ib.* p. 346. [3] *Ord. Vital.* p. 921. [4] *W. Malmeſb.*

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tle [1]; though the old ſoldiers in his army adviſed him to decline it; becauſe his men were not fit for an engagement: but conſidering the enemies troops as fatigued by a long march in the depth of winter, and his own being much ſuperior to their's in number, he perſiſted in his reſolution. *Robert* came determined to fight, in hopes of putting an end to the miſeries of his country by a deciſive action, and depending as well upon the juſtice of his cauſe, as upon the bravery of his men; whoſe onely hopes of ſafety lay in their ſwords, having no place of retreat in the neighbourhood. To make them ſtill more deſperate, by depriving them of all hopes of ſafety by flight, he paſſed a brook and moraſs ſcarce practicable, in order to attack *Stephen*; who, beſides the breaking of the taper he offered according to cuſtom, and the fall of the pix, which, with the conſecrated wafer in it, hung over the altar at maſs, had a worſe omen of the fate of the day, in *Alan* earl of *Richmond's* publickly renouncing his cauſe, refuſing to fight, and marching off with his followers, before the battle began.

Stephen [2], reſolving to fight on foot, put himſelf at the head of his main body, conſiſting of infantry, and placed his horſe in two wings: one compoſed chiefly of *Flemings*, under the command of *William de Ypres*, and the earl of *York* and *Albemarle*; the other of *Bretons* and *Engliſh*, headed by count *Alan* of *Dinan*, *Walleran de Meulant*, *Hugh Bigot* earl of *Norfolk*, *Simon de Senlis* and *William de Warenne* earls of *Northampton* and *Surrey*. The diſpoſition of the other army was made by *Robert* earl of *Glouceſter*, much in the ſame manner; taking his own poſt at the head of his main body of foot, and diſtributing his horſe into two wings; one conſiſting of thoſe who had been deprived of their honours and eſtates by *Stephen*, and were animated to the combat by their own perſonal injuries; the other under *Ralf* earl of *Cheſter*, being compoſed of his own followers. This nobleman had brought with him a body [3] of *Welſh*, brave in their perſons, but too ſlightly armed for a pitched battle; for which reaſon *Robert* made them form a body apart, on the outſide of *Ralf's* wing; probably with the ſame deſign, which the late general *Dillon* had, at the battle of *Cremona*, *A. D.* 1706, in a like diſpoſition of a *corps* of *Huſſars*; who coming in after the armies were drawn up, received orders from him to keep themſelves apart, and to fall upon the enemies flank, as ſoon as the engagement began; which they executing accordingly, were the chief cauſe of the great victory which he there gained over the *Germans*, taking the preſent king of *Sweden* and ſeventeen thouſand foot priſoners. Whether *William de Ypres*, an old experienced ſoldier, was apprehenſive of any ſuch attack on his flank by the *Welſh*, he choſe to charge them in the firſt place, and eaſily put them to flight: but his own men, being put into diſorder by the ſhock, and attacked in that condition, were as eaſily broke by the earl of *Cheſter*; and he giving the day for loſt, fled for the ſafety of his life, without attempting to rally his followers. The young earls in *Stephen's* other wing, being fond of juſting, and ſkilled in ſuch exerciſes of armes, were for uſing their lances in that manner, by way of prelude to the action: but being placed againſt the *corps* of diſinherited *Engliſh*, theſe, fired by their wrongs, and not caring to trifle away the time in an unſeaſonable amuſement, advanced ſword in hand to cloſe fight, and broke them in a moment. The two wings being thus put to flight, *Stephen* was ſurrounded on all ſides by the enemies cavalry, as well as infantry: and though he behaved himſelf with the utmoſt bravery, the body he commanded being charged in various places, was broke, and himſelf taken priſoner by the earl of *Glouceſter* [4]. *Baldwin Fitz Gilbert*, *Richard Fitz Urſe*, *Gilbert de Gand*, and *William de Clerfeith* were taken with him; the laſt of which made

[1] *J. Hagulſtad*, col. 269. *Gul. Neubrig.* l. i. c. 8. [2] *H. Hunt.* *Hoveden.* [3] *Vita Gauffredi, D. Norm.* p. 117. [4] *J. Hagulſt.* p. 269.

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his eſcape ſoon after to the caſtle of *Tikehill*. *Stephen* himſelf was conducted to *Briſtol*, and kept in ſafe but honourable cuſtody for a time; till complaints being made of *Robert's* allowing him too much liberty, he was cloſer confined, and, as ſome ſay, put in fetters, after *Maude* [1] had been driven from *London*.

Conſequences thereof.

LXXXI. The loſs on *Stephen's* ſide [2] in this battle was very inconſiderable; there being ſcarce above an hundred of his men ſlain in it: but the conſequences thereof, or rather of his captivity, were very fatal to his party. *Geffrey Plantagenet*, as ſoon as he heard the news, fell with an army of *Angevins* into *Normandie*, and reduced all the *Coſtentin* and *Auranchin*; *Rotrou* and *Walleran*, counts of *Mortagne* and *Meulant*, following fortune, made their ſubmiſſion to him: and *Robert Marmion* delivered up the ſtrong fortreſs of *Falaiſe*. *Hugh*, archbiſhop of *Roüen*, with ſome *Norman* noblemen of the *Roumois* and *Lieuvin*, applied to *Theobald* count of *Blois* for protection; offering to receive him for their duke: but he, being fond of quiet, rejected the offer; and making an agreement with *Geffrey*, in conſideration of the ceſſion of *Tours*, gave up to him all his pretenſions. The nobility in general, the biſhop of *Liſieux*, and the towns of *Vernueil* and *Nonancourt*, thus deſtitute of all ſupport, had no party to take, but that of ſubmiſſion: and *Geffrey* became maſter of all the *Lower Normandie*. *Walter Giffard* count of *Longueville*, and all the *Cauchois* ſubmitting the next year, *Geffrey* wanted nothing to make him aſſume the title of duke, but the poſſeſſion of *Roüen*, which he took the year following; *Euſtace*, *Stephen's* eldeſt ſon, not having done a ſingle act of vigour or courage to ſave the dutchy, with which he had been inveſted, from falling into the hands of his adverſary.

In *England*, *William Peverel*, immediately after the battle of *Lincoln*, ſurrendered the caſtle of *Nottingham* to the empreſs; who put *W. Painel* [3] in it with a ſtrong garriſon: thoſe of the *Deviſes* and *Bedford* were likewiſe yielded; the earl of *Warwick* and a great part of the kingdom ſubmitted to her as their rightful ſovereign. To make her univerſally acknowledged, it was neceſſary to get the *legate* to ſet the example, and to induct her into the poſſeſſion of the realm, as the late king's daughter and heir, to whom all *England* and *Normandie* had ſworn allegiance. A conference was held for this purpoſe [4] on *March* 2, the third *Sunday* in *Lent*, in an open plain near *Wincheſter*: and *Maude* ſwearing to the biſhop, "that he ſhould "have the direction of all great affairs in *England*, particularly the diſpoſal of "biſhopricks and abbeys, if he, with the clergy, would receive her as their queen, "and keep a conſtant fidelity to her," *Robert* earl of *Glouceſter*, *Brian Fitz Comte*, and *Milo* (whom, on *July* 25 following, ſhe created earl of *Hereford*) took an oath to the ſame effect. The legate thereupon acknowledged her queen of *England*: and ſome of his friends ſwore with him, "that he ſhould be faithful to her, ſo "long as ſhe obſerved that agreement." The next day ſhe made her publick entry into the city, and was attended to the cathedral with a pompous proceſſion; the legate leading her by the right-hand, and the biſhop of *S. David's* by the left, into the church, in the preſence of a great number of prelates and barons. There the legate [5] plentifully beſtowed his bleſſings and curſes, his abſolutions and excommunications upon all perſons, as they wiſhed her well or ill, as they obeyed or diſobeyed her commands. From *Wincheſter* ſhe removed to *Wilton*; where archbiſhop *Theobald* came to recognize her title, and ſwear fealty to her as queen: and going thence to *Oxford* [6], received the caſtle from *Robert D'Oily*, and kept *Eaſter* there with great ſolemnity.

[1] *Gul. Newbr.* l. i. c. 9. [2] *Ord. Vital.* p. 923. [3] *J. Hagulſt.* p. 269. *Geſta. Reg. Steph.* p. 953. [4] *W. Malmeſb.* [5] *Flor. Wig. Cont.* [6] *W. Malmeſb.*

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FOR the more ſolemn recognition of the empreſs by the clergy, a council was held on *Monday*, *April* 7, at *Wincheſter*; in which the legate preſided, and the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with all the biſhops, and a great many abbots, were preſent: ſuch as could not come, ſent their excuſes, which were read; being the firſt act done in the council. Then the legate called firſt the biſhops, afterwards the abbots, and at laſt the archdeacons, to private conferences, apart from each other; the ſubject whereof was kept ſo ſecret, that nothing tranſpired: and the next day made a ſpeech to the whole aſſembly, telling them, that they were convened to "conſult "about the peace of their country, which was in imminent danger of being ruined." He went on to put them in mind of the flouriſhing ſtate of the realm, in the reign of the late king *Henry*, and of the oath which they had all taken for the ſucceſſion of his daughter and her iſſue: and "obſerved how, upon her delaying to come "over, his brother *Stephen* had been ſuffered to mount the throne, and he himſelf "had anſwered for his good government. But he was now aſhamed to ſpeak of "his behaviour; the peace of the realm being deſtroyed; no puniſhment inflicted "on evil doers; biſhops impriſoned and forced to deliver up their poſſeſſions; ab-"beys ſold, and churches robbed; the counſels of ill men followed, and the advice "of the good deſpiſed. That he had tried in vain to recall his brother from the "error of his ways, and the divine vengeance having at laſt fallen upon, and ſunk "*Stephen* into a ſtate of captivity, he had called them together by his legatine "power, to receive *Maude* for queen of *England*; having propoſed it the day be-"fore in private to the greater part of the clergy of the kingdom." All preſent either aſſenting expreſsly to what he ſaid, or by their ſilence not contradicting it, the legate added, "that he had ſent a ſummons with a ſafe-conduct to the *Londoners*, "who, on account of the greatneſs of their city, are on the foot of the nobi-"lity; and propoſed waiting for them till the next day, being perſuaded they would "not ſtay away any longer." Their deputies came accordingly: and being admitted into the council, declared, that they were ſent by the community of *London*, to "petition that their king might be delivered out of priſon; and that all the "barons, lately received into their community, deſired the ſame thing of the legate, "the archbiſhop, and all the clergy preſent." The legate made them the ſame harangue, as he had done to the council the day before, adding, that "it did not "become the *Londoners*, who were treated in *England* as noblemen, to take part "with ſuch as had deſerted their lord in battle, as had, by their ill advice, put him "upon diſhonouring the church, and who ſeemed to favour the *Londoners*, purely "to chouſe them of their money." Then ſtood up one *Chriſtian*, a chaplain of *Stephen's* queen, offering the legate a letter from her to be communicated to the aſſembly: and upon his refuſal, read it himſelf; the purport of it being to preſs the legate and council to reſtore her huſband to the throne. To this the legate gave much the ſame anſwer, as he had done to the *Londoners*; who, after a conſult, promiſed to communicate the decree of the council to their fellow-citizens, and to comply as far as they were able. The council broke up the day following, being *Thurſday*, *April* 10; having firſt excommunicated ſeveral that ſtill adhered to *Stephen*; particularly *William Martel*, againſt whom the legate was highly incenſed, for having intercepted and plundered his baggage.

Maude driven from *London*, is beſieged at *Wincheſter*.

LXXXII. THERE was no ſmall difficulty to perſuade the *Londoners* to acknowledge *Maude*: and two months paſſed after the concluſion of the council [1], before matters were ſettled for her reception into the city. In the mean time her brother *Robert* was continually about her, and did all that was poſſible to gain the nobility

[1] *W. Malmeſb.*

and

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and reconcile every body to her government: her uncle *David* [1] king of *Scotland* came to her likewiſe about *Whitſontide*, to aſſiſt her with his advice and good offices. But *Maude*, elated with her ſucceſs, grew imperious, ſlighted their advice, giving them rough anſwers, denying their requeſts, treating them with leſs reſpect than uſual, and following in all things her own will and humour. It was againſt their judgment [2], that ſhe frowned on perſons ſhe did not like, and alarmed the nobility with her menaces; that, before ſhe was ſettled in the throne, ſhe diſpoſed of the eſtates of the few perſons who ſtill adhered to *Stephen*; and that ſhe reſumed the grants of lands and honours which he had made to his military officers, and ſhe now beſtowed upon her own, not excepting out of this general reſumption, even the benefactions he had made to churches. This diſobliged the clergy, and kept the ſoldiery in her adverſary's ſervice, from ſubmitting to her: but ſhe acted ſtill more impolitickly, after ſhe made her entry into *London*, where ſhe was received with acclamations and a ſplendid proceſſion, a few days before *Midſummer*. When the citizens, pleading [3] poverty and diſtreſs, the effects of war and ſcarcity of proviſions, deſired to be eaſed a little in their taxes and heavy duties till the times ſhould mend; *Maude*, inſtead of giving them any relief, told them, with a ſtern countenance and in a diſdainful manner, that ſince they had been laviſh of their riches in ſupporting *Stephen* to her prejudice, it was not reaſonable to ſpare them in the leaſt, or remit any of the payments, whereof ſhe was now to receive the benefit: and beſides what aroſe from taxes, ſhe extorted money from the wealthieſt of them, not in a ſoft but haughty manner. They petitioned likewiſe to have the laws of *Edward the Confeſſor* reſtored, as being more mild than thoſe of the late king, which were diſagreeable and oppreſſive: but whether ſhe thought this a reflection on her father's memory, or a preſcribing to herſelf in the exerciſe of her government, ſhe abſolutely refuſed to comply with their requeſt. Theſe things made the citizens more diſaffected than they were before, and alarmed others with apprehenſions of the ſeverity of her future adminiſtration, when her power was better eſtabliſhed; though ſhe had employed the time of her ſtay at *Weſtminſter* in making very wholeſome regulations for the good of the kingdom, and in providing an excellent prelate, *Robert de Sigillo*, a monk of *Reading*, for the ſee of *London* then vacant; who enjoyed it till his death [4], though he would never take an oath to *Stephen*, after he regained his liberty and recovered the poſſeſſion of *London*.

Some other things contributed to give the world, naturally pitying the diſtreſſed, an opinion of her ſeverity, if not of her cruelty. *Stephen's* [5] queen had uſed great inſtances for her huſband's freedom, and had been ſeconded in her ſollicitations by ſome of the principal nobility; who propoſed, that upon the delivery of hoſtages, and the ſurrender of caſtles, that had not yet ſubmitted, he might be reſtored to his liberty, though not to the kingdom; to which they undertook he ſhould, by going into monaſtery, or in ſome other manner, renounce all manner of pretenſions. The *Empreſs* rejected this propoſal in ſo haughty a manner, as diſobliged thoſe who joined in it, and made *Stephen's* queen, in deſpair of ſucceeding by fair means, apply herſelf entirely to other meaſures for obtaining what ſhe deſired. It was natural for *Henry* biſhop of *Wincheſter* to wiſh his brother out of priſon, and to have ſome proviſion made for his family: he is ſaid to have ſollicited *Maude* to give the counties of *Bologne* [6] and that of *Mortain* [7] in *Normandie* to his nephew *Euſtace*; but whether ſhe thought it imprudent to grant part of the dutchy to a

[1] *J. Hagulſt.* p. 270. [2] *Geſta Reg. Steph.* p. 954. [3] *Geſt. Reg. Steph.* p. 954.
[4] *Concil. Labb. & Coff.* t. x. col. 1070.
[5] *Flor. Wig. Cont.* [6] *Bologne* was not in *Maude's* power, but in *Stephen's*, ſo that it cannot well be ſuppoſed, the biſhop joined this county to that of *Mortain* in his requeſt; it rathers ſhews the whole to be a meer pretence.
[7] *W. Malmeſb.*

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man who claimed the whole, ſhe refuſed to comply with the requeſt. This is repreſented by ſome as the ground or pretence of *Henry's* quarrel with *Maude*; though others[1] think he was always hearty in his brother's intereſt, and only temporized with her, when, after the battle of *Lincoln*, ſhe was ready to fall upon him with all her force, and he unable to make any defence, his caſtles being utterly unprovided; and that being a man of profound diſſimulation, he continued to act the ſame part, whilſt the kingdom appeared to be devoted to her, reſerving himſelf and the diſcovery of his real views, for a more favourable time, when he might be able to ſerve his brother. This being now come, he had an interview at *Guilford* with *Stephen's* conſort *Matilda*; and proper meaſures being concerted between them, ſhe levied, with the aſſiſtance of *William de Ypres*, a body of *Kentiſhmen*: and ſending for all her huſband's friends to join her, advanced into *Surrey*; blocking up *London* on that ſide, and ſending ſtrong parties croſs the *Thames* to plunder, burn, and deſtroy the country. This was done without oppoſition; the *Empreſs* probably not daring to truſt the city militia, or to draw them out into the field, for fear they ſhould join the enemy, and having no forces of her own with her, beſides the followers of the prelates and nobility there aſſembled in order to her coronation: for which preparations were making, and on which, imagining herſelf ſecure in a place, where every thing ſeemed to bow before her, her thoughts were wholly employed. In this ſecurity, ſhe was very near being ſurprized by the[2] *Londoners*: who were always attached to her rival, and being now encouraged, by an army that ravaged all the neighbourhood uncontrolled, to diſcover their diſaffection to her, entered into a conſpiracy to ſeize her perſon. She had notice of it from a faithful citizen, juſt in time to ſteale privately out of town, with her uncle *David*, her brother *Robert*, and the nobility that eſpouſed her cauſe, who all made their eſcape: but the mob, on the news of their departure, plundered the goods, which they left behind in their houſes.

THE legate quitted the city at the ſame time; probably to ſave appearances, and becauſe he might be leſs capable of ſerving his brother, by declaring openly in his behalf. For he was now undoubtedly in his intereſts, and by his ſole authority, without conſulting the biſhops, he abſolved, perhaps privately, all thoſe of his party who had been excommunicated by the late council: and ſent over the kingdom great complaints againſt the empreſs, "that ſhe had a deſign to arreſt him; "that ſhe did not keep her ſtipulations with the barons, who had performed their "promiſes; and knew not how to uſe with moderation the power ſhe had eaſily "acquired." It was eaſy to ſpread theſe inſinuations by proper agents, without the author's appearing openly: but *Henry* could not eſcape ſuſpicion; and *Robert* earl of *Glouceſter*, to clear his doubts as to the legate's deſigns, or to remove his diſcontents, if he had any, made him a viſit at *Wincheſter*. This conference fully convinced him of that prelate's being entirely alienated from the empreſs; of which he gave her in his return an account at *Oxford*: which by the advice of *Milo*, (whom at this time on *July* 25, in acknowledgement of his eminent ſervices, ſhe created earl of *Hereford*) ſhe had made the place of her reſidence, and had appointed for the rendezvous of her forces. The legate had been of late leſs aſſiduous about her court than uſual; ſhe had ſent for him to *Oxford*, and he had returned excuſes for not coming; ſhe now found by her brother's information, that he was become her enemy: and thinking herſelf obliged to keep meaſures with him no longer, ſhe marched ſuddenly, with a ſmall party of troops which ſhe had got together, to *Wincheſter*; and being received into the king's caſtle, ſent him a meſſage, that, ſince ſhe was on the ſpot, ſhe hoped he would not think it much to

[1] *Geſta Reg. Steph.* p. 953. [2] *W. Malmeſb. Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1355.

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make her a viſit. *Henry* giving an evaſive anſwer, *that he would get himſelf ready*, and leaving the biſhop's caſtle well guarded, got out of the place: and aſſembled forces from all parts, in order to block up the city. The empreſs had taken this haſty ſtep without the knowledge of her brother *Robert*; who yet, when he heard of her danger, flew to her ſuccour, with her uncle *David*, the earl of *Hereford*, a few barons, and a ſmall number of followers, ſuch as could be got together in an hurry. They were ſtill much inferior to the enemy; the biſhop having been joined by moſt of the young earls, inconſtant in their nature, fonder of tournaments on horſe-back than of peace, and hoping by their forwardneſs on this occaſion, to recover the reputation, which they had loſt by deſerting their lord in the battle of *Lincoln*. *Stephen's* queen and *William d'Ypres* had likewiſe come up with their forces, and helped to poſſeſs all the roads, by which proviſions could be brought to *Wincheſter*: they burnt *Andover*, whence ſome ſupplies uſed to be ſent into it from the weſt; and the *Londoners*, commanding all the country eaſtward of the place, hindered the paſſage of all victuals that way to the beſieged, whilſt they ſupplied them in great plenty to the legate and his forces. Not content with this ſervice, they raiſed a very numerous militia[1]; which joining the beſiegers, the place was ſo blocked up on all ſides, that ſcarce any proviſions could enter: and thoſe within were the more diſtreſſed, becauſe, either out of that view, or in hatred to the townſmen, who were well affected to the empreſs, the biſhop regardleſs of his flock and ſee, had on *Aug.* 2, cauſed wild-fire and combuſtible matter to be thrown out of the epiſcopal fortified palace or caſtle, upon the houſes of the town, and reduced a great part thereof to aſhes. In this fire were[2] burnt above twenty churches, beſides the nunnery within the walls, and the abbey of *Hyde* without; the biſhop laying hold of the opportunity to ſeize, for his own uſe, a golden croſs, given to the laſt of theſe convents by king *Canute*, and ſet with precious ſtones (of which he made thirty marks of gold, and five hundred of ſilver) and three royal diadems, with as many ſtands of the pureſt *Arabian* gold, adorned with jewels and wrought in the moſt curious manner. What this prelate, ſo full of pretences of zeal for the good of the church and religion, did to the monaſtery of *Hyde*, out of avarice, *William d'Ypres*, a rough ſoldier, who had no regard for either, did to the nunnery of *Warewelle*, ſix miles from *Wincheſter*, out of cruelty and revenge, in the queſt of ſome of *Maude's* adherents, who had there found a refuge.

Earl *Robert* taken priſoner andexchanged for *Stephen*.

LXXXIII. Winchester had been blocked up about ſeven weeks, from the latter end of *July* to near the middle of *September*, and the empreſs with her friends and followers had made a ſhift to ſubſiſt there all that time under great difficulties: when[3] the biſhop not daring to attack a body of brave and reſolute warriours within the place, bethought himſelf of an artifice to draw them out of it into the open country, where they might be eaſily ſurrounded and oppreſſed by numbers. There was ſuch a reſpect paid in ancient times to the great feaſts of *Chriſtianity*, that many thought it unlawful, as well to fight in the field, as to have trials at law on thoſe days: and a ceſſation from hoſtilities in times of war was obſerved by a tacite general conſent. It certainly became a prelate of the church, and one who ſtyled himſelf legate of the holy ſee, not to be leſs ſcrupulous in this reſpect, than pious laymen generally were: and to flatter this notion, he ordered on the eve of *Holy Rood day*, peace to be proclaimed in the town, and the gates to be ſet open, as if proviſions might freely enter. The *Empreſs* was

[1] *Fitz Stephens (in Vita S. Thomæ Cant.* p. 4.) ſays, that, in a review which *Stephen* made of this *London* militia, there were muſtered ſixty thouſand foot and twenty thouſand horſe, well armed and equipped. [2] *Ib. Flor. Wig. Cont.* [3] *Ib.* col. 1356.

quite

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quite tired of the long ſiege: and her brother *Robert* thought the opportunity favourable for getting out of a place, where they muſt yield in a ſhort time to famine, or be forced to fight their way, under great diſadvantages, through a much ſuperior number of enemies. But not to depend too much on the faith of a deceitful enemy, he took the beſt precautions he could for his ſiſter's ſafety; ſending her out early on *September* 14, under the eſcorte of his brother *Reginald* earl of *Cornwall*, and the greateſt part of her forces, with directions to make the beſt of their way to a place of ſecurity; whilſt himſelf followed leiſurely with a ſmall but choice party of two [1] hundred intrepid ſoldiers, ready to repel the enemy in caſe they were attacked. *Maude*, mounted on horſeback, came after a ſharp conflict [2], in which *Jeffrey Boterel*, brother to *Alan* earl of *Richmond*, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour in repulſing the enemy, ſufficiently tired to the caſtle of *Ludgerſhal*: but it not being deemed a ſafe place, was perſuaded to go on to the *Deviſes*, where ſhe arrived quite ſpent with the fatigue. This too being thought an inſecure retreat; ſhe being utterly unable to ride any farther, was put into a litter or ſome other machine wherein ſhe could lie at her eaſe and carried by horſes, to which it was faſtened, to *Glouceſter*; whither *Milo* got ſoon after by miraculous eſcape from the midſt of the enemy. [3] Her uncle *David* eluded the fury of the purſuers by an artifice; and made the beſt of his way to *Scotland*. *Robert* being overtaken at *Stokebridge* and attacked, as he was about to paſs the river, was overpowered by numbers: and thinking it a ſhame to fly, was taken priſoner, committed to the cuſtody of *William de Ypres*, and impriſoned in the caſtle of *Rocheſter*.

This nobleman was conſidered as the life and ſoul of the empreſs's [4] party; and no means were left untried, whilſt he continued in priſon, to debauch him from her intereſts: but he was equally deaf to threats and promiſes, and bore his captivity with unparalleled conſtancy. It was firſt propoſed to exchange him for *Stephen*, and his wife *Mabille* eagerly embraced the motion: but there being a wide difference between the dignity of a king and that of an earl, he rejected it as unequal; though he was ready to conſent to the propoſal, if all that were taken with him might be alſo ſet at liberty. This *Gilbert de Clare*, *William de Ypres*, and other noblemen of *Stephen's* party, who had taken *William de Saliſbury*, *Humphry de Bohun*, and other conſiderable perſons in the ſkirmiſhes which happened near *Winchеſter*, would not agree to, becauſe of the great ranſomes which they expected for their priſoners. They next offered *Robert* the government of all the realm under *Stephen*, if he would but deſert the empreſs: but he told them, "he was "not his own maſter, being in another's power; if he was once at liberty, he "would do in that caſe, what reaſon and duty required." He was then threatned with being ſent beyond ſea, to be kept in perpetual impriſonment at *Boulogne*: but unmoved at the menace, he would come into no terms, till the empreſs and thoſe about her, finding his wiſdom and credit neceſſary to keep their party from diſſolving, reſolved to make an exchange between him and *Stephen*, without any other condition. This was ſettled about the feaſt of *All Saints*, and great precautions were taken about the manner of ſetting them at liberty; for *Stephen* being to be releaſed firſt, becauſe of his dignity, not only his queen was kept as an hoſtage in his ſtead, but the legate and the archbiſhop took an oath to ſurrender themſelves priſoners, if *Robert* was not ſet at liberty; and ſignified this their obligation in letters under their hand and ſeal to the *Roman* pontif. The earl was hereupon carried to *Winchеſter*; where *Stephen* arriving had a conference with him, endeavouring, with thoſe about him, in vain to draw over to their ſide, a man, who, having no ſelfiſh view, was governed in all his actions purely by a ſenſe of the

[1] *Flor. Wig. Cont.* [2] *J. Hagulſt.* col. 270. [3] *Gul. Neubrig.* l. c. 9. [4] *W. Malmeſb.*

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duty, which he owed to his rightful ſovereign, and being now ſet at liberty, applied himſelf with his uſual vigour to ſupport and advance her intereſts.

It was not a proper ſeaſon of the year for action: and it required ſome time for the chiefs of both parties [1] to learn the ſituation of their affairs, and provide for the ſecurity of what they poſſeſſed, before they attempted new conqueſts; ſo that they kept themſelves generally quiet till *Chriſtmas*. But the legate reſolving to perfect what he had begun, and to compleat the ruin of the empreſs, called a council on *Dec.* 7. which was opened by a ſpeech of *Stephen*; complaining of his impriſonment and the infidelity of his ſubjects. *Henry* made another by way of apology for the inconſiſtencies of his conduct; "pretending he had received the empreſs "not willingly but by neceſſity, when the king's army being routed and all "the great lords either fled or waiting the event of things, ſhe came with an armed "force to *Wincheſter*; that ſhe had broke the ſtipulations made with him, for "preſerving the rights of the church; that ſhe and her friends had formed deſigns "againſt his life and dignity, and he now ordered them to excommunicate all "diſturbers of the peace, that favoured the cauſe of the counteſs of *Anjou*." This ſpeech was not reliſhed by all the clergy; none however contradicted it; all keeping ſilence, either out of fear or reverence to the legate: only a layman ſent by the empreſs, "charged him upon the faith he had engaged to her, to do nothing "in that council contrary to her honour; that he had given his faith to her not to "aſſiſt his brother; that ſhe came into *England* by his invitation, and if ſhe had "taken *Stephen* and kept him in priſon, it was by his connivance." The meſſenger ſaid a great deal more, with no ſmall acrimony of expreſſion: but nothing could move the legate, or provoke him to make an anſwer.

Earl *Robert* ſent to *Normandie*, brings over prince *Henry*.

LXXXIV. The nation, which began lately to aſpire to liberty, and to hope for quiet, was now relapſed into its former troubles [2]: but the holy ſeaſon of *Lent* cauſing an intermiſſion of hoſtilities, the empreſs came to the *Deviſes*, and held a council, in which it was reſolved to ſend for the count of *Anjou* to come over to defend the rights of his wife and children in *England*. The men of quality ſent upon this embaſſy, made, upon their return, a report of the count's anſwer, in another council held at the ſame place on *June* 13, to this effect; "that he well knew the "prudence, vigour, magnanimity, and honour of the earl of *Glouceſter*, and if he "came over to him, he ſhould be ready to gratify him to the utmoſt of his power, "but it was in vain for them to ſend others." *Robert* was hereupon preſſed by all there preſent to go: and upon his excuſing himſelf, on account of the perils of the journey, and the dangers his ſiſter would be expoſed to during his abſence, they renewed their inſtances; till at laſt he conſented, upon condition that he might carry with him hoſtages for the ſecurity, as well of the count of *Anjou*, as of the empreſs; and that they would ſtay with her at *Oxford*, and defend her with all their power, till he returned from abroad. They all agreeing to the propoſal, ſent their ſons and neareſt relations with him for pledges: and *Robert*, ſoon after *Midſummer*, ſetting ſail from *Wareham* (of which he had made his eldeſt ſon *William* governor) landed, after paſſing through a terrible ſtorm, which ſcattered his ſhips, near *Caen*; where the count of *Anjou*, coming to him, ſtarted ſeveral objections againſt his going into *England*. Theſe were taken from the neceſſity of his ſtay in *Normandie*, to reduce ſome fortreſſes which ſtill held out againſt him; and as there was ſomething plauſible in this pretence, the earl of *Glouceſter* ſtaid with him, whilſt he took ten caſtles: but then finding freſh excuſes to delay the voyage, he prevailed with *Geffrey*, to let his eldeſt ſon *Henry* go over with him into *England*,

[1] *W. Malmeſb.* [2] *Ib.*

to animate by his preſence thoſe that ſupported the cauſe of the rightful heir of the kingdom.

LXXXV. Stephen[1], in the mean time, being recovered from an illneſs which had brought him to the point of death, and had laſted from *Eaſter* to *Whitſontide*, had marched ſuddenly to *Wareham:* and finding it without a garriſon, had burnt the town, and ſeized the caſtle. From thence he marched to *Oxford*; and three days before *Michaelmas* came ſo unexpectedly thither[2], that ſurprizing the town, or entering it after a ſkirmiſh with the fliers, he burnt it: and beſieged the empreſs (who being come thither but for two or three days, chanced to be in the caſtle, with only her ordinary guard, and officers of her houſhold) proteſting that he would not quit the ſiege, for the hope of any advantage, or the fear of any detriment, before he had taken the caſtle, and got her into his power. The noblemen, who had engaged to defend her in *Robert's* abſence, were quite confounded at being abſent beyond their appointed time; and joining their forces, came to *Wallingford*, with a reſolution to fight *Stephen*, if he would meet them in the open field: but did not think it adviſeable to attack him, if he kept within the walls of the place; which the earl of *Glouceſter* had fortified ſo ſtrongly, as to render it in a manner impregnable. *Robert*, who had ſtaid much longer than he propoſed in *Normandie*, receiving advice of theſe events, haſtened his return thence: and with between three and four hundred men of armes, in fifty-two ſhips, landed in the port of *Wareham*, took poſſeſſion of the town, and beſieged the caſtle, which was defended by a good garriſon; who, terrified by his engines, agreed to ſurrender by a certain day, if not relieved by *Stephen*. The earl conſented to the capitulation, in hopes it might draw that prince from the ſiege of *Oxford:* but he would not ſtir; and *Robert* having received the caſtle, and reduced the *Iſle of Portland*, and *Lullworth-caſtle*, marched to *Cirenceſter* in *Glouceſterſhire*; where he ordered all the *empreſs's* friends to meet him with all their force, in order to march to *Oxford*, for the relief of their ſovereign, now reduced to extremity for want of proviſions, and to fight *Stephen*. But as they were advancing thither, they received the good news of her having eſcaped out of the caſtle of *Oxford*, and being got ſafe to *Wallingford*, in a manner ſtill more ſurprizing, than her other extraordinary eſcapes from *Arundel*, *London*, and *Wincheſter*. Many of the beſiegers, either tired out with the length and fatigues of the ſiege, or out of fear of the earl of *Glouceſter's* coming, had ſtole away from *Oxford:* and thoſe that remained were very negligent in their guards and watches. It was now *Advent*, the river frozen, and the ground covered with ſnow: to make an advantage of theſe circumſtances[3], as well as of the remiſſneſs of the enemy's guards, the empreſs with four or five knights attending her, all clad in white linen, went out of the poſtern gate of the caſtle, paſſed the river undiſcovered[4], and walking on foot to *Abington*, went from thence to *Wallingford*. Thither *Robert*, and the noblemen that had joined him, marched with their forces: but the caſtle of *Oxford* being ſurrendered, as ſoon as *Maude* had quitted it, and the approaching holidays admoniſhing them to be quiet and abſtain from war, they, by her advice and common conſent, broke up their army, and returned to their reſpective abodes. The empreſs eaſily forgot all her cares, fatigues, and diſtreſſes at the ſight of her ſon *Henry:* and committing the care of his education to her brother, *Robert* carried him to *Briſtol*, and kept him there four years under the beſt maſters; improving his underſtanding in knowledge by their inſtructions, and forming the young prince's mind to virtue, by his own example, and by the noble

Stephen takes *Oxford*, and is routed at *Wilton*.

[1] *W. Malmeſb.* [2] *Geſta. Reg. Steph.* p. 958. *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1357. [3] *H. Hunt. Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1358. *Gul. Neubrig.* l. i. c. 10. [4] The author of *Geſta Reg. Steph.* ſays, p. 958. that one of *Stephen's* centries was let into the ſecret.

Stephen. sentiments becoming his dignity, which no body in that age was better qualified than he to inſpire into a royal pupil.

A. D. 1143. The taking of *Oxford*, was the laſt conſiderable military action of *Stephen*; who, though he had all the valour of a ſoldier, ſeems to have been very defective in the ſkill and conduct neceſſary for a general: and to this defect his ill ſucceſs on many occaſions is evidently to be aſcribed. He opened the next campaign with an expedition into the weſt[1]; in which his *Flemings* and other foreign ſoldiers (deſpiſing the excommunication denounced, by a council held a little before in *Lent*, againſt all that violated churches, mal-treated the clergy and huſbandmen, or hindered agriculture) plundered churches and villages wherever they paſſed. His chief deſign was to recover *Wareham* in *Dorſetſhire*; but when he came before the place, he found it too ſtrong and well provided to be eaſily taken: and raiſing the ſiege, marched to *Wilton*, in order to erect a fort for repreſſing the incurſions of the garriſons of *Wareham* and *Saliſbury*. Whilſt this work was carrying on, he ſuffered himſelf to be ſurprized by *Robert* earl of *Glouceſter*; who aſſembling a body of troops, and marching with great expedition to *Wilton*, came ſuddenly before the place on *July* 1, a little before ſun-ſet; and attacking his forces in three places, put them to flight after a ſlight oppoſition. *Stephen* was lodged in the nunnery, and would in all appearance have been again taken, if he had not fled, with his brother, the biſhop of *Wincheſter*, at the firſt noiſe, before the action was over, in ſo much hurry, that he left his plate, furniture, and equipage a prey to the enemy. A great number of priſoners were taken[2]; and among the reſt *William Martel*, the onely perſon of diſtinction, that had ſtood his ground for any time in the engagement: he had been butler to the late king, and had the poſt of ſteward of the houſhold under *Stephen*, with whom he was in high favour.

This victory was of great ſervice to *Maude* in its conſequences; *Martel* being forced to give up the caſtle of *Sherburn* for his ranſom; and *Henry de Tracy*, who had hitherto kept up a party for *Stephen* in *Devonſhire*, being obliged, in deſpair of any ſupport from his maſter, to make his own accommodation. Thus was the empreſs abſolute miſtreſs of all the provinces of the kingdom of the *Weſt-Saxons*[3], except *Hampſhire*: and by the care of the earl of *Glouceſter*, the people in thoſe parts enjoyed as much quiet as in a time of peace; paying only the ordinary taxes for the erection and repairs of caſtles, and for the recruit of forces, with now and then ſome advances of money on preſſing occaſions. There was the like quiet[4] in the three northern counties, and the biſhoprick of *Durham*; which acknowledged her ſovereignty, and were kept in peace by the power of her uncle the king of *Scotland*. She was poſſeſſed likewiſe of the provinces of *Wales* belonging to the *Engliſh*, and of all the counties of *England* lying upon the *Severne*; where no power interfering with her own, the ſame tranquillity reigned. Thus was ſhe miſtreſs of half the kingdom: and had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing her ſubjects live at eaſe under her government; whilſt *Stephen* had only a precarious footing in the reſt, except in the counties about *London*, to which the influence of that great and opulent city extended. His intereſt in the parts north of *Trent* depended upon *William* earl of *Yorkſhire*, who was oppoſed by *Alan* earl of *Richmond*; *Ralf* earl of *Cheſter*, who was maſter of the greateſt part of *Mercia*, obeyed him no farther than he pleaſed himſelf: and *Hugh Bigot* earl of *Norfolk*, with the lords of caſtles in the country of the *Eaſt-Angles*, acted in the like independent manner. Hence the chief ſeat of the war lay in *Berks*, and the parts adjacent; and it was carried on by the attack of caſtles, the building of forts to block up ſuch as could not be

[1] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1358. *Geſt. Reg. Steph.* p. 959. *Conc. M. Brit.* t. i. p. 421. [2] *Gul. Neubrig.* l. i. c. 10. [3] *Geſt. Reg. Steph.* p. 960. [4] *Gul. Neubrig.* l. i. c. 22.

taken, and by the rencounters of ſmall parties: *Stephen* not being able to bring a royal army into the field, and ſcarce any action happening in the courſe of it, conſiderable enough to be mentioned. STEPHEN.

LXXXVI. THERE are however ſome events of a different nature that deſerve notice. Such was the death of *Milo* earl of *Hereford*, who having this year [1] joined earl *Robert*, in forcing *Stephen* to raiſe the ſiege of *Tetbury*, died afterwards on *Chriſtmas-eve*: and was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon *Roger*, an active, valiant, and deſerving man, but young, unexperienced, and unequal to his father; whoſe loſs was exceedingly regretted by *Maude*, though ſhe felt it the leſs by reaſon of the proſperous condition of her affairs. *Stephen* ſuffered one that affected him much more, in his brother the biſhop of *Wincheſter's* being deprived of his legatine authority; which had enabled him to preſcribe the reſolutions of the prelates, to govern the clergy, and turn the kingdom as he pleaſed. *Henry* was extremely fond of exerciſing this dignity, which put him above his own metropolitan, to whom he had ſworn obedience as a ſuffragan; and of trampling on the juriſdiction of the ſee of *Canterbury*. It was probably this vanity, or elſe the neceſſity of making his court to *Rome*, that made him firſt introduce into this nation, appeals from the eccleſiaſtical courts to the Pope [2]; for having firſt taken cognizance of ſuch appeals to himſelf as legate, they naturally came, in the *dernier reſſort*, to be determined in the *Roman* conſiſtory, with an exceſſive expence to the parties in cauſes, and an infinite number of inconveniencies to the kingdom. As he was continually encroaching on the archbiſhop's juriſdiction, frequent quarrels happened between them [3]: and Pope *Innocent* II dying on *September* 24, *A. D.* 1143, *Theobald* prevailed on his ſucceſſor *Celeſtin* II, not to renew *Henry's* powers, but to give the poſt of legate to himſelf. Upon *Celeſtin's* death, on *March* 9, *A. D.* 1144, *Henry*, mortified at the loſs of his dignity, obtained from *Lucius* II [4], the honorary compliment of a pall, and ſollicited him ſtrongly to erect his ſee of *Wincheſter* into an archbiſhoprick, with a juriſdiction over all the ſees in the country of the *Weſt-Saxons*: but great oppoſition being made to this project, and the Pope dying in leſs than a year, the deſign proved abortive; *Eugenius* III, who ſucceeded in the papacy, being no friend to that ambitious prelate. *A. D.* 1144. Biſhop of *Winton* loſeth his legateſhip.

LXXXVII. STEPHEN, by this event, loſt much of his power over the clergy: and being deſirous to replace it by aſſuming a greater than he yet had over the laity, had recourſe to the ſame method of getting their caſtles into his hands, as he had tried, with ſo much detriment to his affairs, in the caſe of the biſhops of *Saliſbury* and *Lincoln*. His part of the kingdom felt indeed inſupportable miſchiefs from ſuch caſtles [5]; the lords or governors whereof plundered all the neighbourhood, and committed horrible enormities; ſo that multitudes fled abroad into foreign parts, the towns were left empty, the fields remained untilled, famine prevailed, and a general deſolation reigned over the country: and he probably imagined that the miſchiefs ariſing from thoſe caſtles, would reconcile the nation to his arbitrary or treacherous proceedings for getting them into his own poſſeſſion. *Geffrey de Magneville* was a man [6] of great parts, knowledge, ſagacity, and experience; ſkilful in the art of war, bold in action, firm in adverſity, and ſuperior to all other noblemen in wealth and dignity; being governor of the tower and forts about *London*, and *Stephen's* lieutenant over all that part of the realm which obeyed his orders. He had always been of his party, and was made by him earl of *Eſſex*: but ſome *Stephen* ſeizes noblemen, and forces them to give up their caſtles.

[1] *Joh. Hagulſtad*, col. 273. *Chron. Gerv.* col. 1359. *Geſt. Reg. Steph.* p. 963, 966.
[2] *Gervaſ. Act. Pont. Cant.* col. 1667. *H. Hunt.* in 16 *Stephani.* [3] *Gervaſ. ib.* col. 1665.
[4] *M. Paris. Rudborn.* [5] *Geſt. Reg. Steph.* p. 961, 962. [6] *Ib.* 963. *H. Hunt.*

courtiers,

Stephen. A. D. 1144.

courtiers, envious of his greatneſs, having ſuggeſted to *Stephen*, that he was changing ſides, and was engroſſing all the power of the kingdom into his hands, with a view of giving it to the empreſs, he was arreſted, with ſeveral of his friends, in the court at *St. Albans*, upon the like pretence of a tumult, as had been formerly made uſe of for ſeizing *Roger*, biſhop of *Sarum*, at *Oxford*. The barons, with whom he had the fray, accuſed him of treaſon; which he put off with a joke: but before he could obtain his liberty, he was forced to give up the tower of *London*, with his caſtles of *Walden* and *Pleſhy*, near *Dunmow* in *Eſſex*, two of the ſtrongeſt in *England*. This treatment drove him entirely into the intereſt of *Maude*; from whom he had received formerly, upon the ſubmiſſion of *London* to her, a new creation [1] to the earldom of *Eſſex*, in order probably to engage him to give up the tower: and obtained afterwards a very ample grant of the hereditary ſheriffalty of *London*, *Middleſex*, and *Hertfordſhire*, and of his mother's inheritance in *England* and *Normandie*, with the confirmation of his title to lands which he enjoyed by the grant of *Stephen*, and of all the improvements he had made on his eſtate, to the day of his adherence to her party. In conſequence [2] hereof, he ſummoned all his vaſſals and friends to meet him: and formed a body of men; with which he ſacked *Cambridge*, and took the abbey of *Ramſey*. *Stephen*, to diſlodge him thence, marched againſt him with an army: but finding it impracticable to drive him out of the *fenns*, built three caſtles, and retired. Upon his departure, *Geffrey* got *Hugh Bigot* to join him, and with their united forces, they over-ran the whole country: and had not the earl of *Eſſex* been accidentally killed [3] ſoon after in the ſiege of the caſtle of *Burwelle*, on *September* 16, this year, they would have been able to have diſtreſſed *Stephen* exceedingly in the very neighbourhood of *London*, which ſupplied him with the chief part of his forces. As it proved, he loſt a great part of the country of the *Eaſt-Angles*; all that he was able to do againſt *Hugh Bigot* alone, when he marched [4] againſt him, being to waſte his lands, and erect three caſtles; a method which he uſually took for the ſecurity of a country, but which frequently proved prejudicial to himſelf, the *Caſtellans* ſetting up to be independent; as he had lately found in the inſtance of *Turgis*, a *Norman*, to whom he had given the caſtle of *Walden*, after he had taken it from *Geffrey de Magneville*.

No experience could cure *Stephen* of his fury for caſtles, or of his ill politicks in the treacherous ſeizure of his nobility. *Ralf* earl of *Cheſter* was [5], by means of his vaſt eſtate, and his caſtles of *Lincoln*, *Coventry*, and in other places, maſter of near a third part of the kingdom. He had, after *Stephen's* [6] releaſe from priſon, made his accommodation with him; and aſſiſted him with his forces on ſeveral occaſions, particularly in the taking of *Bedford*, and in the erecting of a caſtle to curb *Wallingford*: but he was ſtill ſuſpected, as well on account of the inconſtancy of his nature, as becauſe he did not give up ſome of the royal caſtles and demeſnes, that were in his hands, to *Stephen*; who took care to have him narrowly watched, and reſolved to ſeize him when an opportunity offered. The earl coming in *Auguſt* to the court at *Northampton* [7], complained of the incurſions of the *Welſh*: and deſiring *Stephen* to march with an army againſt them, undertook to provide for the charges of the expedition. The courtiers [8] took thence occaſion to inſinuate, that *Ralf* made this propoſal with an evil deſign; that there were terrible dangers in marching into the woods and mountains of *Wales*; that there was no depending on his faith, till he had reſtored all that he had ſeized unjuſtly, and had given hoſtages for his future conduct; which ſhould be demanded of him, and in caſe of refuſal, he ought to be taken into cuſtody. *Stephen*, whoſe ears were always

[1] See *Dugdale's Baron.* t. i. p. 202. *Ib.* p. 201. [2] *Geſt. Reg. Steph.* p. 963. [3] *Mon. Angl.* t. i. p. 447. n. 10. [4] *Geſt. Reg. Steph.* p. 966. [5] *Ib.* p. 968. [6] *Gul. Neubrig.* l. i. c. 13. [7] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1361. *H. Hunt.* [8] *Geſt. Reg. Steph.* p. 970, 971.

open

open to ſuggeſtions of ſuſpicion, reſolved to proceed in that manner: the earl was required to make reſtitution, and to deliver hoſtages; and ſaying in anſwer to the demand, "that he had not come to court with any ſuch deſign; that he had never "been ſpoke to before on the ſubject, and had not conſulted his friends about it," he was immediately charged with treaſon, and taken into cuſtody. STEPHEN.

THE earl's followers, who were in poſſeſſion of the caſtles, which he was required to reſtore, and whom he thought it proper to conſult, before he engaged to deliver them, took up armes immediately in all places; raiſing contributions, and attacking all that favoured *Stephen*. They perſiſted for ſome time in theſe hoſtilities; till finding the diſadvantages they lay under for want of a proper head, they thought it beſt to procure their lord's liberty: and offered to deliver up his caſtles and give pledges for doing ſo, if he might be reſtored to his liberty. The offer was accepted; the hoſtages delivered; the earl's own caſtles, as well as thoſe of the crown, given up to *Stephen*: and nothing left him but the poſſeſſions and honours annexed to the county palatine of *Cheſter*. *Ralf* had his freedom after taking an oath to *Stephen*: but was ſo incenſed at this uſage, that as ſoon as he was releaſed, he took up armes, raiſed all the forces he could, ſurprized and attacked *Stephen's* caſtles, erected new ones, waſted all the country about *Lincoln*, and built a fort to block up the caſtle of *Coventry*; one of thoſe which he had been forced to yield, though it was his own property. *Stephen* was obliged to march to the relief of the place; threw a ſupply of victuals into it; and after ſeveral engagements with the earl's forces, in one of which he was wounded, was forced to retire: but having recruited his army had the good fortune to defeat the earl, and took his fort by *Coventry*. But theſe were not all the ill conſequences of his harſh treatment of this earl: he raiſed himſelf another enemy in *Ralf's* nephew *Gilbert*, earl of *Clare* or *Hertford*; who had delivered up the ſtrongeſt of his own caſtles and himſelf as an hoſtage, till his uncle had reſtored all the royal caſtles according to the agreement. When this was done, he demanded the reſtitution of his own caſtles as part of his inheritance: and upon *Stephen's* refuſal, who probably thought it dangerous to put them into his hands, whilſt his uncle was in armes, *Gilbert* ſtole away from court, reſolved to recover by force what he could not get by juſtice. *Stephen* having early notice of his departure, purſued after him ſo cloſe, that he was ſcarce got to one of his caſtles, before that prince came to inveſt it: but he made a ſhift to eſcape in diſguiſe, and joined the earl of *Cheſter*. *Stephen* indeed took the caſtle ſpoken of with two others; and inveſted that of *Pevenſey*: but finding it too ſtrong to be taken by force, left a body of men before the place to reduce it by famine. Thus did *Stephen*, by his own imprudent and faithleſs conduct, in a time of diſtreſs, when he could ſcarce keep his ground againſt his concurrent for the throne, make two of the moſt powerful earls in the kingdom his enemies: who cut him out ſo much work, that he was diſabled from making any advantage of an event, which otherwiſe might have been improved to the re-eſtabliſhment of his affairs. *A. D.* 1146.

LXXXVIII. PRINCE *Henry* had been four years under the care of *Robert* earl of *Glouceſter*; when his father *Geffrey*, having ſubdued all *Normandie*, and quelled ſome inſurrections raiſed againſt him in *Anjou*, ſent[2] three of his principal nobility, with an honourable retinue, to fetch him from *England*; that he might have the pleaſure of ſeeing him for a while; being determined to ſend him back ſoon, if it were neceſſary. *Robert*, with a noble body of knights, attended the young prince to *Warham*: and having ſeen him embark for *Normandie*, returned to *Briſtol*; The empreſs and her ſon return to *Normandie*.

[1] *Geſt. Reg. Steph.* p. 972. [2] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1361.

Stephen. A. D. 1147.

where he died on *October* 31, *A. D.* 1147. The empreſs having loſt in him perhaps the onely perſon that ſerved her without views of intereſt, at leaſt the onely one that deſerved her entire confidence, went over herſelf the *Lent* [1] following into *Normandie*. It was the prudence, credit, and authority of this earl that kept all her party in order: but when his head was laid in the grave, every body did what was right [2] in their own eyes, built caſtles, committed diſorders, and would not be denied any grant, for which they petitioned. It was very diſagreeable to be in a country, where ſhe had the title of ſovereign, without an authority to command and make herſelf obeyed; where ſhe could not follow her own judgment or inclinations in ordering her own actions; and where there was no great man ſuperior to the reſt of her party, properly qualified to command their obedience, and merit her confidence: and ſhe thought it her beſt party to return to her huſband.

Stephen's quarrel with archbiſhop *Theobald.*

LXXXIX. Notwithstanding the abſence of the empreſs, her friends were in a very good condition to withſtand all the efforts of *Stephen*; who had an unhappy talent for creating to himſelf new troubles. It hath been already obſerved, that Pope *Eugenius* III was no friend to *Henry* biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and that the legatine power, formerly veſted in the latter, had been ſuperſeded, and given to archbiſhop *Theobald*, much againſt the inclinations and intereſt of *Stephen*; who was equally exaſperated againſt the Pope and the archbiſhop. This animoſity ſeems to have been mutual, and to have made the two laſt hearken the eaſier to the ſuggeſtions of the chapter [3] of *York*, complaining that *William*, nephew to *Stephen* and *Henry* by their ſiſter *Emma*, had not been either canonically elected, or lawfully conſecrated to that ſee, but intruded upon them by the royal authority, being named by *Stephen* before he was elected: on which account *William* was deprived in the council held this year, on *March* 30, at *Reims* in *Champagne*. The Pope had ſummoned the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with the biſhops of *Worceſter*, *Bath*, *Exeter*, and *Chicheſter* to attend him at that council: and though it was a practice unknown before, for the Pope (inſtead of leaving the nomination of the particular biſhops that were to attend a council, to the choice of the national church, which they repreſented) to name whom he pleaſed himſelf; the firſt of theſe had applied to *Stephen* for leave to go; but was refuſed. *Henry* was the author of his brother's refuſal; being fond of any occaſion to diſtreſs the archbiſhop; and hoping that if he went to the council, he would be put out of the protection of the law, and his eſtate ſeized: or if he did not, that he would then be either ſuſpended or deprived by the Pope, for contempt of his orders. *Theobald*, aware of the conſequences in either caſe, reſolved to go: and all the ports being guarded to prevent his journey, he got privately to the ſea ſide, and paſſed over in a crazy open boat to the continent. Upon his return from the council to *Canterbury*, *Stephen* coming thither, ordered him to depart the realm immediately; oppreſſed his tenants; and ſeized his revenues. Whilſt the archbiſhop was abroad, ſome attempts were made for an accommodation: but none ſucceeding, he wrote letters to ſeveral churches in *England*, threatning them with an interdict to take place on the 12th of *September*: which the monks of *S. Auguſtine* having ſollicited the Pope to prevent, he ordered their deputies to return home and obey the archbiſhop's commands. When the day appointed drew near, *Theobald* paſſing the ſea from *Gravelin* into *Suffolk*, was honourably received and ſupplied with all neceſſaries by *Hugh Bigot*, who was maſter of that country: and under the protection of this nobleman, publiſhed his interdict againſt all the churches in that part of the kingdom, which acknow-

[1] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1363. [2] *Gul. Neubrig.* l. i. c. 22. [3] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1363, & ſeq. *Stubb's Acta. Pont. Ebor.* col. 1721.

ledged

ledged *Stephen*. Divine ſervice ceaſing in all places ſubject to this prince, whilſt it was celebrated in all that obeyed the empreſs, this diſtinction affected the common people exceedingly: and proved of ſuch detriment to his affairs, that he was forced to ſend ſome biſhops and noblemen to make up matters with *Theobald*; who releaſing the interdict, and taking off the ſuſpenſion laid upon the four biſhops, that had not gone to the council according to their ſummons, returned to *Canterbury*. This interdict laſted from the day abovementioned to *February* 1, in the year following, and was ſtrictly obſerved by all perſons, except the monks of *S. Auguſtine*; the two ringleaders of which convent, particularly by name, the reſt in general, and all that received the ſacraments from them, were excommunicated by the archbiſhop. They ſent agents to the Pope to remonſtrate againſt this ſentence; but being excommunicated, they could not be admitted to an audience, till they had undergone the diſcipline, and been abſolved by the pontif, not by his own authority, but in the ſtead of the archbiſhop: and then they were ſent home with a ſharp reproof for their conduct, and with expreſs orders to obey *Theobald*; who was directed to puniſh them with ſeverity. This he did by depriving the prior, ſuſpending the ſecretary, and obliging all the reſt of the monks to abſtain from divine ſervice, and the exerciſe of their functions in publick, from *March* 12 to the firſt of *Auguſt*; the very ſame ſpace of time for which the interdict had laſted.

STEPHEN. *A. D.* 1148.

XC. STEPHEN was too much embaraſſed with this affair to proſecute the war, when he might probably have done it with moſt advantage: and abundance of military men, with *William de Warenne*, *Roger de Mowbray*, and an infinite multitude of the common people, had in that time of inaction[1] left *England* to engage in the croiſade recommended by *S. Bernard*; whoſe ſermons and letters embarked greater numbers in an expedition to the *Holy Land*, than had been concerned in the firſt, when *Jeruſalem* was taken. Prince *Henry* was now ſixteen years old, and of a proper age to be knighted: and his father *Geffrey* being upon ill terms with the king of *France*, who had diſcharged him from reſigning *Normandie* to his ſon, determined to ſend him to *Scotland*, in order to receive that honour from his mother's uncle *David*, before he gave him poſſeſſion of the dutchy. It was thought proper that he ſhould paſs through *England*, to animate the party of his mother by the preſence of the next heir of the crown[2]; and paſſing over thither with a large retinue of knights and ſoldiers, he was attended to *Scotland* by *Ralf* earl of *Cheſter*, *Roger* earl of *Hereford*, and a good number of the weſtern nobility. The ceremony[3] of knighthood was performed by the king at *Carliſle*, on *Whitſunday*, *May* 22; the prince of *Scotland* and the earl of *Cheſter* aſſiſting in the ſolemnity: and the laſt of theſe came to an agreement with *David* in relation to his claim of *Carliſle*; being to receive in lieu thereof, the honour of *Lancaſter*, and his ſon to marry one of the prince's daughters. The vaſt number of nobility, knights, and military men of both kingdoms aſſembled on this occaſion, giving the citizens of *York* terrible apprehenſions of their having a deſign to fall upon that city, *Stephen* marched thither with a conſiderable army, and ſtaid there till the end of *Auguſt*: but neither ſide caring to begin hoſtilities, he retired without coming to any action. There was indeed a concert made between *David*, *Henry*, and *Ralf* for invading *Stephen's* territories; and the two firſt advanced with their forces as far as *Lancaſter*; where the laſt had promiſed to join them with his followers: but finding themſelves diſappointed, and ſeeing no reaſon to depend on a man ſo uncertain, they marched back to *Scotland*. *Euſtace*, likewiſe, having been lately knighted by his father, and thinking it neceſſary to diſtinguiſh himſelf by ſome action, that

Prince *Henry* knighted by *David* king of *Scotland*. *A. D.* 1149.

[1] *Hoveden.* [2] *Chron. Gerv.* col. 1366. *H. Hunt.* [3] *Joh. Hagulſt.* col. 277.

Stephen. A. D. 1149. might eclipse the reputation of *Henry*, who was now making his first essay in armes, made some inconsiderable excursions to waste the lands of certain noblemen in those parts, that adhered to the empress: but this was after the departure of *Stephen*, who, before he went out of the north, took care to squeeze from the nobility and gentry of the country, in proportion to each man's quality, what sums of money he thought fit to demand; which was paid by weight, because the coin was universally adulterated.

A. D. 1150. Invested in the dutchy of *Normandie*. XCI. Prince *Henry*, after passing near eight months in *Scotland*, and improving himself there in military exercises, set sail from thence in the beginning of *January* for *Normandie*: and received the honours and revenues of the dutchy from his father *Geffrey*. The king of *France*, incensed at this resignation, made contrary to the express orders given by him, as sovereign of the *Fief*, probably with a view to serve *Eustace*, who had married his sister, invaded the province, and besieged the castle of *Arques*. *Henry*, at the head of a great army of *Normans*, *Britons*, and *Angevins*, advanced with a design to force him to raise the siege, or give him battle: but being dissuaded from fighting against the person of his lord, if he suffered from him no greater damage, invested the castle of *Tourne* by way of diversion. His design succeeded; *Louis* advancing to the relief of the place, which was on the point of being taken. *Henry* however, for the same reason which had made him decline a battle, drew off his troops: and soon after a peace being made between them, *Louis* gave him the investiture of *Normandie*. In the mean time, the war was carried on in *England* after the usual manner, by the depredations of garrisons [1], encounters of small parties, and attempts upon castles, rather than formal sieges. The most considerable of these was that upon *Worcester*; which *Stephen* attacking out of hatred to the count of *Meulant*, to whom he had given it, but who had since declared for his rival, burnt the town: but was not able to take the castle.

A. D. 1151. This *borrowed* king, as *Gervase* [2] styles him, made the year following another attempt upon the same place: but with the like ill success; the garrison making so gallant a defence, that raising the siege, he contented himself with blocking up the castle by two forts, which were soon after taken by *Robert* earl of *Leicester*, brother to the count of *Meulant*. It was the nature of *Stephen* to begin an enterprize with vigour [3], but to cool soon in its prosecution: and though his efforts were inconsiderable, *Henry* not being engaged in any war abroad, had thoughts of coming over into *England*, and called an assembly of the estates of *Normandie* at *Lisieux*, in order to take measures for the expedition. He was hindered from executing this design by the death of his father *Geffrey* count of *Anjou*; who returning from a conference with the king of *France* [4], was taken ill of a fever, at the *Chateau du Loir*, and dying on *September* 7, in the forty first year of his age, was buried at *le Mans*, in the church of *S. Julian*; where his coat of arms, as far as it can be represented on an half shield, is still to be seen, the most ancient monument of its kind in the world, and the original of the arms of the crown of *England*. This prince, to whom the monk of *Marmoutier*, who wrote his life, and other cotemporary writers, give an excellent character, left, besides *Henry*, two other sons, *Geffrey*, and *William*; the one having *Chinon*, *Loudun*, and *Mirebeau*, the other the county of *Mortain* for their appanage.

And marries *Eleanor* dutchess of *Guienne*. XCII. Henry having taken possession of *Anjou*, *Touraine*, and *Maine*, and settled his affairs in those provinces, resumed, in the next year, the thoughts of passing

[1] *H. Hunt. Norman.* p. 103. [2] Col. 1367. [3] *H. Hunt. Chron. Gervas.* col. 1370. [4] *Vit. Gauffredi Duc.*

STEPHEN. A. D. 1152.

over into *England*, but was diverted from it by another affair. *Louis* VII, king of *France*, had been married ſixteen years to *Eleanor*, daughter and heireſs of *William* duke of *Guienne*, and count of *Poitou*; but their tempers not agreeing, and ſome diſtaſte ariſing between them during their late voyage to the *Holy Land*, they being heartily weary of one another, agreed upon a divorce. This was pronounced in the council of *Baugency*, called expreſsly for that purpoſe, on the *Tueſday* before *Palm Sunday*: and the ſentence declared to be given on account of their conſanguinity. A romantick ſtory (ſuch as the croiſades in thoſe days cauſed to be continually invented) of an amour of this princeſs with a young *Turk*, called *Saladin*, or with the prince of *Antioch*, as different writers are pleaſed to ſuggeſt, was ſpread about, as if it were the real cauſe of the king's diſcontent: and the ſcene being laid in a country too remote to admit of an eaſy refutation, it might perhaps find credit with people fond of hearkening to tales of that nature; though probably raiſed only with a view, by throwing a ſlur on her reputation, to keep the divorced queen from a ſecond marriage. It had not however this effect, *Eleanor* being married on the *Whitſonday* following to *Henry* duke of *Normandie*[1]; after having rejected the propoſals of *Theobald* count of *Blois*, and eſcaped the ſnares, which, nettled at the repulſe, he had laid to ſeize on her perſon, and force her to an alliance. *Henry*, by this marriage, added to his former dominions, moſt of the provinces of *France*, lying between the *Loire* and the *Pyrenees*: which *Louis* either wiſhed might deſcend to the two daughters he had by her, or propoſed to reunite to the crown; it appearing by his charters[2], that he retained the title of duke of *Guienne* after his divorce. This weak king, fitter for a convent than a throne, now ſaw the ill conſequences of that ſtep: and, vexed at his own folly and *Henry's* greatneſs, formed an alliance with king *Stephen*[3], *Theobald* count of *Blois*, and *Geffrey* of *Anjou* (*Henry's* younger brother) who had been lately knighted by *Theobald*, to ſtrip him of all his dominions. With this view, *Louis*, with his brother the count of *Dreux*, *Euſtace*, *Stephen's* ſon, and *Robert* count of *Perche*, invaded *Normandie*: and beſieged *Neumarché*, between *Gournay* and *Giſors*; whilſt *Geffrey* ſtaid in *Anjou* to raiſe an inſurrection in that country. *Henry* was at *Barfleur* ready to embark for *England*, his uncle *Reginald* earl of *Cornwall* being ſent to invite him thither; when the news of this invaſion forced him to quit that deſign, and aſſemble his forces in order to raiſe the ſiege of *Neumarché*: but the place had ſurrendered before he arrived with his army for its relief. All that he could do, was to cover his other places; which he did with ſo much conduct as deſerved the admiration of his enemies: and the *French* army retiring at the end of *Auguſt* without any other attempt, he left good garriſons in all his frontier towns, and marched with ſuch expedition into *Anjou*, that he ſurprized his brother, and quelled the inſurrection in that province.

XCIII. STEPHEN was much alarmed at the great power and reputation of this young prince: and thought it neceſſary to take extraordinary precautions for ſecuring the ſucceſſion of the crown to his family. He had loſt his wife *Maude*, a princeſs of great prudence, art, addreſs, vigour, and reſolution; who had been exceeding uſeful to him in all the difficulties of his affairs, and during the whole courſe of his government: ſhe died this year, on *May* 3, and was buried in the abbey of *Feverſham*. He propoſed to deprive *Henry* of his right to the crown, by getting his own eldeſt ſon *Euſtace*[4], not only declared his ſucceſſor, to which the lay nobility of his party readily aſſented, but crowned immediately: and with this view called

Stephen tries in vain to get his ſon *Euſtace* crowned.

[1] *Chron. Turon.* [2] *Labbe in Chron. A. D.* 1153. [3] *Chron. Norm.* [4] *Annal. Waverl. Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1372 and 1371. *H. Hunt.*

Stephen. A. D. 1152.

a great council of all the prelates and nobility of *England* to meet at *London*. He ſeems to have entertained this deſign for ſome time; it being known before, and Pope *Eugenius* having given orders to archbiſhop *Theobald*, who was alſo his legate, not to crown *Euſtace*. *Theobald* had, in this laſt capacity, held about *Midlent* in the precedent year a ſynod of all *England*; in which he had ſuffered three appeals to be made to *Rome*, according to the late practice introduced by the biſhop of *Wincheſter* during his legation: and was reſolved at any rate to obſerve the Pope's orders. The right of crowning the kings of *England* belonged to the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: and when *Stephen* required *Theobald* to anoint *Euſtace*, and the reſt of the biſhops to aſſiſt in his coronation, they abſolutely refuſed. The father and ſon, highly incenſed at this refuſal, ordered them all to be locked up in a room; and tried by menaces and terror to force them to a compliance: but nothing could ſhake their conſtancy, though they had reaſon to dread the worſt, becauſe of *Stephen's* known averſion to their order. The archbiſhop had the good fortune to make his eſcape out of confinement, and getting in a boat croſs the *Thames*, got to *Dover*, where he embarked for *France*; chooſing [1] a voluntary exile, rather than do an act to exclude the right heir, and to perpetuate the miſeries of the kingdom. *Stephen* in a rage ſeized all the poſſeſſions of his ſee, as he did likewiſe thoſe of the other biſhops: but he not being in circumſtances to bear the odium of this conduct, they were ſoon reſtored. *Theobald* too, upon the Pope's ordering all the biſhops to iſſue out an interdict on the kingdom, with a bar to all appeals, returned in a little time to *England*.

A. D. 1153.

Prince *Henry* lands in *England*, and makes a compromiſe with *Stephen*.

XCIV. This attempt, though it miſcarried in this manner, with *Stephen's* taking of *Newberry*, and blocking up *Wallingford* by the fort of *Craumers*, made *Henry* think it high time to go over into *England*, to take effectual meaſures with his friends, for making himſelf maſter of the kingdom. He had made a truce with *France*: and having provided for the ſecurity of his frontier garriſons, he paſſed the ſea in a [2] fleet of thirty ſix ſhips; landing on *Jan.* 6. with only one hundred and forty knights, and about three thouſand foot, it not being adviſeable to weaken *Normandie*, by drawing thence a greater number of forces. He was immediately joined by the greateſt part of the earls and barons of the kingdom: and it being reſolved to beſiege *Malmeſbury*, he beat the enemy in an engagement, as he was advancing to the place, took the town, and the outward walls of the caſtle, before *Stephen* advanced to its relief. There was no raiſing the ſiege without a battle under great diſadvantages, nor any lying in the field at that time of the year, conſidering the extremity of the weather: theſe circumſtances obliging *Stephen* to retire, the beſieged, in deſpair of ſuccour, ſurrendered the caſtle. *Robert* earl of *Leiceſter* came to *Henry* at this ſiege; and *Gundreda*, counteſs of *Warwick*, declared in his favour, delivering up her caſtle: *Reading*, and above thirty other fortreſſes ſubmitted to him, with their garriſons. *Wallingford*, being in diſtreſs for want of proviſions, *Henry* marched thither to throw in a ſupply: and in taking by ſtorm the fort which blocked it up, gained a great reputation for valour. *Stephen*, advancing with his forces, much ſuperior to *Henry's* in number, to the relief of the fort, the two armies lay encamped ſeveral days within a quarter of a mile of each other: but without coming to an action; though thrice drawn up in order of battle; *Stephen's* horſe [3] often rearing with him, and falling backwards, when he offered to advance. This gave occaſion to *William* earl of *Arundel*, with others of his party, to propoſe an accommodation: which being agreed to by *Stephen*, met with ſome

[1] *Ep. S. Thomæ Cant.* p. 225. [2] *Annal. Waverl. Chron. Norman. Chr. Gervaſ.* col. 1372.
[3] *Ib.* col. 1373, *& ſeq.*

difficulty

difficulty on the part of *Henry*, who was deſirous to improve the time which his truce with *France* allowed him to paſs in *England*, and unwilling to loſe the benefit of all his warlike preparations. The inſtances of his friends prevailed upon him at laſt to conſent to a treaty: and the two armies parted without fighting; in hopes that the articles of it would be ſoon ſettled. Whilſt this was doing, *Henry*, falling into the middle of *England*, took the caſtle of *Stamford*, and marching thence, made himſelf maſter of the town and caſtle of *Notingham*[1]; his party daily increaſing by the defection of the nobility from *Stephen*, who in the mean time reduced the caſtle of *Ipſwich*, belonging to *Hugh Bigot*. It was probably during this expedition of his father, that *Euſtace* died, on *Auguſt* 17, near *St. Edmund's-Bury*; leaving no iſſue by his wife *Conſtance*, whom he treated very ill: he was lewd, cruel, brutal, and furious; without ſenſe, vigour, courage, or merit; and a bitter enemy to the treaty on foot, which could not but be fatal to his hopes of the ſucceſſion. *Joannes*[2] *Sariſburienſis* ſays, that he died of grief and a broken heart on that account; regretted only by a parcel of lewd, roiſtering, debauched, and beggarly fellows, the ſcum of the nation: but to the great ſatisfaction of all good men, who congratulated one another upon the event, and rejoiced in the good fortune of their country, now rid of one that would have been a terrible ſcourge to her, and the beſt action of whoſe life was, the making his exit out of the world ſo ſeaſonably. *Simon* earl of *Northampton* died about the ſame time, with ſome other noblemen of *Stephen's* party; ſo that the diſtreſſed condition of this prince's affairs diſpoſing him to hearken to the repreſentations of his brother the biſhop of *Wincheſter*, archbiſhop *Theobald*, and other great men that laboured for peace, the treaty was at laſt concluded, and ratified in a great council of the prelates and nobility, ſummoned jointly by *Henry* and *Stephen* to meet in the latter end of *November* at *Wincheſter*. The[3] articles of it were, "that *Stephen* ſhould reign as king, during his life, and "*Henry* ſhould ſucceed him, as lawful heir of the kingdom by hereditary right; "that *William*, *Stephen's* ſon, ſhould have all the lands which his father poſſeſſed "in *England* and *Normandie*, before he got the crown, with the honour of the "late *William Warenne*, whoſe daughter and heir he had married, *Richier de* "*l'Aigle's* ſhare of the honour of *Pevenſey*, and ſeven hundred pounds rent in "*Norfolk*, and ſhould do homage and give ſecurity or hoſtages for his fidelity to "*Henry*; that the inhabitants of cities, and garriſons of caſtles, ſubject to *Stephen*, "ſhould do the ſame; that the tower of *London*, and caſtle of *Windſor* ſhould be "put into the hands of *William de Lucey*, who was to ſwear, and give his ſon for "an hoſtage, that he would deliver them to *Henry* after *Stephen's* deceaſe; that "the caſtle of *Oxford* ſhould be entruſted to *Roger de Lucey*, and that of *Lincoln* "to *Jordan de Buſelo* on the like ſecurity; which was to be given alſo by all future "governors of thoſe places, and by the biſhop of *Winton* for the delivery of the "caſtles of *Wincheſter* and *Southampton*; that juſtice ſhould be adminiſtered in "*Stephen's* name throughout *Henry's* part of the realm, as well as his own, but "in the affairs of the kingdom the firſt ſhould act by *Henry's* advice[4]. All the "prelates, earls, and barons were to take an oath for the obſervance of this agree-"ment, and the biſhops were to paſs eccleſiaſtical cenſures on whoever infringed it "in any reſpect, till he preformed his conduct."

It is[5] impoſſible to deſcribe the ſatisfaction, which the news of this agreement gave to every part of the nation, or the pomp of the proceſſions and other de-

[1] *Gul. Neubrig.* l. i. c. 29. [2] *J. Sariſburienſ. Policraticus*, l. vi. c. 18. [3] *Rymer. Fœdera*, *A. D.* 1153. t. i. p. 14.

[4] *Hoveden*, p. 490, ſpeaking of this article, ſays, *Henry* was made chief juſticiary of the kingdom; and there is no doubt, but he appointed judges in his own diſtrict, though they adminiſtered juſtice in *Stephen's* name; but by the term *juſticiary*, he probably means *Regent* or *Guardian* of the kingdom. See *M. Paris*, p. 102. lin. 38. p. 104. lin. 2.

[5] *Chron. Gervaſ. H. Hunt. Gul. Neubrig.* l. i. c. 30.

monſtrations

Stephen. monſtrations of joy, with which the two princes were received, when they entered *London* together, in order for *Henry's* receiving the homage and fealty of the citizens. Every body now ſaw an happy end of their miſeries: and *Stephen* began, by *Henry's* favour and conceſſion, to be a king in reality, as well as name; his government having been ever before a mere uſurpation, his authority very little, and his poſſeſſion of the throne very precarious. After a ſhort ſtay, *Henry* parted to keep *Chriſtmas* among his friends: but they met again at *Oxford* on *Jan.* 13, when a great council was held; in which all the great men of *England* did homage to *Henry*, and ſwore to him the fealty due to their lord; reſerving however to *Stephen* the honour and fidelity due to him during his life. The good correſpondence between theſe princes laſted, till another council held a little time [1] after at *Dunſtaple:* when a diſpute happened on account of an article; which is not contained in *Stephen's* charter, notifying the treaty to the kingdom. Beſides the conventions therein mentioned, our hiſtorians take notice of two other proviſions; which ſeem to have been made in an aſſembly of the eſtates, probably that of *Wincheſter*; becauſe they could not well be executed without the concurrence of that body, and did not ſo much relate to the intereſt of either of the princes, as to the general pacification of the kingdom. By one of theſe, all lands and poſſeſſions, uſurped in the time of the troubles, were to be reſtored to the right owners; by the other, all caſtles and forts erected ſince the death of the late king, which had been the means of infinite oppreſſions of the people, and amounted to one hundred and twenty ſix in number, were to be demoliſhed. Nothing coſts an uſurper ſo little as the breach of his ſtipulations: and this article, which had been duely executed by *Henry* in his part of the realm, had not been obſerved with the ſame faith by *Stephen*; who, either with a treacherous view, or out of regard to his favourites, had not diſmantled ſeveral that ſtood upon his lands, and abſolutely refuſed to do ſo, when the other modeſtly put him in mind of the infraction. They had both ſworn to act in concert for obliging all governors of caſtles to comply with the articles of the convention: and though *Stephen's* contempt of his oath in this particular might give juſt grounds of ſuſpicion, that he would be as little ſcrupulous in the breach of the reſt, yet *Henry* did not loſe his temper on the occaſion; not caring to involve the realm in new troubles by coming to an open rupture, and ſeeing himſelf, by being maſter of the better half of the kingdom, and having the greateſt part of the nobility as well as the prelates of the church on his ſide, in a condition to exact, whenever he pleaſed, an entire execution of the treaty. This refuſal however of *Stephen*, ſhewing his diſlike thereof, gave in all probability encouragement to ſome of his partiſans to form a conſpiracy for the murder of *Henry*, whilſt he lay at *Dover*, waiting for a wind to waft him over into *Normandie*. *William de Ypres*, made earl of *Kent* by *Stephen*, had filled that county with his *Flemings*, a parcel of rapacious, abandoned raſcals, capable of any iniquity: and theſe were to be the actors in the tragedy. *Stephen* had about *Eaſter* accompanied *Henry* to that port, where the count of *Flanders* was to meet them: and that he might not appear to be concerned in the conſpiracy, it was to be executed, after he had taken leave of the young prince, and was returned to *Canterbury*. But when it was on the point of execution, *William*, *Stephen's* ſon, who, notwithſtanding his oath of allegiance to *Henry* and the ample proviſion made for him, had engaged in it, falling from his horſe on *Barham Down*, and breaking his leg, all the meaſures of the conſpirators were broke for want of a leader: and *Henry*, having notice of the deſign, returned on a ſudden to *Canterbury*, before they had agreed on ſupplying that defect, and making all the haſte he could to *London*, went from thence by water to *Normandie*.

A. D. 1154.

[1] *Chr. Norman. Gervaſ. H. Hunt.*

XCIII. His preſence there was neceſſary to ſtop the progreſs of the king of *France*, who had invaded the province and taken *Vernon*: but being repulſed before *Vernueil*, and ſeeing *Henry* at leiſure, by the pacification of *England*, to oppoſe him with all the forces of his foreign dominions, he hearkened to a peace; which was concluded in *Auguſt* upon the conditions of his reſtoring *Neumarché* and *Vernon* to *Henry*, and receiving two thouſand marks of ſilver in compenſation for the charges of the war and the fortifications of thoſe places. *Henry* ſeized the opportunity, afforded by this peace, to reſume, very prudently and by degrees, the demeſnes of the dutchy, which his father *Geffrey* had been forced to grant for a time to the *Norman* nobility, to engage them in his intereſts. In the mean time, ſome ill deſigning perſons in *England* were continually plying *Stephen* with falſe ſuggeſtions, and uſing all poſſible endeavours to create a rupture between him and *Henry*: nor were their inſinuations rejected by a prince naturally ſuſpicious; ſo that a quarrel would in all appearance have enſued, if providence had not prevented it by putting an end to *Stephen's* life and deſigns. He had been at *Dover* to confer with *Thierry* count of *Flanders*: and in his return, being taken ill of the *Iliac* paſſion, mixed with his old complaint of the piles, died on *Oct.* 25, at *Dover*[1]; from whence his corpſe was carried, and interred in the abbey of *Feverſham*, founded by himſelf and his wife *Matilda*.

STEPHEN. *A. D.* 1154. *Stephen's* death, character, and iſſue.

His character appears ſufficiently from what hath been ſaid of his actions. He certainly did not want activity on ſome occaſions, nor courage on any: but, either diſheartened by the difficulties of an enterprize, which he had not the prudence to foreſee, or through the impatience of his temper, he knew not how to perſevere in what he had begun with vigour, and was very unequal in his conduct. He loved war, yet ſeems to have had no genius for it; never attaining to any conſiderable degree of military ſkill, notwithſtanding his long experience; which proved of little uſe to him, by reaſon of his want of obſervation, reflection, and judgment. Some writers aſcribe to him good nature, becauſe he did not put his enemies to death as rebels: but as capital puniſhments were very rare in thoſe days, and the circumſtances of his affairs did not allow him to proceed to ſuch an extremity, the beſt proof of it may be drawn from his fondneſs to keep company with mean and inconſiderable perſons. He was undoubtedly a weak man; led and managed at the pleaſure of thoſe about him; unthinking, and never to be made wiſe by any experience; raſh, haſty, inconſiderate, credulous, ſuſpicious; and would have made a wretched figure upon the throne, had it been his fortune to govern in times of peace; ſo that the inteſtine wars, which made the miſery of the nation, during almoſt all the nineteen years of his reign, were of real advantage to his reputation. He had none of the virtues of a king, nor any of the talents neceſſary for government; no magnanimity or noble ſentiments; no honour, no faith, no ſteadineſs, no œconomy, no foreſight, or ſagacity, no regard either to his dignity and character, to juſtice, equity, good order, or religion. He[2] ſtuck at nothing to gratify his boundleſs ambition, and luſt of power; would make any promiſes to gain his ends, and forgot them the next moment; perjury and treachery were the ordinary means he made uſe of to effect thoſe jobs, which his narrow underſtanding put him upon, to ſerve a preſent turn, whilſt they ruined his credit for ever; being infatuated in his counſels and incapable of adopting thoſe ſolid, wiſe, and honeſt maximes of good policy, which will always be of ſervice to a prince, and tranſmit his memory with glory to future ages. The civil wars, the natural conſequence of his uſurpation, which took up moſt of his time, and reduced the kingdom to a

[1] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1376. [2] *Policraticus*, l. vi. c. 18.

Stephen. A.D. 1154.

ſtate of deſolation, hindering him from laying any regular taxes upon the people, except in the counties ſubject to his power; where he [1] raiſed *Danegeld*, notwithſtanding his oath and the charter granted at his coronation, promiſing to remit it for ever. What money he raiſed by contributions in a military way, or out of the demeſnes of the crown, he ſquandered upon his foreign troops, and upon every petitioner that ſued to him; with a facility and prodigality uſual enough in uſurpers; who are generally forced to let their miniſters and partiſans ſhare with them in the plunder of a nation.

Stephen had by his wife three ſons, *viz.* *Baldwin*, who died in his infancy; *Euſtace* beforementioned; and *William*, who ſurviving him, inherited the county of *Boulogne* from his mother, and was earl of *Surrey* in right of his wife, the onely daughter and heir of *William* III, earl *Warenne:* and having after his father's deceaſe, reſigned all the lands of his gift both in *England* and *Normandie*, was knighted by *Henry* II, at *Carliſle*, and accompanying him to the ſiege of *Toulouſe*, died in the expedition. He had alſo by the ſame bed two [2] daughters; *Maude*, who was contracted when two years old to *Walleran* count of *Meulant*, but died an infant; and *Marie*, who being abbeſs of the nunnery of *Rumſey*, was ſecretly carried from thence, and being married to *Matthew*, a younger ſon of *Thierry* count of *Flanders*, enjoyed the county of *Boulogne*, after the death of her brother *William*. She [3] had two daughters by her huſband, before ſhe was ſeparated from him by the ſentence of the church, on the account of her having profeſſed chaſtity, and remitted to her monaſtery; the eldeſt of which, named *Ida*, was married to *Renaud de Trie* count of *Dammartin*, who in her right became count of *Boulogne*; and the younger, called *Maude*, was wife to *Henry* I, duke of *Brabant*. *Stephen* had likewiſe two natural ſons, *William*, who is mentioned in a charter of his legitimate brother of the ſame name; and *Gervaſe*, made by his father abbot of *Weſtminſter*, where he died *Auguſt* 26, *A.D.* 1160, and lies buried in the ſouth part of the cloiſter of the abbey *John* [4] of *Glaſtenbury* aſcribes to him likewiſe another illegitimate ſon, named *Ralf*, who was chamberlain to *Henry* II.

[1] *MS. Flor. Wig. in Bibl. C. C. C. Oxon.* *Chr. Norman.* 997. *Chr. Alberici, A.D.* 1160.
[2] *Ord. Vital.* p. 903.
[3] *Sigebert*, p. 216.
[4] *Ed. Hearne*, p. 175.

A GENE-

A

GENERAL HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

BOOK VI.

Containing an Account of *Engliſh* Affairs for the ſpace of Sixty-two Years, from the Acceſſion of *Henry* II, to the Death of King *John*.

HENRY II. *A. D.* 1154.

Henry's coronation and meaſures to ſecure the peace of the realm.

I. *HENRY* (called *Fitz Empreſs* from his mother, and *Court-mantel*, for bringing the faſhion of ſhort cloaks from *Anjou* into *England)* was [1] engaged in beſieging a caſtle on the frontiers of *Normandie*; when he received advice of *Stephen's* death: but would not quit the ſiege, till the place had ſurrendered; ſeeing no neceſſity for his immediate repair into *England*. He was already maſter of the beſt part of the kingdom; the prelates and clergy were entirely in his intereſt: and the nation had ſuffered ſuch a ſeries of miſeries under the late uſurpation, that all thoughts of continuing it were laid aſide. There was no appearance of any competitor, beſides *William*, the ſon of *Stephen:* and he was too much deſpiſed to be able to make head againſt a prince; whoſe hereditary right was univerſally acknowledged, and whoſe prudence, firmneſs, zeal for juſtice, and other excellent qualities [2], had raiſed in all orders of men, the higheſt expectations of being perfectly happy under his government. *Henry*, having at laſt ſettled his affairs abroad, in a conference with his mother and an aſſembly of the prelates and barons of *Normandie*, ſet ſail [3] from *Barfleur* on *December* 7: and landing the next day near *Hurſt-caſtle*, in the *New Foreſt*, proceeded from thence to *Wincheſter*, where he received the homage and fealties of the *Engliſh* nobility. He was afterwards, on the nineteenth of the ſame month, being the laſt *Sunday* in *Advent*, crowned with his queen at *Weſtminſter*, by *Theobald* archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; two archbiſhops, fourteen biſhops, and a vaſt number both of *Engliſh* and *Norman* earls and barons being preſent at the ſolemnity. With theſe he conſulted

[1] *Chron. Norm.* p. 989. [2] *Gul. Neubrig.* l. ii. c. 1. *Policrat.* l. vi. c. 18. [3] *Chr. Norm. Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1376. *M. Paris. Chron. Sax.*

Henry II. in his court, which he held during the *Chriſtmas* holidays at *Bermondſey*, about the meaſures proper to be taken for redreſſing the diſorders occaſioned, and the grievances introduced, by the late uſurpation, and for eſtabliſhing the peace of the kingdom.

A. D. 1155. An infinite number of foreigners had come over in *Stephen's* time, and by his invitation; under the pretence of ſerving in his armies, and in order to ſhare in the plunder of the nation: they had been loaded with his favours, whilſt all parts of the land, ſubject to him, groaned under their horrible oppreſſions; and he had retained them after his accommodation with *Henry*, probably with ſome view not favourable to that tranſaction. *William de Ypres* [1], whom he had made earl of *Kent*, and his *Flemings*, were the moſt conſiderable of theſe foreigners, and had been the moſt favoured: but being now ordered by a proclamation to depart the realm by a day fixed, they all diſappeared in leſs than three months, to the amazement of all the world; who could not conceive, how it was poſſible for them, to get out of the realm ſo ſuddenly, though winged by the fear of vengeance for their cruelties and depredations. A like order was iſſued for demoliſhing all the caſtles erected ſince the death of *Henry* I, in ſuch numbers that every third town had one; which had ſerved for ſo many neſts of robbers to lay the neighbourhood deſolate; a few only being reſerved in the king's hands, becauſe of their advantageous ſituation for the defence of the kingdom. The coin had been horribly adulterated in the late times of confuſion: and it being impracticable to reſtore commerce, or prevent continual diſputes in dealings between particular perſons, till this enormous evil was redreſſed, new money was ſtruck [2] of a juſt fineneſs, weight, and value. The demeſnes of the crown had been alienated in a ſhameful manner [3], and its revenue greatly impaired by the exorbitant grants of the late prince; who found it neceſſary to engage people by their intereſt to ſupport his uſurpation. Theſe were now all reſumed and re-annexed to the crown; by which the baronies incident to their tenure became extinct: and the *Pſeudo* [4] *earls* (as our hiſtorians term them) of *Stephen's* creation, were deprived of their illegal dignities; the charters which they produced in their favour being rejected as of no validity, *becauſe a lawful prince ought not to receive any prejudice from the grants of an uſurper.* This was carried ſo far, that even benefactions [5] made to churches and monaſteries out of the crown-lands were reſumed; though in ſome caſes the king was graciouſly pleaſed to favour them with new grants: and *Malcolm* king of *Scotland*, upon *Henry's* demand of the counties of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and *Weſtmorland*, thought fit to give them up without a war, which it was proper to avoid during that prince's minority; a compliance ſo agreeable to the king of *England*, that he gave him in return the county of *Huntingdon*, to which *Malcolm* had ſome weak pretenſions.

But nothing was of greater advantage to *Henry's* reputation, or contributed more to the eſtabliſhment of his throne and the happineſs of his ſubjects, than the judgment, which, young as he was [6], he ſhewed in the choice of his council; compoſed of men, ripe in years, and fitted by their capacity, experience, wiſdom, and virtue to ſuggeſt the beſt meaſures for reforming a corrupt nation, and carrying on all the affairs of government; and the care he took as well for a due execution of the laws, which had ſlept all *Stephen's* time, as for the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, which had been utterly neglected during the late uſurpation. For this [7] purpoſe he appointed juſtices in all quarters of the kingdom, to repreſs diſorders and puniſh offenders within their reſpective diſtricts, whilſt he was taken up with the weightier

[1] *Gul. Neubrig. ib. Chr. Gervaſ. ib. Vit. S. Thomæ Cant.* p. 13. [2] *Hoveden.* [3] *Ib. M. Paris. & in Vit. Abb. S. Alban.* p. 70. *Chron. Norm.* [4] *Annal Waverl. Brompton*, col. 1046. *Gul. Neubr.* l. ii. c. 2. *Chr. Hemingford.* l. ii. c. 2. *Chr. Trivet.* [5] *M. Paris. ib.* [5] *Geſta Conſulum Andegav.* in *Dachery's Spiceleg.* t. x. p. 406. [7] *Gul. Neubrig. ib.*

affairs of the realm: and he took care to watch himſelf over their conduct, to ſee that they were vigilant and upright in the execution of their charge; examining into the ſtate of the counties through which he made his progreſs; ever ready to hear the complaints of ſuch as were aggrieved, and as ſure to correct the negligence, or redreſs the exceſſes and oppreſſions, of theſe juſtices. Hence a new face of things ſoon appeared: and a ſtop being put to all robberies and depredations, the towns were ſoon repeopled; the lands every where tilled; every body enjoyed the ſweets of quiet and reaped the benefit of their induſtry; rejoicing in the happy change of their ſituation, and partaking in the peace, plenty, and felicity that reigned throughout the kingdom. They had a pleaſing proſpect of the continuance of theſe bleſſings by the increaſe of the royal progeny; queen *Elianor* being on [1] *Feb.* 28 delivered of prince *Henry*. This event ſeems to have given occaſion to that general council of the prelates and nobility, which the king ſummoned after *Eaſter* to meet [2] at *Wallingford*; where they all ſwore allegiance to him and his heirs, particularly to prince *William* (who died the year following) if he ſurvived his father, and to the new born *Henry*, in caſe he out-lived his elder brother. The doing this in the moſt ſolemn and uſual manner, ſeems to have been the chief, if not the ſole, deſign of calling that extraordinary council [3]; the king having in another, held a little before, about *Midlent*, provided very well for the affairs of the realm by eſtabliſhing its ancient cuſtoms, with the laws of *Edward the Confeſſor*, and by confirming, in a charter under the great ſeal, the grants and privileges of certain biſhops, abbeys, and churches. The laws here mentioned were only ſuch of the *Confeſſor's* as had been adopted by *Henry* I; and the charter here referred to, ſeems to be that publiſhed by *Spelman*, atteſted by *Richard de Lucy* the chief juſticiary; in which *Henry* II confirmed to the church, to all his earls, barons, and vaſſals, all the cuſtoms, donations, and privileges, which they had enjoyed in the time of his grandfather.

HENRY II. *A. D.* 1155.

The king met with no difficulty in the execution of any of theſe meaſures, for the ſecurity of his government, and the peace of the nation, except in that relating to the demolition and ſurrender of the fortreſſes lately erected by the nobility; ſome of whom were very loath to comply with the terms of the proclamation on that ſubject [4]. The moſt conſiderable of theſe was *William le Gros* earl of *Albemarle*, now ſtripped of his title of *York*; who being lord of *Holderneſs*, and maſter of large poſſeſſions in other parts of *Yorkſhire*, had in *Stephen's* time acted as king in the country north of the *Humber*, and erected the caſtle of *Scarborough*, fortifying it ſo as to render it in a manner impregnable. He was very unwilling to give it up with his other forts, which had ſerved to eſtabliſh his ill-gotten power: but being in no condition to make head againſt *Henry*, was, after ſeveral affected delays and excuſes, forced to ſubmit. Thoſe delays were probably the occaſion of the king's marching into *Yorkſhire* [5], as the deſign of calling *William Peverel* to account for the poiſoning of *Ralf* earl of *Cheſter*, ſeems to have been the reaſon of his paſſing, as he returned thence, by *Nottingham*: but *William*, conſcious of his guilt, and dreading the vengeance due to his crime, had turned monk in the monaſtery of *Lenton*; and not thinking himſelf ſafe, under the privileges of his order, from the king's inexorable juſtice, fled upon his approach into foreign parts; leaving all his large eſtate and caſtles; which were immediately ſeized, being forfeited to the crown by his felony. The biſhop of *Wincheſter* [6], about the ſame time, ſending his treaſure before him by the abbot of *Cluny*, and going abroad privately without licenſe, the king ordered all his caſtles to be levelled: and having ſeen his ordinance

[1] *M. Paris. Rob. Glouc. Chron. Norm.* [2] *M. Paris.* [3] *Concil. M. Brit.* t. i. p. 426 and 428. [4] *Gul. Neubrig. ib.* c. 3. [5] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1377. [6] *M. Paris.*

Henry II. executed in the north and weſt of *England*, was obliged to march with an army to
A. D. 1155. the marches of *Wales*; where there were ſeveral malcontents that wanted no inclination to rebel, and *Hugh de Mortimer* had fortified his caſtles of *Bridgenorth*, *Clebery*, and *Wigmore*. This laſt had prevailed upon *Roger* (ſon of the great *Milo*) earl of *Hereford* (who did not care to part with his caſtles of *Glouceſter* and *Hereford*) to retire from court, and to levy a body of forces among the *Welſh*, from whom his mother derived her deſcent: but *Gilbert Foliot* biſhop of *Hereford*, being related to the young earl, and much concerned to ſee him haſtening to his ruin, went after him; and having, by his wiſe remonſtrances, brought him to a ſenſe of his duty, carried him back to court upon aſſurance of the king's pardon; which was readily granted upon the ſurrender of his caſtles. *Hugh* continued obſtinate till he ſaw his three fortreſſes, in the ſtrength whereof he chiefly confided, inveſted at the ſame time by the king, and all taken: but was then forced to ſue for mercy, and deliver up all that he had uſurped of the royal demeſnes. This was done in [1] *July*: and the proclamation being now executed in all quarters of the realm, the king, before the end of the ſummer, had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the peace of the nation fully ſettled, and all the forts given up; which had ſerved under *Stephen* to oppreſs the people, and might otherwiſe, in his own reign, be made uſe of for the raiſing of future rebellions.

A. D. 1156. II. Henry leaving all quiet in *England*, paſſed the ſea in the beginning of
Henry's expedition into *Anjou*. *January*, in order to quell ſome diſturbances raiſed by his brother *Geffrey* in *Anjou*: the occaſion whereof is thus related by *Neubrigenſis* [2], and from him copied by *Brompton* and others. *Geffrey Plantagenet* count of *Anjou*, deſirous to ſecure a better proviſion to his younger ſon than he was able to make for him, required, in a will made on his death-bed, his eldeſt ſon *Henry*, whenever he got poſſeſſion of *England*, to make over the county of *Anjou* to his brother *Geffrey*: and obliged the biſhops and noblemen about him to ſwear, that his corpſe ſhould not be interred, till *Henry* had bound himſelf by oath to perform the contents of the will, which till then was not to be opened. *Henry*, coming to the funeral, is ſaid to have taken the oath very unwillingly, and purely to avoid the ſcandal of letting his father's body lie unburied: but, after he mounted the throne of *England*, got the Pope to abſolve him from an obligation, extorted from him by violence, and requiring a thing manifeſtly unjuſt; the non-performance whereof is repreſented as the cauſe of *Geffrey's* diſcontent and inſurrection. But this relation is much to be ſuſpected, and ſeems to be one of thoſe ſtories, which *Neubrigenſis*, who had few opportunities of being informed of tranſactions in foreign parts, took upon truſt from others; it not being agreeable either to the father's affection to *Henry*, to whom, in his life time, he had freely reſigned *Normandie*, or to his known piety and regard to juſtice, to make uſe of ſuch an artifice, in the moment he was launching out into eternity, either to force his eldeſt ſon to part with his undoubted right againſt his will, or to trapan him into an act of perjury. It is not mentioned by *Gervaſe*, *M. Paris*, or any other more ancient *Engliſh* hiſtorian, nor yet by the author of the *Geſta Conſulum Anegavenſium*, who was perſonally acquainted with *Geffrey* of *Anjou*; or by the monk of *Marmoutier* [3], who wrote his life, and ſpeaking of his death, takes notice of his charitable legacies, but ſays not a word of his diſpoſition of *Anjou*. This prince being ſeized with a pleuritick fever, caught by bathing in the river that waſhes the *Chateau du Loir*, was carried off too ſuddenly to allow *Henry* to ſee him before his death: but in tenderneſs to his *Angevin* ſubjects, took care by his dying orders [4],

[1] *Concil. M. Brit.* p. 430. [2] L. ii. c. 7. [3] *Vita Gaufred. Duc. Norman.* [4] P. 103. *Terræ ſuæ & genti ſpiritu præſago in poſterum prævidens Henrico hæredi ſuo interdixit ne Normannorum vel Angliæ conſuetudines in conſulatus ſui terram permutaret.*

to forbid his heir Henry *to introduce the cuſtoms either of* England *or* Nor- HENRY II.
mandie *into* Anjou: words, which, ſuppoſing *Henry* to be his *heir* in *Anjou*, as well *A. D.* 1156.
as his mother's in the other countries, are utterly inconſiſtent with *Neubrigenſis's* ſtory. Young *Geffrey* had nothing left him by his father's will, beſides the caſtles of *Chinon*, *Loudun*, and *Mirebeau*, with their dependencies: but not content with this appanage, he had the year after his death (very impolitickly indeed, if he had any future expectations of *Anjou*) rebelled againſt his elder brother, before *Henry* had got poſſeſſion of the crown of *England*, or he had any reaſon to complain of his conduct. The ſame reſtleſs ſpirit, or envy at his brother's greatneſs, which prompted him to the former, put him now on another inſurrection: which was attended with the ſame ſucceſs; all his caſtles [1] being taken by force, and detained by *Henry*, leſt their ſtrength ſhould tempt him to rebel again. The king however taking pity on him, gave him lands in the open country equal to the others in value: and aſſiſting him to keep poſſeſſion of *Nantes* (the citizens of which place, having driven out count *Howel*, had received him for their lord) made an accommodation with him, granting him an annuity of a thouſand pounds *Engliſh*, and two thouſand pounds *Angevin*, money.

III. HENRY, having received the homages of the nobility of *Guienne*, with *A. D.* 1157.
hoſtages for aſſurance of their fidelity, returned in the year following, the week And *Wales.*
after *Eaſter* holidays, to *England* [2]: and landing at *Southampton*, haſted to *London*, to make preparations for an expedition into *Wales*, with an army; which, as every two knights [3] throughout the realm were to find a third to ſerve in it, appeared more than ſufficient to reduce the country. Whilſt his forces were getting ready, he paſſed into the country of the *Eaſt-Angles* to receive the caſtles, which *William* count of *Boulogne*, and *Hugh Bigot* ſurrendered to him in thoſe parts: and keeping *Whitſontide* at *S. Edmund's Bury*, determined, after ſeveral hearings, either there or at *Colcheſter*, the controverſy between the biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and the abbey of *Battle*, in favour of the exemption from epiſcopal juriſdiction, granted to the latter by a charter of *William the Conqueror*. He afterwards held a great council of the prelates and nobility at *Northampton*, where the diſpute between the archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and *Silveſter* abbot of *S. Auguſtine's* was, on *July* 17, decided againſt the latter; who was accordingly obliged to make his profeſſion of ſubjection to the archbiſhop. Theſe ſuits, which had laſted for ſome years, being thus ended, the king [3] marched with his forces into *Flintſhire* againſt *Owen Guyneth*, prince of *North-Wales*; who lay encamped with his army at *Baſingwerk*. The van of the *Engliſh* army advancing that way, and paſſing a wood, called *Coel Eulo* [4], was on a ſudden attacked ſo fiercely by the *Welſh*, that *Euſtace Fitz John*, *Robert de Curcy*, and abundance of others being ſlain, the reſt were put into a terrible diſorder, and on the point of flying. *Henry de Eſſex*, a nobleman of great quality, who enjoyed the office of ſtandard-bearer of *England* by right of inheritance, threw away the royal ſtandard, fled amain, and cried out to all he met, that the king was ſlain [5]; for which he was, ſeven years after, accuſed of treaſon by *Robert de Montfort*, and being vanquiſhed in a trial by battle, was adjudged guilty; his lands forfeited, and though pardoned as to life, was ſhorn a monk, and obliged to paſs the reſt of his days in the abbey of *Reading*. Whether this behaviour of his was owing really to treachery, or was the pure effect of cowardice and terror, it animated the *Welſh* exceedingly, and ſo diſheartened the *Engliſh*, that all that part of their army would have been cut in pieces, if the king had not come ſeaſonably to their relief, and

[1] *M. Paris. Chron. Gervaſ.* [2] *Chron. Norman. Chron. Gervaſ. Concil. M. Brit.* t. i. p. 430.
[3] *M. Paris. Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1378, & ſeq. [4] *Powel's Hiſt. of Wales*, p. 206. [5] *Gul. Neubrig.* l. ii. c. 5. [6] *Dic*, col. 535.

forced

Henry II. A. D. 1157. forced the enemy to a retreat. This experience of the danger of engaging themſelves in the faſtneſſes of a woody, mountainous, undiſcovered country, put the *Engliſh* more upon their guard, and altered the method of carrying on the war: the caſtles of *Rudlant* and *Baſingwerk*, which had been diſmantled by the *Welſh*, were repaired and fortified; the woods were cut down; the roads opened; and the king having advanced by ſlow marches in this cautious manner to *Snowdun*[1], *Owen Guyneth*, and the barons of *North-Wales* were forced to ſue for peace, to do homage, ſwear fealty, deliver hoſtages, and reſtore all the forts and lands which they had taken during *Stephen's* uſurpation.

It was during this expedition, that *Malcolm*, king of *Scotland*, came to *Cheſter*[2], and did homage to *Henry* for the county of *Huntingdon*; and perhaps for *Lothian* or *Scotland*; ſince he did it with a ſalvo to his royal dignity. He had now attained A. D. 1158. to a properage for knighthood, and attended the king the next year at *Carliſle*[3], in hopes of receiving that honour, which was then given to *William (Stephen's* ſon) count of *Boulogne:* but ſome miſunderſtanding ariſing between theſe two princes, they parted without going through a ceremony, which was deemed in thoſe days a ſignal mark of mutual friendſhip, and equivalent to an adoption. It was probably in his return from the north, and at the feſtival either of *Eaſter* or *Whitſontide*, that *Henry* wore his crown at *Lincoln*[4], not in the city, but in the ſuburbs called *Wickford*, out of a prudent compliance with the ſuperſtitious notions of people, who imagined that a king's wearing it within the walls was always the forerunner of ſome diſaſter. Having ſpent the former part of the year in a progreſs through *England*, adminiſtering juſtice, and holding his court wherever he went, according to the cuſtom of the age, and the ordinary practice in what was termed a king's *iter* or progreſs, he[5] was, upon the death of his brother *Geffrey* count of *Nantes*, in *July*, called abroad in the month following to take care of his foreign affairs.

Henry gets poſſeſſion of *Nantes* in *Bretagne*.

III. It was proper for him on this occaſion to engage *France* in his intereſt: and having a conference with *Louis* VII, on the river *Epte*, which ſeparated their territories, they agreed on a match between prince *Henry* and *Margaret* of *France*, the latter's daughter; both as yet children. The king of *England* being invited to *Paris*, was entertained there with the utmoſt magnificence: and carried thence the young princeſs; committing the care of her education to *Robert de Newbourg*, ſteward and juſticiary of *Normandie*, till ſhe came to an age fit for marriage[6]. It is ſaid by ſome writers, that he procured from *Louis*, an eaſy and weak prince, a commiſſion to enter *Bretagne* as his lieutenant: but though the reputation of a league and alliance with this king might be of great ſervice, it does not ſeem reaſonable to think, that he had any ſuch commiſſion, and that all he eitner aſked or obtained, was only a like acknowledgment of his being *grand ſeneſchal* of *France*, as had been made, in the caſe of his grandfather *Fulk*, by *Louis le Gros*, in conſequence of the hereditary right which the counts of *Anjou* had to that dignity from the time of their firſt creation. The aſſuming of this title gave countenance enough to his arms in an invaſion of the county of *Nantes*, which he claimed as heir to his brother *Geffrey:* he had no need of any other commiſſion, and wanted no power to carry his point; being maſter of all the countries that ſurrounded *Bretagne*, and having had the adminiſtration of *Flanders*, with the guardianſhip of the heir, lately committed to him by count *Thierry*, when he ſet out on his expedition to *Jeruſalem*.

[1] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1380. [2] *Chron. Melroſ. Hoveden. Chron. J. Abbat. Petriburg.*
[3] *Chron. Norman.* [4] *Hoveden.* [5] *Chron. Norman.* [6] *Brompton.*

Bretagne had for ſome time been rent by inteſtine wars, occaſioned by the pretenſions of *Eudes* viſcount *Porhouet*, huſband to the dutcheſs *Berta* (daughter of *Conan le Gros*) and of *Conan le Petit* earl of *Richmond*, her ſon by her firſt huſband *Alan le Sauvage*, to the government of the dutchy: but *Eudes* being taken priſoner by the lord of *Fougeres*, *Conan* had at laſt got poſſeſſion of the whole principality; except the county of *Nantes*, which he likewiſe ſeized upon the death of *Geffrey*. It was his undoubted right by inheritance: and *Geffrey* had no title to it, beſides what he derived from the ſubmiſſion of the *Nantois*; who [1] having, without any reaſonable pretext, caſt off the allegiance due to their natural ſovereign, had choſen him for their count; but it was in vain that he urged his right in oppoſition to a ſuperior power. *Henry* ſummoned him to reſtore the county: and on his non-compliance confiſcated the earldom [2] of *Richmond*, with all his eſtate in *England*; equal, at leaſt in point of revenue, to what he enjoyed in the *Pais Nantois*. *Conan*, ſure to be a loſer, whatever party he ſhould take, apprehenſive of new troubles being raiſed in *Bretagne* by his uncle *Henry*, count of *Penthievre*, who was returned out of *France* with that deſign, deſpairing of any aſſiſtance, and utterly unable to oppoſe the king of *England*, who was with a great army of *Normans* advanced to *Avranches*, and ready to enter his territories, thought it beſt to deliver up the county of *Nantes*, and make his ſubmiſſion to *Henry*. This being done on *September* 29, the king took poſſeſſion of *Nantes*: and having reduced the caſtle of *Tours*, which was held againſt him, applied himſelf to the ſettling of all matters of diſpute between him and the princes, whoſe territories lay contiguous to *Normandie*. He was already on terms of friendſhip with the king of *France*: and to cultivate it ſtill more, he ſeized the opportunity of *Louis's* making a viſit of devotion [3] to *Mont S. Michel*, to wait upon him there; to attend him from thence to *Bayeux*, *Caen*, *Roüen*, and through all the province to the frontiers of *France*; defraying his expences; entertaining him in the moſt ſplendid manner; and overloading him with civilities and honours in all places. *Theobald*, count of *Blois*, had been ſome years in poſſeſſion of *Amboiſe* and *Fretteval*, as *Rotrou* count of *Perche* had alſo been of *Moulins* and *Bonmoulins*; the two firſt of theſe towns belonging to him as count of *Anjou*, and the two laſt as duke of *Normandie*: he made in *December* an accommodation with both thoſe princes, and all theſe places were reſtored.

Henry II. A. D. 1158.

IV. These meaſures were taken with the view of preventing any interruption in the proſecution of the war; which the king propoſed to make, for aſſerting his queen's right to the county of *Toulouſe*; *Eleanor* being the onely child of St. *William* duke of *Guienne* [4], ſon of *Philippa*, the onely daughter and heir of *William* IV, count of *Tolouſe*. *Pons* III had two ſons; the elder whereof, *William* IV, ſucceeded him in the county of *Toulouſe*, and the younger, *Raimond de St. Gilles*, had the county of *Rhodez* for his appanage; which he increaſed greatly by his valour, or by ſome other means, being maſter of the beſt part of *Provence*, and getting poſſeſſion of the dutchy of *Narbonne*. *William* having no iſſue male, was deſirous of being ſucceeded in his county by his brother: and with this deſign conveyed it to him in his life-time [5] by a contract of ſale, probably reſerving the ſuperiority to himſelf with the right of homage; which the *French* hiſtorians allow to have been undoubtedly due [6] from the counts of *Toulouſe* or *St. Gilles*, to the dukes of *Guienne*, or (as they were uſually ſtyled) counts of *Poitiers*. *William* dying about *A. D.* 1090, *Raimond* [7] kept poſſeſſion of *Toulouſe*, till he went

The war of *Toulouſe*.

[1] *Chron. Norm. Rob. de Monte. Hemingford.* p. 493.
[2] *Chron. A. D.* 1154.
[3] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1380. *Rob. de Monte. Contin. Sigebert.*
[4] *Rob. de Monte. De geſt. reg.* l. v.
[5] *Malm.*
[6] *P. Daniel, Hiſt. de France,*
[7] *Catel, Hiſt. des Comtes de Toulouſe*, p. 154, 155, 160, 161, 166, 182, 183, 184, 191, 197, 199, &c.

Henry II. in the first croisade to the *Holy Land*, from whence he never returned; leaving the
A. D. 1158. city and county to the care of his natural son *Bertrand*. He was but just set out on that expedition, when *William* duke of *Guienne*, assuming, in his wife *Philippa's* right, the title of count *de Toulouse*, became, in *A. D.* 1098, master of the city: but going, in *A. D.* 1101, to *Jerusalem*, at the head of that vast army of three hundred thousand men mentioned by *Ordericus Vitalis*, and after various disasters returning thence, stripped of his wealth, as well as sunk in his reputation, was driven out of *Toulouse* by a revolt of the citizens, who did not like being subject to the dukes of *Guienne*. *Bertrand* thus recovering possession of the place, held it till *A. D.* 1109, when he went to the *Holy Land*; where he took *Tripoli*: and dying about three years after, left the territory, dependent on that city, to his son *Pons* and his posterity. *William*, in the mean time, recovered *Toulouse*, and con-
A. D. 1159. tinued in possession thereof, till about *A. D.* 1122; when by the help of the citizens, it fell into the hands of *Alfonso*, the legitimate son of *Raimond de S. Gilles*, by *Elvira*, a daughter of *Alfonso*, king of *Castille* and *Leon*. *Alfonso's* title was still disputed by the dukes of *Guienne*, and, after the marriage of their heiress *Eleanor* to the king of *France*, by her first husband *Louis* VII, who, in *A. D.* 1141, besieged *Tculcuse*: but an accommodation ensuing, *Alfonso* kept possession of it till his death; which happened, *A. D.* 1148, at *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*; whither he had accompanied *Louis*, having sold the county of *Rhodez* or *Rouergue* to defray the charges of his expedition. He was succeeded by his son *Raimond* V; who, upon the death of *Eustace*, the son of king *Stephen*, had married his relict *Constance*, sister to *Louis* VII; hoping, by this *French* alliance, to be able to make head against so powerful a competitor as the king of *England*, who, in the right of his wife *Eleanor*, now claimed and resolved to reduce the county of *Toulouse*.

It was an enterprize of great importance, and attended with many difficulties; it was a work of time to take by force so strong and populous a city as *Toulouse*: and to supply pay at the usual rate, with provisions, to the knights his vassals, after the expiration of the forty days service, to which they were obliged by their tenures, was likely to involve *Henry* in an insupportable expence. To provide against this inconvenience; and that he might not be obliged, for want of money, to quit the siege, when the place was on the point of surrendering, he raised sixty *Angevin*[1] shillings[2] upon every noble fief in *Normandie*, and his other foreign dominions, that lay at a distance from the scene of his enterprize. The usual manner hitherto observed universally throughout *Europe* in raising armies, was by the king's sending orders to his military tenants to take the field, with a certain number of their, vassals in proportion to the value of their fiefs: and an army being formed of these, each lord and gentleman had a command in it, greater or less, according to the quantity of his lands, and the number of his followers. This personal service was very inconvenient and burdensome, especially to the lesser gentry, when a war was to be carried on in remote countries; the charges of going to the army and returning thence, which they bore themselves, being very great; their domestick affairs suffering; and the tillage of their lands being neglected, during their long absence, and that of their attendants, who used to be employed at home in husbandry. It was much more agreeable to them in such a case to advance money (as prelates were often allowed to do) than to furnish troops and go in person: and *Henry's* military tenants in *England*, *Normandie*, and *Anjou*, came readily into this proposal of commuting by a pecuniary payment, for their personal service in the expedition of *Toulouse*. This payment was termed *scutage*: and this is the first time we find any

[1] *Chron. Norm. Rob. de Monte.*

[2] This was probably the same rate that was laid at this time upon knights fees in *England*, though in after-times, money lessening gradually in its weight, nineteen shillings and six-pence *Angevin* money made only a mark of silver, as *Du Fresne* shews in his *Glossary*, *v.* Monet. Andegavenses.

mention made of it in hiſtory: it ſeems to have been charged in *England* at the rate of three pounds a knight's fee [1], and raiſed the ſum of an hundred and eighty thouſand pounds. With this money *Henry* levied a very numerous army of mercenaries, or *milites* [2] *ſclidarii*, as hiſtorians of the time call them, which being put under the command of the moſt experienced of his nobility and gentry, and joined as well by his military tenants with their followers in *Guienne*, as by the troops of his allies, made a force ſufficient for the intended expedition. HENRY II. A. D. 1159.

THE king having kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Cherbourg*, and left commiſſioners to raiſe voluntiers [3] in *Normandie*, came over into *England*: and paſſed the *Eaſter* [4] holidays at *Worceſter*; where he and his queen coming to the offertory, laid their crowns upon the high altar; vowing never to wear them more as long as they lived. Thus was an end put to the ſolemn coronations of our kings at the great feſtivals: and *Henry* having raiſed the ſcutage, which ſeems to have been the chief buſineſs that brought him over, haſted abroad to *Guienne*; being attended thither by *Malcolm* king of *Scotland*, whom he knighted in this expedition, *William* count of *Boulogne*, who died in it, and abundance of the *Engliſh* nobility with their followers. Theſe, deſirous to diſtinguiſh themſelves by their zeal for the king's ſervice, ſeem all to have made the campaign at their own expence; at leaſt, if the reſt followed the example of the chancellor, who (as *Fitz Stephens* [5] ſays) had ſeven hundred choice knights or gentlemen that ſerved on horſeback of his own family or dependants. *Henry's* firſt attempt was upon *Cahors*, the capital of *Quercy*: this being ſoon taken, he fell upon the county of *Toulouſe* [6], and made himſelf maſter of *Verdun*, *Caſtelnau de Stretefons*, and ſome other places; being aſſiſted by the troops of *William* lord of *Montpelier*, and thoſe of *Trincavel* viſcount of *Bezieres* and *Niſmes*; who having been taken by the count [7] of *Toulouſe* ſome years before, had been forced for his ranſom to give up ſeveral of his caſtles, which he recovered on this occaſion. He was joined likewiſe in *Auguſt*, by the forces of *Raimond Berenger*, count of *Barcelona*; in conſequence of a treaty, made between them at *Blaye*, and providing that *Richard*, the king's ſecond ſon, ſhould eſpouſe the count's daughter, and be put in poſſeſſion of the dutchy of *Guienne*, as ſoon as the young couple were of an age fit to be married.

THE count of *Toulouſe* had loſt a great part of his territories: and moſt of the fortreſſes about his capital being taken by the enemy, it was either blocked up, or in a manner inveſted; when the king of *France*, whoſe ſiſter he had married, came with a ſmall body of troops to his ſuccour, and threw himſelf into *Toulouſe* [8]. This was a great ſurprize to *Henry*; who did not expect ſuch an act of hoſtility from a prince, with whom he had ſo lately contracted an alliance, and ſeemed to be on a foot of intimate friendſhip, and who had himſelf inſiſted on *Eleanor's* right before his divorce from her: and it gave him the more vexation, becauſe it broke all his meaſures. It was deemed in thoſe days a ſhameful breach of honour and duty for a vaſſal to fight againſt the perſon of a ſovereign, to whom he had done homage for any fief held under him: and *Henry* was ſo much influenced by this prevailing notion, that, notwithſtanding his reſentment, and the advice of the chancellor *Becket*, who preſſed him to take *Louis* priſoner (which was eaſy to be done before more *French* troops came up) he would not aſſault [9] a place defended by the king of *France* in perſon. This circumſtance rendering his ſtay about *Toulouſe* uſeleſs, he left his affairs in thoſe parts to the care of the count of *Barcelona* and the viſcount of *Beziers*: and marched, in *October*, to *Normandie*, which had been in-

[1] *Chron. Gervaſ.* 1381. [2] *Rob. de Monte.* [3] *Chron. Norm.* [4] *Howeden.* [5] *Vit. S. Thomæ Becket.* p. 22. [6] *Chr. Norm. Rob. de Monte.* [7] *Catel, Hiſt. des Comt. de Toulouſe*, p. 209. [8] *Vit. S. Thomæ à Stephanide*, p. 22. [9] *Gul. Newbrig.* l. ii. c. 10. *Rob. de Monte. Chron. Norm. Dicet.* col. 531. *M. Paris. Vit. S. Thomæ à Stephanide, ib.*

vaded

Henry II. A. D. 1159.

vaded by *Robert* count of *Dreux*, and *Henry* biſhop of *Beauvais*, brother to *Louis*, with the view of drawing him from the ſiege of *Toulouſe*, by that diverſion. *Henry*, allowing his forces to reſt but a few days after their long march, fell into the *Beauvoiſis*; took the ſtrong fortreſs of *Gerberoy*; levelled it with the ground; and burnt ſeveral towns and villages in the neighbourhood. Whilſt the war was carrying on in theſe parts, *Fitz Stephens*[1] ſays, that the chancellor, beſides the ſeven hundred knights abovementioned, maintained for forty days twelve hundred others of leſs quality (all having their diet at his table, and each receiving from him three ſhillings a day to provide for his horſes and eſquires) and four thouſand ſervants[2]. This ſeems to have been the whole time that the war laſted, for *Simon de Montfort*, count of *Evreux*, having delivered up his caſtles of *Montfort l'Amauri*, *Rochefort*, and *Epernon* to *Henry*, and the garriſons of thoſe places doing great miſchief about *Paris*, by ravaging the country, and cutting off the communication of that city with *Etampes* and *Orleans*, this was found ſo inconvenient by *Louis*, that he agreed to a truce from *December* to the *Sunday* after *Whitſontide*.

A. D. 1160. *Henry* quarrels with *France*.

V. This ceſſation of arms was followed by a treaty of peace; which was concluded in *May*, but not ratified till[3] the *October* following: nor was there any great likelihood of its continuance, conſidering the animoſity raiſed between the two kings, on occaſion of the affair of *Toulouſe*. *Henry* ſeems to have had either no expectation of a peace, or elſe a rupture in his view; when, after having kept his *Chriſtmas* with his queen at *Falaiſe*, he ſent her thence into *England*, where ſhe ſtaid till *September*, and then brought over prince *Henry*; who, upon the peace, did homage to the king of *France* for *Normandie*. The prince was as yet but in the ſixth year of his age: yet his father cauſing him to be affianced to *Margaret*[4] of *France* at *Newbourg*, in *November*, took occaſion from thence to ſeize *Giſors*, and other places aſſigned for the young princeſs's portion. *Louis* incenſed at this haſty proceeding, put *Theobald* count of *Blois* (whoſe ſiſter *Adela* he had lately married for his third wife) upon fortifying *Chaumont*, a place very conveniently ſituated for making incurſions over *Touraine*. *Henry* marched thither immediately with a body of troops, which the count was unable to oppoſe; took the fortreſs, and put it into the hands of *Hugh d'Amboiſe*[5]; whoſe father having been treacherouſly ſeized by *Theobald*, and dying in priſon, the ſon was on that account become his mortal enemy. To ſecure his frontier on that ſide, he fortified *Amboiſe* and *Fretteval*: and retiring to paſs the *Chriſtmas* at *le Mans*, took into his own hands all the caſtles of the count of *Evreux*; giving orders at the ſame time to have the fortifications on the borders of all his territories towards *France*, put into good order during the winter.

When the following ſpring allowed the campaign to open, the king of *France* entered the *Vexin Normand* with a conſiderable army; whilſt the count of *Blois* marched with another to invade *Normandie* on the ſide of *Chateaudun*: but they found all places ſo well provided, that they durſt not make any attempt. *Henry* aſſembled his forces to oppoſe them, and the armies were ſeveral times in ſight of one another: but neither of the kings caring to venture a battle[6], a truce was made till *Midſummer*,

[1] *Ib.* p. 23. [2] I take theſe ſervants to be ordinary horſemen, each knight (in imitation of the ancient *Trimarchia* among the *Celtic* nations) having three horſes in the field, two of which were mounted by theſe *Servientes* or attendants, who were probably gentlemen or eſquires: it is plain that they could not be foot, becauſe their day's pay was the half of what was allowed the knights themſelves, as appears from *Rot. clauſ.* 9 *Hen.* 3. m. 1. where allowance being made for *W. Malet's* ſervice in *Poitou*, in king *John's* army, his heirs were allowed for ten knights and twenty ſervants at the rate of two ſhillings for the firſt, and twelve pence a day for each of the latter. But I do not think that the chancellor *Becket* maintained theſe one thouſand nine hundred knights, and double the number of *Servientes*, computed at the round number of four thouſand, out of his own purſe, but rather out of the lands and rents of the crown, which he had in his cuſtody and receipt.

[3] *Chron. Norm.* [4] *Dicet.* col. 532.

[5] *Lib. de Ambaſiæ in Dachery Spicil.* t. x. p. 579.

[6] *Rob. de Monte.*

and continued afterwards. During this interval, overtures were made for a peace: and it was agreed to put *Giſors*, *Neaſle*, and *Neufchatel* on the *Epte*, into the hands of *Totes de S. Omer* and *Robert de Pirou*, knights templars, by way of ſequeſtration, till the actual marriage of prince *Henry* with *Margaret*; when they were to be given up to the king of *England*. This temporary accommodation reviving a correſpondence between the two kings, they thought it proper, after near two years delay, to declare their ſentiments with regard to the ſchiſm, that had happened on Pope *Adrian's* death, and agreed together, that *Alexander* III ſhould be received for the true Pope in all their dominions. This was done in *July*, in two councils held at the ſame time in the neighbourhood of each other[1], the one by *Louis* at *Beauvais*, the other by *Henry* at *Neumarché*; the cardinals of *Piſa*, *Pavie*, and *Naples* being preſent at them on the part of *Alexander*, as thoſe of *Crema* and St. *Martin* alſo were, to plead the cauſe of *Octavian* the antipope, who had aſſumed the name of *Victor*. There ſeems to have been more of formality in this tranſaction, than of any real deſign to give a fair hearing to the parties, and of judging according to the merits of their election; the kings being predetermined in favour of *Alexander*: at leaſt *Henry* was ſo, ſince as well at his requeſt, as on the inſtances of the prelates of *England*, and the credit of a book of his miracles, probably that of *Ailredus Rievallenſis*, this Pope had, on the ſeventh of *February* before, canonized St. *Edward*[2] *the Confeſſor*. This act, in conſequence of thoſe inſtances, ſufficiently intimates, that he was then acknowledged in this kingdom: and yet *Henry* had but a little before iſſued very ſevere orders againſt the biſhops of *Rouen*[3] and *le Mans*; becauſe they had acknowledged *Alexander*, before he had done it himſelf.

HENRY II. *A. D.* 1161.

THE ſame truce likewiſe allowed *Henry* to make a ſudden expedition into the county of *Toulouſe*, and to take, on *Auguſt* 10, after a ſiege of eight days, *Caſtillon*, a very ſtrong place on the *Garonne* above *Agen*: but the war between the two crowns had like to have been renewed again on the following occaſion. The king of *England's* impatience to recover the *Vexin Normand* (which had been in the hands of the *French*, ever ſince the diſpute between his father and *Stephen* about the dutchy, after the death of *Henry* I) and to ſecure the frontier of *Normandie*, on a ſide where it lay moſt expoſed, had engaged him to treat[4] with the templars for the delivery of *Giſors*, and the other ſequeſtered places: and tempting them with promiſes which they could not reſiſt, he got them into his own poſſeſſion. They were baniſhed out of *France* for this breach of truſt: but found an ample recompence for their loſſes in that country, by the favours and honours heaped upon them by *Henry*; whoſe conduct in this matter made *Louis* ever after ſuſpect his ſincerity. An immediate war however was prevented by the mediation of the *Pope's* legates; who ſucceeding in their endeavours to preſerve peace between the two crowns, ſolemnized the marriage of the young couple.

VI. HENRY, no longer taken up by affairs of war, applied himſelf to redreſs ſome diſorders, which had crept as well into the eccleſiaſtical[5], as the civil ſtate of *Normandie*: and having paſſed the *Chriſtmas* at *Bayeux*, called a council of his prelates and nobility on the firſt *Sunday* in *Lent* at *Rouen*, and another ſoon after at *Liſle bonne*. It is very probable that in one of theſe, they all ſwore fealty, and did homage to prince *Henry*; who was ſent over into *England* in *April*, or the beginning of *May*, to receive the like aſſurances of allegiance from the biſhops, abbots, and nobility of this country; the chancellor, to whoſe care he had been committed,

Henry's care to improve his revenue.

A. D. 1162.

[1] *Concil. M. Brit.* t. i. p. 433. *Gul. Neubrig.* l. ii. c. 9. *Baron. Annal.* t. xii. p. 583. [2] *Concil. M. Brit.* t. i. p. 434. [3] *Fitz Stephens Vit. S. Thomæ*, p. 18. [4] *Hoveden.* [5] *Concil. Rotomag.* 4to. p. 131.

Henry II. A. D. 1162.

being the firſt that did him homage, with a *ſalvo* to the faith he owed his father during his life or government. The king himſelf was detained abroad all the reſt of the year, taking meaſures for the good order and ſecurity of all his foreign dominions: and had thereby an opportunity [1] of waiting on Pope *Alexander*; who having landed in *Eaſter* week near *Montpelier*, came, on *Auguſt* 14, to *Clermont* in *Auvergne*. During his ſtay in this neighbourhood, and ſome time between that day and *Michaelmas*, he had an interview at *Toucy* on the *Loire* with the kings of *France* and *England*; who did him the honour to hold his ſtirrups when he mounted, and the reins of his bridle, as he rode on horſeback; and being reconciled by his inſtances, the peace between them ſeemed to be firmly eſtabliſhed. *Henry's* preſence became now leſs neceſſary abroad than it was in *England*; where all the miſchiefs of *Stephen's* uſurpation were not yet removed; ſeveral diſorders then introduced, ſtill continued, notwithſtanding all the king's care to correct them; and particularly a good deal of confuſion in what related to the revenue. To prepare matters for a proper reformation in this point, as *Rotrou* biſhop of *Evreux*, brother to *Roger de Beaumont* earl of *Warwick*, and *Reginald de S. Valery*, were, in order to prevent the diſputes which frequently happened between his officers and thoſe of the biſhops [2] of *Normandie*, employed there to enquire into the rights of the duke, the biſhops, and others in each dioceſe: ſo he reſolved to appoint the like commiſſioners [3] in *England*, to make a general inquiſition through the kingdom for aſcertaining what rights belonged to the crown, and what ſecular ſervices were due from all: and this being taken accordingly, ſeems to have ſerved for a rule in levying the aid for the marriage of *Maude*, this king's eldeſt daughter [4], and to be the ſame, which is ſtill preſerved on record in the *Red book of the Exchequer*. The king himſelf and his queen came in *December* to *Barfleur* [5], with the deſign of embarking for *England*: but the wind being contrary, they paſſed the *Chriſtmas* at *Cherbourg*, and did not land at *Southampton* till *January* 26, in the year following.

A. D. 1163.

Henry, upon his return to *England*, either found it unmoleſted by any enemy, or ſoon put an end to ſuch incurſions, as frequently happen on the borders of a country. *Malcolm* king of *Scotland* [6], ſued to him immediately for peace: and obtained it by the delivery, as well of his brother *David*, with the ſons of ſome of his barons for hoſtages, as of ſuch caſtles as the king of *England* thought fit to demand by way of ſecurity, for its being obſerved. *Owen Guineth* and *Reſe*, princes of *North* and *South-Wales*, with ſeveral barons of thoſe principalities, made likewiſe their ſubmiſſion: and repairing to the king's court at *Wodeſtoke*, did homage there to the king and his ſon *Henry*, at the ſame time with *Malcolm*, on the firſt of

[1] *Baron. Annal.* t. xii. p. 590, 593. [2] *Rob. de Monte.* [3] *Dicet.* col. 536. *M. Paris. ann.* 1163. [4] How long time this inquiſition took up in making, is uncertain, but the matters of enquiry recited in the certificate of *Roger* archbiſhop of *York*, in the *Red book*, and directing an account of what knight's fees every one had at the time of *Henry* the firſt's deceaſe, as well as of what he enjoyed at the time of taking it, ſhew it to be the firſt of the kind that was taken in the reign of *Henry* II; who perhaps finding the number of fees, commuted for at the expedition of *Toulouſe*, leſs than he imagined, or elſe ſuſpecting that ſome had been ſecreted or uſurped during *Stephen's* government, naturally ordered ſuch an enquiry. *Maude* was not married to the duke of *Saxony* till *A. D.* 1168, and ſeveral of the perſons mentioned in the *Red book*, as delivering in certificates of their fees, died before either the marriage took effect, or the money was levied for her portion. Thus *Robert* [a] abbot of *S. Alban*, and *Geffrey* earl of *Eſſex*, died *A. D.* 1167. *Robert de Cheſney* biſhop of *Lincoln*, died very early in the ſame year (*viz.* in *January*) if not in 1166 [b]; *Robert* biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, expired in the year 1166, if not in 1165 [c]; and *Walter Giffard* earl of *Buckingham*, dying without iſſue, was buried in his abbey of *Nutley* [d], *A. D.* 1164, and his lands being thereupon taken into the king's hands, remained in the crown, till the firſt year of king *John*; when a partition was made between his heirs by his ſiſters [e]. [5] *Dicet.* col. 534. *Chron. Norm.* f. 999. *Chron. Trivet.* [6] *Ib. M. Paris.*

[a] *M. Paris. Vit. S. Abb. S. Alb.* p. 90. [b] *Angl. Sacr.* t. i. p. 301. *Chron. J. Abb. Petriburg.* [c] *Angl. Sacr.* t. i. p. 561. [d] *Chron. Nic. Triveti, A. D.* 1164. *Vincent's Diſcovery of Errors in Brooke*, p. 81. *Camden's Britannia in Bucks.* [e] *Chart.* 1 *Joh.* part 2. n. 83.

July. *Henry* had not yet been plagued with any diſturbance within his realm; which conſidering the licentiouſneſs, violence, and diſorders, that had over-run it for near twenty years together before he came to the crown, is an evident proof of the equity and wiſdom of his government: but now he became involved in a very troubleſome affair, which for many years gave him an infinite deal of anxiety, and interrupted all the meaſures of his adminiſtration. It was a diſpute about eccleſiaſtical privileges, the claims of the church, and the rights of the crown; in which he came, by his zeal for juſtice, to be engaged with *Thomas* archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: a man of an haughty ſpirit, inflexible temper, unmeaſurable pride and ambition; haſty, raſh, and violent in his proceedings; yet too obſtinate and intrepid to be diverted by any difficulties, dangers, or motives, from perſiſting in what he had once undertaken, for the gratifying of his paſſions, or in conſequence of a miſtaken principle.

HENRY II. *A. D.* 1163.

VII. THIS prelate was the ſon of *Gilbert Becket* [1] (a citizen of *London* of the middle ſort, who had once ſerved the annual office of ſheriff) by his wife *Maude*: and paſſed the firſt twenty years of his life, either at home with his parents, or in the ſchools of the city. He went afterwards to ſtudy for ſome time at *Paris*: and upon his return, getting to be a clerk and accomptant in the ſheriffs office, he there came to be firſt acquainted with buſineſs, and acquired a good meaſure of knowledge in ſecular affairs. Archdeacon *Baldwin* and his brother *Euſtace*, being lodgers in his father's houſe, and taking a fancy to the young man, recommended him to archbiſhop *Theobald*, with whom they were intimate. *Thomas*, being taken into his family, and having the churches of *S. Mary Le Strand* (where *Somerſet*-houſe now ſtands) and *Otteford* in *Kent*, with a prebend of *London*, and another of *Lincoln* given him, went to ſtudy the civil and canon laws at *Bologna* in *Italy* [2]; from whence, after a year's ſtay, he paſſed to *Auxerre* in *Burgundy*, for a further proficiency in that king of learning; which in thoſe days was the ſureſt way to eccleſiaſtical preferments. *Theobald* [3] was ſuch an admirer of the civil law, that when he was promoted from the abbacy of *Bec* to the ſee of *Canterbury*, he brought over with him *Roger*, a monk, afterwards abbot of that monaſtery, commonly ſurnamed *Vacarius* [4], to teach it the clergy and others in his family or ſeminary: but *Stephen*, prejudiced by his brother's ſuggeſtions againſt the archbiſhop, and all that he did, iſſued out a proclamation for ſuppreſſing all books of the civil law; forbade *Roger's* lectures; and obliged him to depart the kingdom. But the finding of the *Medicean* copy of *Juſtinian's Pandects*, ſuppoſed by *Angelus Politianus* [5] to be that emperor's own book, at *Amalfi*, in *A. D.* 1137; and the explanation thereof by the famous *Irnerius*, who had for ſome years before been explaining the *Code*, *Inſtitutes*, and *Novellæ*, to thoſe many eminent civilians, which his ſchool at *Bologna* furniſhed for the inſtruction of moſt parts of *Europe*, had brought the civil law into ſuch requeſt; that it was univerſally ſtudied all over the weſt, where it was ſcarce known before: and the prohibition thereof only ſerved to make curious perſons more eager to acquire a knowledge of it in *England*. The canon law had been much longer known in its ſubſtance, though not obſerved in the ſame uniform manner, nor digeſted into the ſame method. It hath been already mentioned, that archbiſhop *Theodore* brought over with him the *Code of the univerſal church*: and it had been received, in *A. D.* 673, by the *Engliſh* church in the council of *Redford*. This

The king's diſpute with archbiſhop *Becket*.

[1] *Vit. S. Thomæ Cant. à Stephanide*, p. 10, 11, & ſeq. Epiſt. *S. Thomæ*, l. i. Ep. 108.
[2] *Brompton.* [3] *Policraticus*, l. viii. c. 22. See *Selden's Diſſ. in Fletam.* c. 7. [4] This was probably a title, like that of *Baccalaureus*, which now began to be in uſe, and to be conferred by the delivery of a rod to ſtudents in the laws, when advanced to the dignity of Doctor in the academies of that age. See *Pancirol de Claris legum interpretibus*, l. ii. c. 3. [5] L. x. Ep. 14.

code

HENRY II. A. D. 1163.

code ended with the council of *Chalcedon*: but *Dionyſius Exiguus* inſerted likewiſe in his collection the canons, made by the eaſtern and *African*, but received alſo by the weſtern churches, with the addition of ſome decrees of eaſtern biſhops and of Popes; theſe laſt beginning with thoſe of *Siricius*, made about *A. D.* 385. To theſe were afterwards added the canons of the fifth and ſixth general councils, ending with the council of *Trullo*, *A. D.* 683: and the code thus compoſed, being received by the church of *England* in the council of *Chalcyth*, *A. D.* 787, was with the canons, made in her own provincial or national ſynods, the rule [1] by which, in the *Saxon* times, biſhops regulated their proceedings and judgments in eccleſiaſtical cauſes. This code was interpolated by *Iſidore*, commonly called *Mercator*; who flouriſhed about *A. D.* 800, and inſerted in his collection, the ſpurious decretal epiſtles of ſeveral *Popes* more ancient than *Siricius*; forged deſignedly to aggrandize the court of *Rome*, and publiſhed by *Riculfe* of *Mayence*, about *A. D.* 830; but yet implicitly received in an age, which had very little critical learning, and quoted by foreign prelates and writers with the greateſt deference, as if they had been genuine. It was probably with the ſame view, that *Lanfranc*, when put by the *Conqueror* at the head of the church of *England* [2], recommended above all things the ſtudy of thoſe decretal epiſtles; which (it hath been formerly obſerved) were the main foundation, as well of the abſolute obedience that *Anſelm*, in his diſpute with *William Rufus* and *Henry* I, profeſſed to the ſee of *Rome*, as of the uſurped authority of Pope *Paſchal* II, and of his pretenſions to receive appeals from *England*. Theſe ſpurious epiſtles, with many of *Iſidore's* fabulous relations, were likewiſe inſerted in the collections made afterward by foreign canoniſts for the better eſtabliſhing the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction and the papal uſurpations, by diſtributing the canons according to the ſubjects to which they related. The moſt famous of theſe collections were thoſe of *Burchard* biſhop of *Wormes*, and *Yvo* of *Chartres*: they were uſed in eccleſiaſtical courts, till the celebrated *Decretum* of *Gratian*, compiled *A. D.* 1151, at *Bologna* appeared. This, though erroneous [3], immethodical, confuſed, and abounding in falſe citations, ſoon eclipſed all the reſt; having been preſented to *Eugenius* III, and countenanced, made uſe of, and encouraged by the Popes his ſucceſſors, in order to raiſe their own authority, and depreſs that of the emperors and other princes. Many conſtitutions [4] in it are taken from the *Inſtitutes*, *Digeſts*, *Code*, and *Novels* of *Juſtinian*; whoſe plan the compiler propoſing to follow, divided his work into three parts: the firſt entitled, *Diſtinctiones*, containing the principles of the canon law in general, and the rights or privileges of eccleſiaſticks; the ſecond under the title of *Cauſæ*, reporting the deciſion of many particular caſes, for the eaſier ſolving of queſtions in conformity, or by analogy, to former precedents; and the third, *de Conſecratione*, treating of what relates to the eccleſiaſtical miniſtry, the ſacraments, rites, ordinations, and conſecrations. This work of *Gratian* was received with the greateſt applauſe by the canoniſts, eſpecially by thoſe of *Bologna*; it was taught publickly in the ſchools: and being, in a ſhort time, either illuſtrated or puzzled by a multitude of commentators, was conſidered, if not as a compleat body, at leaſt as the principal part of the canon law; which from this time was generally ſtudied, jointly with the civil.

BECKET, having by the ſtudy of theſe laws, qualified himſelf for the tranſacting of buſineſs in the court of *Rome*, was ſent thither by *Theobald* on ſeveral negotiations [5]; which ſerved not only to introduce him to an acquaintance with the principal perſons about that court, but likewiſe to diſplay his abilities; and being

[1] *Canon.* 4. [2] Ep. 23. [3] See *Anton. Auguſtin. de Emendat. Gratian.* [4] *Selden in Flet.* c. 6.
[5] *Vit. S. Thomæ à Steph.* p. 12, & ſeq.

managed with diſpatch and ſucceſs, recommended him ſo effectually to his patron, HENRY II. that, upon the promotion of *Roger de Pont l'Eveque*[1] to the ſee of *York*, he was *A. D.* 1163. ordained deacon, and made archdeacon of *Canterbury*, about a fortnight before the death of *Stephen*. When *Henry* II was crowned, *Theobald* recommended to him *Becket* for the poſt of chancellor, the firſt of the kingdom in point of power and dignity; the perſon inveſted with it having, at that time, the cuſtody of the great ſeal, the care and diſpoſal of the king's chappel, the cuſtody of all vacant prelacies, and of ſuch baronies as fell into the hands of the crown; a right to be preſent in all the king's councils, even though he was not particularly ſummoned; with the ſealing of all writs, commiſſions, and letters patents; ſo that ſcarce any thing of conſequence could be done in the realm without his knowledge, intervention, or advice. *Thomas*, advanced to this dignity, held his archdeaconry[2], the provoſtſhip of *Beverley*, the deanery of *Haſtings*, with a vaſt number of other eccleſiaſtical preferments at the ſame time: *Fitz Stephens* thinks him modeſt in not taking all the livings in the kingdom to himſelf. He was conſtable too of the tower of *London*, and had all the knights ſervice annexed to it; with the honour of *Eye*, in which were an hundred and forty knights, and that of the caſtle of *Berchamſtade*, not leſs conſiderable. With theſe revenues, and the profits of the king's lands in his cuſtody, he made a prodigious figure, and kept an open table for all perſons of faſhion; earls and barons dining with him daily by invitation, and no coſt being ſpared either to purchaſe the greateſt rarities, or to dreſs them deliciouſly, ſo that (it is obſerved) one diſh of eels coſt him an hundred ſhillings. The apartments in his houſe were adorned with the richeſt furniture; gold and ſilver veſſels glittered in all his rooms of ſtate; his horſes bridles were of ſilver: and all his equipage exceeding ſumptuous. An infinite number of knights came to do him homage, and were retained in his ſervice; the nobility, as well of *England*, as of the neighbouring kingdoms, ſent their children to ſerve him; who having been well maintained and inſtructed in his family, were ſome of them kept about him, and the reſt ſent back to their fathers and relations, dignified with the honour of knighthood: the king entruſted to his care the education of prince *Henry*, and came frequently to ſee the pomp of his entertainments. He had fifty-two clerks in his ſervice, moſt of them in his family; employed in taking care either of vacant prelacies, or of his own eccleſiaſtical preferments: and ſcarce a day paſſed, but he made ſeveral large preſents of horſes, veſtments, plate, or money. When he was to croſs the ſea, he would not have leſs than ſix ſhips to attend him; though the king was uſually content with one for himſelf: and being ſent on an embaſſy to *Paris*, to demand the princeſs *Margaret* in marriage for prince *Henry*, he appeared with ſuch an equipage and grandeur, as amazed all the ſpectators. This muſt have coſt him an immenſe ſum; ſince in the firſt three days after his arrival, during which he was lodged in the temple, and entertained at the king of *France's* expence, it was neceſſary to make proviſion for a thouſand perſons; and he affected to ſurpaſs all the foreign world in magnificence, in an oſtentation of *Engliſh* wealth and luxury, and in making preſents of all the plate, horſes, furniture, veſtments, and other ornaments of his publick entry. His diverſions were hawking, hunting, playing at cheſs, and perhaps tilting; in which he was ſo expert, that, when he ſerved in *Normandie*, with the great number of knights abovementioned, he unhorſed *Engelran de Trie*, a *French* nobleman of the *Vexin*, and carried off his courſer in triumph. Such was the manner of life which *Thomas* led, whilſt he was chancellor: but when he came, contrary to the advice of the empreſs *Maude*,

[1] *S. William* archbiſhop of *York*, dying on *June* 8, *A. D.* 1154 (*Stubb's Acta. Pontif. Ebor.* col. 1722.) *Roger* was conſecrated on *October* 10, next following *Chron. Gervaſ. Cant.* col. 1376.

[2] *Epiſt. S. Thomæ*, l. i. Ep. 108.

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and the ſenſe of the church and kingdom, to be advanced to the church of *Canterbury*, he aſſumed a very different manner, and ſeemed to affect nothing but auſterity; though he was not ſo fond of having monks about him [1], as lettered noblemen, proper to gain him an intereſt in the kingdom.

His promotion was entirely owing to the king; for notwithſtanding the formality of an election by the monks of *Chriſt-church*, and of an approbation by the ſuffragan biſhops of the province, the conſent of the crown was abſolutely neceſſary; and the others always took care to chooſe and accept whomever the king recommended. Whatever difficulty either of thoſe bodies might be apt to raiſe under a weak government, there was no entering into a diſpute with a prince, ſo wiſe and vigorous in his adminiſtration, and ſo much maſter of his dominions, as *Henry*. Hence an objection was made to *Becket's* being a ſecular, and when the king's letters in his behalf were notified by *Richard de Lucy*, the chief juſticiary, to the monks and biſhops, they readily concurred in his election; no body offering to expreſs a diſlike, except what may be inferred from the words of [2] *Gibert Foliot* biſhop of *Hereford*, ſoon after tranſlated to *London*; a prelate of great merit, capacity, and talents for buſineſs, eminent in moſt parts of learning, and an excellent judge of men, who ſaid on the occaſion, "that the king had wrought a wonder, in turning a ſecular and "a knight into an archbiſhop." *Thomas* thus elected was on *June* 3, *A. D.* 1162, the firſt *Sunday* [3] after *Whitſunday*, (having been ordained prieſt the day before by *Walter* biſhop of *Rocheſter*) conſecrated archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, by *Henry* biſhop of *Wincheſter*; who (aſſiſted by moſt of the ſuffragans of the province, preſided in that act, as chantor to the archbiſhop, in the vacancy of the ſee of *London*, the biſhop whereof would have officiated in it, as his dean) and upon the rejecting of the archbiſhop of *York's* claim and offer to conſecrate him, becauſe he would not make him a profeſſion of canonical obedience.

The two firſt acts of *Thomas* after his elevation, ſerving to ſhew the vanity of the man, and to prepare the king for what he found afterwards in his conduct towards him, are not improper to be mentioned. He imagined his conſecration to be a matter of ſuch importance to *Chriſtianity*, and the church of *England*, that he would needs have the day of it diſtinguiſhed by a ſolemn feſtival: and accordingly inſtituted the feaſt of the holy trinity to be kept on that day; ſaying himſelf the communion office ſpecially appointed for it, which hath ever ſince been obſerved in *England* and the following *Sundays* have taken their denomination from it; whereas they are ſtill computed in foreign parts, as they were here before this event, according to the order in which they follow *Whitſunday*. The other act was, his ſending immediately the ſeals of his office of chancellor to the king, without waiting his return from abroad; an act, which *Henry* conſidered as an affectation of independency, and a declaration that he was to expect no ſervice from him in the affairs of his kingdom. This the king is ſaid [4] by ſome writers to reſent ſo much, that he could not help ſhewing a coldneſs to the archbiſhop, when he met him at his landing in *England*; which was the more remarkable, becauſe of their former intimacy: nor did *Thomas* recover his favour by giving the archdeaconry of *Canterbury* to *Geffrey Ridel*, after having long ſtood out againſt his moſt earneſt and repeated inſtances in *Geffrey's* [5] behalf.

[1] *Epiſt. S. Thomæ* l. i. *Ep.* 53. 126.
[2] *Wharton. de Epiſc. London.* p. 68.
[3] *Diceto*, col. 633. *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1383.
[4] *Heribert*, in the life prefixed to the epiſtles of *Becket*, publiſhed in quarto at *Bruxelles*, *A. D.* 1682, p. 27. ſays, that when the king landed at *Southampton*, he received the archbiſhop with his uſual kindneſs, and after being ſeveral days together, during which nothing paſſed, but what ſhewed *Becket* to be in his higheſt favour, they parted entirely ſatisfied with one another; ſo that perhaps the coldneſs between them did not commence till after the latter's return from the council of *Tours*, and upon the king's being informed of the reſolutions he had taken there.
[5] This ſhews that in thoſe days, it was no part of the prerogative of the crown to preſent to preferments voided by promotions to biſhopricks.

This

This coldneſs was much increaſed in a little time by *Becket's* conduct, after his return from the council of *Tours*, held [1] on *May* 19, being the *Sunday* after *Whitſontide*, by Pope *Alexander:* who received him with extraordinary honours, and granted his church all the privileges he deſired. There was a [2] canon made in this council againſt the uſurpation of eccleſiaſtical goods by the laity: and whether *Thomas* thought himſelf obliged by this canon, or was encouraged by the Pope (with whom he probably now concerted the meaſures he afterwards purſued) [3] to attempt the recovery of all lands alienated from his ſee, he was no ſooner returned home, than he demanded of the king [4], the cuſtody of the caſtle of *Rocheſter*, and the manors of *Saltwode* and *Hethe*, as belonging to the church of *Canterbury*. *William de Ros*, who enjoyed in *Kent* ſix knight's fees and an half of ancient feofment in the time of *Henry* I, was found by the late inquiſition to hold them of the king [5]. The archbiſhop claimed them, or at leaſt the ſuperiority thereof, as having been once granted by king *Stephen* to the church of *Canterbury* [6]; though that grant had been, with others, reſumed at the acceſſion of *Henry* II, upon this undeniable maxim in law and reaſon, that a rightful king could not receive any prejudice, or have his property alienated by the acts of an uſurper; who having himſelf no right in the thing granted, could convey none to another. He pretended alſo to the caſtle, with all the honour, of *Tunbridge*, poſſeſſed by *Roger* earl of *Clare* or *Hertford*, great grandſon to *Richard Fitz Gilbert*, to whom it had been granted by *William the Conqueror*. This grant was not a meer [7] act of bounty, but made for a valuable conſideration, in lieu of the caſtle of *Brioſne* in *Normandie* with all the land about it for a league, in circumference; upon the ſurrender whereof to *William*, a recompence was made by a conveyance of the ſame quantity of land meaſured by a chain to *Richard*. It had been confirmed by the archbiſhops of *Canterbury:* but *Becket* pretending that, according to the decretals, his predeceſſors, as truſtees to the church, were allowed to improve its [8] revenues and eſtates, but not leſſen or alienate them, ſummoned *Roger* to do homage to him on *July* 22: and ſued him for an honour, which his anceſtors had hitherto held of the crown and enjoyed unmoleſted. This is ſaid to have alarmed and diſobliged the chief nobility of *England*, who were moſt of them related or allied to the earl of *Clare:* and he certainly offended the king [9] by his proceedings in the caſe of the church of *Eynesford* in *Kent*, which he had beſtowed upon one *Laurence*, on a pretence which appears ſomewhat extraordinary, which was certainly illegal, and would lay the foundation of numberleſs diſputes, and uſurpations on the right of patrons; maintaining it to be the archbiſhop's prerogative to preſent to all churches in the manors, either of his military tenants or of the monks of *Canterbury*, when they became vacant.

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It was an arbitrary, if not an infamous, practice in that age, adopted after the example, and by the encouragement of Popes, for biſhops to take upon them to be judges in their own cauſes: and when they had a diſpute with any one, either for the defence or recovery of their temporal poſſeſſions, to wave proceedings at law, and

Such an encroachment on the rights of patrons owed its origine undoubtedly to the arbitrary maxims and rapacious meaſures of the Popes, who ſtuck at no injuſtice to increaſe their own power.

[1] *Ib.* col. 1314. *Vita S. Thomæ*, p. 26.

[2] *Can.* 3. *in Baron. Annal.* t. xii. p. 608. but the 7th in *Neubrig.* l. ii. c. 15.

[3] *Neubrigenſis*, l. ii. c. 16. ſays, it was at this council that *Becket*, on pretence of a ſcruple of conſcience, for having been promoted by the king's means, ſecretly reſigned his archbiſhoprick to *Alexander*, and received it again from this Pope's grant.

[4] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1384. [5] *Hearne's Lib. Niger. Scacc.* p. 66. *M. Paris. Vit. S. Thom.* p. 78. [6] *Epiſt. S. Thomæ*, l. iii. ep. 65.

[7] *Gul. Gemetic.* l. viii. c. 15. [8] *Diceto*, col. 536. See *Camden's Brit.* in *Kent*.

[9] There is another occaſion of the king's being diſpleaſed with the archbiſhop, mentioned by ſome writers, and quoted from a manuſcript hiſtory of his life, preſerved in *Greſham* college, and wrote by one *Edward Ryme*, or perhaps *Grim*; but as it is founded upon a ſuppoſition that the two ſhillings an hyde, levied for *Danegeld*, was not for the king's uſe, but was due to the under ſheriffs that held the county-courts, the ſtory is too abſurd to need a ſerious refutation.

load

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load him immediately with an excommunication; a cenſure uſed in the primitive church, only in the caſe of hereticks, or for the correction of publick ſinners, to avoid ſcandal. They had perſuaded the people, that damnation was the certain conſequence of this cenſure, without making any diſtinction as to the juſtice or error of the ſentence, and the occaſion wherein it is denounced: and the dread, with which it ſtruck all orders of men, even officers and ſoldiers, uſed to rapine, and who ſeemed to have no ſenſe of religion in any other reſpect, beſides the reverence which they paid to the goods of the church, is inexpreſſible. Hence the clergy found a great advantage by their haſty excommunications, not only in the protection of their own goods, but likewiſe in the acquiſition of large eſtates from the laity; who finding in troubleſome times [1] no other way of ſaving their lands from being plundered or invaded, made them over to the church; but ſtill retaining them in their own hands, and only paying a ſmall acknowledgement. The church indeed received from theſe eſtates, thus converted into fiefs, nothing during the poſſeſſor's life, beſides a quit rent: but when the iſſue male of the feudatory failed, which happened very frequently in thoſe times, when continual wars and expeditions to the *Holy Land*, extinguiſhed an infinite number of families, the church came to enjoy the full poſſeſſion of ſuch eſtates. This experience of the benefits they derived from excommunication, made the biſhops extremely fond of denouncing that cenſure: and upon the expulſion of *Laurence's* agents, who had taken poſſeſſion of the church of *Eynesford*, by *William* lord of the manor, claiming the advowſon as annexed to it [2], he immediately excommunicated *William* notwithſtanding he held lands under the crown, and had the privileges of the king's military tenants. When the *Conqueror* firſt introduced the papal authority into *England*, there [3] was a law made, with an expreſs deſign to prevent the encroachments of the eccleſiaſtical power on the civil, that ſuch tenants of the crown ſhould not be excommunicated without the conſent or knowledge of the king; who would, by the conſequences of that cenſure, loſe the ſervice of his vaſſal. *Henry*, incenſed at the violation of this law, wrote at firſt to the archbiſhop to abſolve *William:* but upon his refuſal to do ſo, and denying the validity of the king's orders, iſſued agreeably to the conſtitution and for enforcing obedience to the laws of the land, thus adding to the former a freſh inſult on the royal authority, he treated with him afterwards, and renewed his orders, only by meſſengers. It was with the worſt grace in nature, that *Becket* complied at laſt, and abſolved *William*, either to avoid the penalties of a law, neceſſary for ſupporting the authority of the crown, the breach whereof was deemed treaſonable, and puniſhed with the confiſcation of all the offender's eſtate, or elſe to pacify the king. But it was not conſiſtent with *Becket's* declared principles in the point of the liberties of the church, or with his views and deſigns of arrogating to himſelf an abſolute power, uncontrouled by the laws of the land, in eccleſiaſtical affairs, to keep long well with his prince: and an open quarrel ſoon broke out between them on the occaſion now to be related.

The evils of an uſurpation are not to be removed or corrected intirely, but in a length of time: *Henry* was as yet to ſtruggle with various diſorders and corruptions introduced under *Stephen's* government; during which, as the laws of the land were ſilent, ſo the canons of the church had been utterly neglected. The fourth general council held at *Chalcedon* had provided, that no perſon ſhould be admitted

[1] See *Giannone's Hiſt. of Naples*, l. x.

[2] See *Liber Niger Scaccar.* p. 54. That *William* was the rightful patron, appears from his donation of the advowſon to the convent of *Chriſt-Church*, and archbiſhop *Richard*, (*Becket's* immediate ſucceſſor) his publick acknowledgment of the convent's right to it, in virtue of that grant. *Gervaſ. Acta Pontif. Cantuar.* col. 1675.

[3] *Eadmer*, p. 4. *Diceto*, col. 536.

mitted to holy orders without a title or cure wherein to exercise his ministry; several *English* councils had made the same regulation; but in the late times of confusion, abundance of persons, to save themselves from ill treatment, by the protection of the church and the sacredness of their character[1], had got themselves ordained, without being titled to any churches. The bishops ordaining all that presented themselves, without distinction, an infinite number of people had got into orders; generally illiterate; idle, as having nothing to do in the way of their profession: poor, by being disabled from getting a livelihood in any other; and, thus exposed to all the temptations arising from want and idleness, apt to fall into the meanest actions and most scandalous enormities. Hence had ensued an ocean of disorders; there being no kind of hank upon any of these clergymen: who were not afraid either of losing their livings, because they had none; or of being punished, since they were protected by the privileges of ecclesiasticks; or even of the bishop's prison, because having no charge in his diocese, they could easily run away out of his jurisdicton. The canons likewise condemned pluralities; yet no less than seven churches or prebends were frequently given to a little clergyman, through the fault of the prelates, who thus disposed of them in favour of their own relations, which had occasioned a vast number of suits, about the presentations to churches, and the rights of incumbents. The bishops too, more intent upon their own profit, than the amendment of a sinner, dah introduced a practice of commuting for penance: and had taken great sums of money for excusing people of scandalous crimes; a practice that clashed directly with the canons, and tended to undermine the ecclesiastical discipline. The king had complained of these disorders before the death of archbishop *Theobald*; but the bishops, being more zealous to maintain the privileges of the clergy, than to correct their vices, and making it a rule in their sentences to give no satisfaction to the crown for the breach of the laws by clergymen, no redress had followed[2]: and offenders were become so emboldened by impunity, that, confiding in their privileges, they openly insulted the civil judges, and treated them with abusive language. Rapine, robberies, and murders were daily committed by the persons above described; thinking themselves secure from the penalties of the law by their pretended exemption from the civil courts, and slighting the censures of the ecclesiastical, that could inflict no punishment adequate to their crimes, and yet would not deliver the offenders to the king's justices.

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A CLERK in *Worcestershire* having debauched a gentleman's daughter, and afterwards killed her father, the king insisted that he should be tried in his secular court for these iniquities: but *Becket* would not allow it; and, to prevent his being brought before it, ordered him to be kept in the bishop's prison. *Henry* used the like instances for the trial of another who had stolen a silver chalice out of a church in *London*, called *S. Maries in the Market*: the archbishop refused, and caused him to be tried in the *Court Christian*, where he was sentenced to be degraded, and branded in the face with an hot iron. Sacrilege was of all others the crime, against which the Popes, prelates, and clergy of those days most vehemently exclaimed: their own property was nearly affected by it, and they thought fit to distinguish the heinousness thereof by the extraordinary severity of its punishment. To this aversion of theirs to that particular crime, the latter part of the sentence here mentioned may reasonably be imputed, rather than to any desire of gratifying the king; as the advocates for *Becket* represent the matter. The ecclesiastical court had no right to inflict a civil penalty, any farther than they were empowered by the civil magistrate; they had no power by law to order a corporal punishment: to assume such a power, was

[1] *Epist. S. Thomæ*, l. i. ep. 53.
[2] *W. Neubrig.* l. ii. c. 16.

Henry II. A. D. 1156.

an invaſion of the royal authority, and a crime of the nature of high treaſon. It was ſuch an inſult upon the king's crown and dignity, and a precedent ſo dangerous in its conſequences to the whole conſtitution of the kingdom, that it is the greateſt abſurdity in nature to ſuppoſe, he could be pleaſed with it; however neceſſary it might be for thoſe writers to advance ſuch a plea for excuſing their hero's conduct. They were certainly very injudicious in advancing it, when the act, or exerciſe of uſurped authority, for which they would fain apologize, was of ſuch a nature, as to juſtify the ſuggeſtions, which they complain of being made by the court clergy to [1] the king: "that if the archbiſhop went on in arrogating to himſelf ſuch powers, "his royal dignity would be ſoon deſtroyed; and if he did not provide in time for "himſelf and his heirs, the clergy would be abſolute maſters of the realm, and "none would be king, but whom they thought fit to chooſe, nor be ſuffered to "reign any longer than the archbiſhop pleaſed."

The king was too wiſe not to ſee, that his own authority was ſtruck at, and that there would ſoon be an end of the royalty, if the church was ſuffered to go on in uſurping ſuch powers. His zeal too for juſtice, with his deſire to preſerve the lives of his ſubjects, above an hundred whereof [2] had been lately murdered by thoſe lawleſs clerks, and to reſtore good order in his realm, urging him to have theſe diſorders corrected, he reſolved to do it without loſs of time, and to put an immediate ſtop to the archbiſhop's meaſures. With this view he called all the biſhops [3] together at *Weſtminſter:* and complaining of the archdeacon's violence in extorting money from innocent [4] perſons in ſome caſes, and of their corruption in others, by making a gain of people's ſins, and letting the guilty eſcape unpuniſhed, in any other manner than by the payment of commutation money, raiſing thus greater ſums yearly upon the people than the king himſelf received, propoſed, that one of his officers of juſtice ſhould be always preſent, when any infamous offender was to be tried before the archdeacons. Then turning his diſcourſe to the robberies and murders ſo frequently committed by the irregular clergy, he deſired them to conſent, that ſuch as were either taken in any great crime of that nature, or convicted by proof or confeſſion of their guilt, ſhould be immediately degraded, and then delivered to his court in order to a corporal puniſhment; and that one of his officers might be preſent at their degradation, to take them into cuſtody, for fear they ſhould fly from juſtice. The archbiſhop, taking the biſhops aſide, conſulted with them on this occaſion: and found them of opinion, that by the civil laws, clerks were to be degraded and delivered to the ſecular court, to be corporally puniſhed; which they ſhewed to be reaſonable, and proved as well by the laws of the land, as by examples drawn from the *Old Teſtament*. Theſe were arguments that did not weigh with *Becket*; he minded neither reaſon, law, nor ſcripture: but intrenching himſelf in the papal decrees and canons, maintained it to be a breach of theſe and of the law of God, for a man to undergo two judgments for one offence; as if it was more unlawful for the ſame criminal action to be puniſhed in two ſentences, in the one by the eccleſiaſtical court with an eccleſiaſtical cenſure as giving ſcandal to the church, in the other by the civil magiſtrate with a corporal pain as an offence againſt the ſtate; than for thoſe two different puniſhments to be inflicted for the ſame crime by an eccleſiaſtical judge only, when denounced in the ſame ſentence, a practice which he had approved in the abovementioned caſe of ſacrilege. It is not eaſy to diſcover any ſuch material difference between a *double penalty* and a *double judgment*, as to render the one perfecty innocent, and the other utterly unlawful: yet the firſt is every day inflicted in all courts as well eccleſiaſtical as

[1] *Vita S. Thomæ*, p. 27. [2] *W. Neubrig.* l. ii. c. 16. [3] *Vit. S. Tho.* p. 28, 29. *Chr. Gervaſ.* col. 1384. [4] *Vit. S. Thomæ a Stephan.* p. 32.

civil;

civil; and though deprivation and excommunication are different punishments, yet they were both denounced against clergymen in some cases by the apostolical canons[1]. HENRY II. A. D. 1163.

THE bishops pressed him to comply for the good of the church and their common safety: but he, exhorting them to die in defence of the canons, which forbade them to be concerned in sentences of blood, persisted in his resolution not to give up any criminal ecclesiastick to the secular arm, and thereby expose him to the capital punishment he had merited. The king, informed of what had passed, thought fit to change his battery: and asking the bishops, if they would observe the customs of the crown and laws of the kingdom in all points, the archbishop with the rest, answered[2] that they would, *saving their order in all things and in all cases*. *Henry*, suspecting this *salvo* to be designed for an evasion or pretence to recede, whenever they pleased, from their promise, insisted that it should be couched in absolute terms, and that they should engage simply, without any qualification or reserve, to observe the customs: and the bishops not complying in this point, he went away in the evening, full of resentment; one effect whereof appeared on the morrow.

WEAK minds and ignorant persons may be troubled with unreasonable and ridiculous scruples, without giving any occasion to suspect their sincerity: but when a man of parts and knowledge, in all the vigour of his health and reason, pretends to a greater tenderness of conscience than the rest of mankind, and is unequal, or rather inconsistent, in his conduct, in the very point wherein he pretends to such an extraordinary tenderness, there can surely be little reason to doubt either of his hypocrisy, or his evil designs. When *Becket*, pretending he could not serve two masters, God and the king together, had, out of the wonderful delicacy of his conscience, upon being made archbishop, thrown up the post of chancellor (which had been usually filled with clergymen, and ever deemed not improper for men of that order) in such haste, that he would not stay for the king's return from abroad, he still[3] kept in his hands several honours and fortresses; the guard whereof had been committed to him whilst he was chancellor and in high favour with his master. The same conscience, which was too nice to suffer him to hold one *civil* post, that enabled him to do a great deal of good in the world, allowed him, as it seems, to hold a number of *military* charges, which gave him power in the kingdom, and endangered its peace, whilst in the hands of a disaffected and turbulent person. He had hitherto retained the custody of these honours and castles: but *Henry* (who had no reason before to be pleased either with his affectation of popularity by the open table he kept, and the vast presents he made, whilst chancellor[4], or with his courting the nobility, not only then, but since he was made archbishop, by having their sons and relations in his family; or with his bestowing church preferments on unworthy and scandalous persons, without any apparent motive, but for their being devoted to his interest) now seeing plainly his design to advance the ecclesiastical power, of which he had the direction, upon the ruins of that of the crown, and knowing him, by the pride, obstinacy, and violence of his nature, capable of embarking in any measures to gain his ends, thought it high time to take them out of his hands, and get them into his own possession. The king[5] accordingly demanded them: and the castles being delivered, went away suddenly from *London*, full of resentment, without taking any notice of the bishops.

[1] *Canon. Apost.* 22. 30. } See *Canon.* { 23. 31.
[2] *Chron. Gervas.* col. 1385.
[3] *Ib. & Vit. præfix. Epist. S. Thomæ*, p. 35.
[4] *Epist. S. Thomæ*, l. i. ep. 53.
[5] *Chron. Gervas.* ib.

VIII. THIS

Henry II. *A. D.* 1163.

VIII. This abrupt departure alarming the prelates, they preſſed the archbiſhop to give his conſent to the cuſtoms in queſtion, and his promiſe for obſerving them, unreſtrained by any condition: but he was not to be moved till the count of *Vendoſme*, *Robert de Melun* (his domeſtick chaplain, archdeacon of *Oxford*, and ſoon after, on *December* 22, conſecrated by him biſhop of *Hereford)* and *Philip*, abbot of *Eleemoſina*, talked with him on the ſubject. The laſt of theſe was ſent over by the Pope and cardinals; whom the king had, by the biſhop of *Liſieux* (who had taken great pains, and made ſeveral voyages in the ſhort ſpace of three months, that this negotiation laſted) ſollicited to approve the ancient cuſtoms of his realm; proteſting in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he meant no harm to the church, and only deſired it for the ſake of his own honour and reputation [1]. The abbot had the character of legate *à latere*: and his commiſſion being to make up the difference on foot, he brought inſtructions to the archbiſhop to accommodate matters with the king, and to promiſe an obſervance of the laws of the kingdom, without clogging his engagement with any *ſalvo* or exception. *Becket* hereupon [2] complied: and waiting upon the king at *Woodeſtoke* or *Oxford*, promiſed to keep his laws upon the faith of an honeſt man, and without any prevarication whatever. It was thought proper that this promiſe, with thoſe of the biſhops, ſhould be declared in the moſt ſolemn manner: and for that purpoſe a great council of the prelates and nobility of *England* was called to meet, on *January* 25, at *Clarendon*. *A. D.* 1164.

Diſpute about the conſtitutions of *Clarendon*.

The king had always been jealous of his prerogative, and careful to maintain it againſt the encroachments of the papacy: nor had *Becket* given him any reaſon to imagine he had different ſentiments on that ſubject, till after his promotion to *Canterbury*; as appears by what paſſed in the ſuits about the exemptions of the abbey of *Battel* from the biſhop of *Chicheſter's*, and of that of *St. Alban* from the biſhop of *Lincoln's* juriſdiction. [3] At the hearing of the firſt cauſe, in a great aſſembly of the prelates and nobility of *England*; when *Hilary* biſhop of *Chicheſter*, in order to invalidate *William the Conqueror's* charter of exemption to the abbey, was exalting the papal authority, and affirmed that no layman, not even the king himſelf, could give any eccleſiaſtical dignities or privileges to a church without the Pope's allowance and confirmation; *Henry*, in great wrath, interrupted his harangue, and told him, "that the Pope owed his power to the grant of men, but the royal "authority was derived from God; that it was not agreeable to the prelate's ſworn "allegiance to derogate from his royal dignity; and he ſhould apply to the great "council there aſſembled for doing him juſtice on a man, who had thus attacked "the ancient liberties of the crown, and was endeavouring to deprive him of the "royal dignities, which his anceſtors had enjoyed in their times, and had tranſ-"mitted to him by hereditary right." The whole audience aſſented to what the king ſaid, and was moved with indignation againſt *Hilary*; chancellor *Becket* reproved him for his preſumption: and the biſhop, ſeeing himſelf condemned by all, humbly begged pardon for his aſſertion; proteſting, that he did not intend any prejudice to the king's prerogative. In the other ſuit, *Robert* biſhop of *Lincoln* had got a bull from Pope *Alexander* [4], empowering the biſhops of *Chicheſter* and *Norwich* to hear the cauſe, and directing them to ſend the depoſitions and proofs to *Rome*, in order to his determination. *Henry* reſolved to hear the cauſe himſelf: and was highly incenſed as well at this bull, as at another of Pope *Celeſtine's* read at the hearing, confirming the exemption of *St. Alban's*, and reſerving to himſelf and ſucceſſors an ounce of gold yearly, by way of acknowledgment; conſidering it as a

[1] *Dicet.* col. 536. *Hoveden.* [2] *Vita S. Thomæ præfix. Epiſt.* p. 37. [3] *Concil. M. Brit.* t. i. p. 431. [4] *Matth. Paris. Vit. Abb. S. Alban.* p. 77, 79.

ſtrange inſolence in the Pope, to make one of his churches tributary to the ſee of *Rome* without his conſent, and as a great derogation to his royal dignity. The abbot of *S. Alban's* had been cited to appear before the papal delegates, as well as before the king, in *S. Catherine's* chappel at *Weſtminſter:* and when he began to plead the cauſe of the abbey before his majeſty, he moved, that if he proved the privileges of his church before him, and had a ſentence of the court in his favour, he might not be obliged to prove them again before thoſe delegates. The king thought the requeſt reaſonable, and turning to the chancellor, ſaid, "it would be "an intolerable affront to his royal dignity, if a cauſe determined in his court, "ſhould be tried over again in the Pope's conſiſtory." *Becket* aſſented; and the court decreeing accordingly, proceeded to hear the cauſe. Such were the ſentiments or conduct of *Becket*, whilſt he was chancellor: and the king had reaſon to be ſurprized, when he found him adopt very different ones, upon his getting poſſeſſion of the ſee of *Canterbury*.

HENRY II. A. D. 1164.

HENRY thought himſelf ſure of the archbiſhop after his ſolemn promiſe: but he found on this occaſion, that there is no depending on a man, who can vary his principles with his poſts, and ſuit them to his views or intereſts. When the prelates and nobility met at *Clarendon*, *Becket* flew off from his promiſe: and all the remonſtrances, as well of *Robert* earl of *Leiceſter*, one of the chief juſticiaries, and *Reginald* earl of *Cornwall*, the king's uncle, both very wiſe men, and of the greateſt power and credit in the nation, as of *Richard de Haſtings*, grand prior of the *templars* in *England*, and of ſome biſhops, with the dread of the king's reſentment, and the apprehenſion of being proſecuted for attacking his crown and dignity, were ſcarce ſufficient to perſuade him to a ſecond compliance. He came however at laſt into the royal preſence: and engaged upon oath [1], and "on the "word of a prieſt, faithfully to obſerve the laws of the kingdom, and the royal "cuſtoms uſed in the time of the king's grandfather, without any prevarication "whatever;" all the biſhops ſwearing, after his example, in the ſame form, and to the ſame effect. Theſe ancient royal cuſtoms had not yet been committed to writing, being known only by common practice and uſage immemorial: and it was thought proper to ſpecify ſome of them, to prevent any future diſpute on the ſubject. A committee of the moſt ancient and knowing perſons among the prelates and nobility was appointed to draw them up in writing: and this being done in ſixteen articles, they were read in the great council, approved, and ordered to be obſerved throughout the kingdom. Theſe articles, commonly called *The conſtitutions of Clarendon*, [2] were all expreſsly recognized as the rights of the crown by both the archbiſhops and twelve biſhops, who all ſwore to obſerve them in the ſame terms as before: and, on *January* 30, in the preſence of a great number of the nobility, whoſe names are recited, put their ſeals to the inſtrument; of which there were three indented copies made; one lodged among the records of the crown, and the others delivered to the two archbiſhops.

THESE conſtitutions provide that,

I. ALL ſuits about the preſentation and advowſon of churches, between either laity or clergy, ſhall be tried and determined in the king's court.

II. CHURCHES of the king's fee cannot be given away in perpetuity, without his conſent.

III. CLERGYMEN, accuſed of any crime whatever, and ſummoned by the king's juſtices, ſhall appear in the king's court, and plead to ſuch articles as the court ſhall require, and in the eccleſiaſtical court to ſuch as are cognizable therein;

[1] *M. Paris. ann.* 1164. *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1391. *Hoveden. Stephan. Vit. S. Thomæ*, p. 35. *Vit. S. Thomæ præfix. Ep.* p. 39. [2] *Epiſt. S. Thomæ*, l. i. ep. 12.

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provided the king's juſtices ſend an officer to inſpect the proceedings of the eccleſiaſtical court; and in caſe a clerk is convicted, or pleads guilty, he is to loſe his privilege, and be protected by the church no longer.

IV. No archbiſhops, biſhops, or parſons may go out of the realm without the king's licenſe: and if they have leave, they ſhall give ſecurity, not to aſk or attempt any thing, either in their paſſage, ſtay, or return, to the prejudice of the king or kingdom.

V. Excommunicated perſons ſhall not be obliged to make oath or give ſecurity to continue upon the place where they live; but only to ſtand to the judgment of the church, in order to their abſolution.

VI. Laicks ought not to be accuſed in the eccleſiaſtical court, but by legal and reputable promoters and witneſſes, and in the preſence of the biſhop; yet ſo as the archdeacon loſe not his right, or any of his dues; and if the offenders be ſuch, that no body either will or dare accuſe them, the ſheriff, at the biſhop's inſtance, ſhall cauſe twelve legal men of the town or vicinage to make oath before the biſhop, that they will declare the truth of the matter, according to the beſt of their knowledge.

VII. None, either of the king's tenants in *capite*, or of his miniſterial officers, may be excommunicated, nor any of their lands put under an interdict, unleſs application be firſt made to the king, if he be in *England*, or (in caſe he be out of the realm) to his juſticiary, that he may ſee juſtice done in their caſe; ſo that, what is cognizable in the king's court, may be there determined, and what belongs to the eccleſiaſtical may be remitted thither.

VIII. If appeals ariſe in eccleſiaſtical cauſes, they are to be made from the archdeacon to the biſhop, from the biſhop to the archbiſhop: in failure of juſtice from the archbiſhop, recourſe muſt be had at laſt to the king; that by his precept the ſuit may be determined in the archbiſhop's court; nor ſhall it be lawful to proceed further without the king's conſent.

IX. If a ſuit ariſe between a clergyman and a laick about a tenement, which the firſt pretends to be held by *frank-almoine*, and the latter maintains to be a lay-fee, the tenure ſhall be tried before the king's juſticiary, by the verdict of twelve legal men ſummoned, according to the cuſtom of the court, by the order of the king's chief juſtice; and if the tenement is found to be held in *frank-almoine*, the ſuit ſhall be tried in the eccleſiaſtical court; but if the verdict brings it in a lay-fee, the ſuit ſhall be carried on in the king's court, unleſs they both hold of the ſame lord either ſpiritual or temporal, in which caſe it ſhall be tried in his court; provided, however, that the perſon ſeized of the tenement in queſtion ſhall not, on account of ſuch verdict, be diſſeized, till the ſuit is determined.

X. If any inhabitant of a city, caſtle, burrough, or demeſne-manor of the king, be cited by the archdeacon or biſhop to anſwer for any miſdemeanor belonging to their cognizance, and declines obeying their citation, they may interdict him from divine ſervice; but he ought not to be excommunicated, before the king's principal officer of the place be acquainted therewith, that he may oblige the perſon to make ſatisfaction to the church: and if ſuch officer fail in doing ſo, he ſhall be finable at the king's pleaſure; and the biſhop may then exert his eccleſiaſtical authority upon the accuſed perſon.

XI. All archbiſhops, biſhops, and other clergymen poſſeſſed of eccleſiaſtical dignities or benefices, who hold of the king in *capite*, ſhall hold their poſſeſſions of the king as a barony, and ſhall appear before the king's juſtices and miniſters to anſwer the duties of their tenure; and ſhall obſerve and perform all the royal cuſtoms, rights, and ſervices: and, like other barons, are bound to ſit as judges

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in the king's court with the barons, till ſentence comes to be pronounced for the loſs of life or limbs. HENRY II. A. D. 1164.

XII. WHEN any archbiſhoprick, biſhoprick, abbey, or priory of royal foundation or patronage, becomes vacant, the king ſhall enter upon it, and receive all the iſſues and profits thereof, as of his own demeſne lands: and when he ſhall think fit to provide for ſuch church, he ſhall ſend for the moſt conſiderable perſons of the chapter or convent, and the election is to be made in the chappel royal with the king's conſent, and by the advice of ſuch dignitaries of the realm, as the king ſhall call together for that purpoſe; and the perſon elected ſhall there, before his conſecration, do homage and fealty to the king, as his liege-lord, of life, limb, and terrene honour, *ſaving his order*.

XIII. IF any of the chief nobility of the realm ſhall oppoſe the archbiſhop, biſhop, or archdeacon, in doing juſtice on themſelves or their tenants, the king ſhall take cognizance of the matter, and oblige him to ſubmit to juſtice: and if any one ſhall deny the king his rights, and decline ſtanding to the judgment of his court, the archbiſhops, biſhops, and archdeacons ſhall employ their authority and cenſures to oblige him to make the king ſatisfaction.

XIV. THE goods and chattels of ſuch as have forfeited to the king, may not be detained in any church or church-yard, to ſecure them againſt being ſeized according to law; becauſe they belong to the king wherever they are found, whether within the precincts of a church or without.

XV. ALL actions and ſuits for debts, due either upon oath or ſolemn promiſe, or contracted otherwiſe [1], ſhall be tried in the king's court.

XVI. THE ſons of villains or copyholders ought not to be ordained without the conſent of the lord of the manor, where they are known to be born.

THESE articles were, by the committee appointed on the occaſion above-related, ſelected out of the ancient cuſtoms of the realm, and drawn up in writing; as being more particularly neceſſary to be obſerved, in order to remedy ſome of the grievances of the time, and to guard againſt the encroachments, which the papal and eccleſiaſtical powers were daily making upon the civil authority. The points which the partiſans of the archbiſhop exclaimed moſt againſt, [2] were thoſe that required actions for debts upon promiſes to be tried in the civil courts; that exempted the king's officers and tenants in *capite*, from being excommunicated without the king's being previouſly acquainted; that ſettled the order of appeals, and prevented the carrying of any to *Rome*, till after four or five different hearings of a cauſe before the rural dean, archdeacon, biſhop, archbiſhop, and either in the king's court, or a court of delegates by his direction, and did not even then allow them without his majeſty's licenſe; that did not permit eccleſiaſticks, without ſuch a licenſe, to go out of the realm, though ſummoned by the Pope, and intereſſed in the proſecution, or anſwering of an appeal; that obliged clerks, when accuſed of theft, rapine, and murder, to anſwer firſt in the king's court; and biſhops to ſit in ſecular judicatures. When theſe conſtitutions came to be laid before the Pope, he expreſſed an indignation againſt them all; though he did not think fit to cenſure them equally: there were only [3] ſix that he would condeſcend to tolerate, but he abſolutely condemned all the reſt, as contrary to papal decrees and eccleſiaſtical canons. The archbiſhop,

[1] This conſtitution did not hinder the eccleſiaſtical courts from trying cauſes for debts on marriage contracts, or for dower, or any thing which was to be done in the face of the church, as *Fitz Stephens* interprets it in *Vita S. Thomæ*, p. 34, but only promiſſory debts in ordinary caſes; which the court of *Rome*, pretending to be the ſovereign judge in all caſes of the breach of faith or oaths, was for confining wholly to the eccleſiaſtical judicature. *Epiſt. S. Thomæ*, l. i. Ep. 42.

[2] *Fitz Stephens*, *Vita S. Thomæ*, p. 33, 34.

[3] Theſe ſix were the 2d, 6th, 11th, 13th, 14th, and 16th Articles.

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as ſoon as he got away from *Clarendon*, repented [1] of what he had done, exclaimed againſt them, and laboured to draw all the other biſhops into meaſures for oppoſing their execution: he put himſelf under penance for forty days, abſtaining all that time from the altar, till he had applied to the Pope, then at *Sens*, and received his abſolution. *Alexander* diſpatched *Rotrou*, archbiſhop of *Roüen*, tranſlated lately to that ſee from *Evreux*, to make up the breach between the king and *Becket*: but *Henry*, determined to ſupport the rights of his crown, would hearken to no accommodation, unleſs the Pope would, by a bull, confirm the conſtitutions of *Clarendon*. This condition being rejected, the king ſent *John* of *Oxford* and *Geffrey Ridel* to ſollicite *Alexander* for a grant of the legation of *England*, either to himſelf, or to *Roger* archbiſhop of *York*, who was already legate of *Scotland*: and the Pope, not caring either flatly to refuſe the king, or to put it in his power to diſtreſs *Becket*, granted the legation to his majeſty; but with a clauſe, which, reſtraining him from doing any thing to the prejudice of the archbiſhop of *Canterbury* [2], rendered it of no uſe to the king, who ſent it back with no little indignation. *Henry's* requeſt may perhaps appear extraordinary to ſuch, as are not acquainted with the maxims of the canon law, and the practice of the court of *Rome*; which allow the Pope to veſt a power of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction in lay-perſons, and even in women. But it was not without a precedent; ſince *Urban* II had, in *July A. D.* 1098, publiſhed a bull [3], creating *Roger* count (afterwards king) of *Sicily*, and his lawful heirs and ſucceſſors, legates of the ſee of *Rome* in that iſland; with powers to exerciſe all the authority of a legate: and this privilege hath been ever ſince enjoyed by the kings of *Sicily*.

Articles againſt *Becket* at the council of *Northampton*.

IX. BECKET, deſpairing of the king's favour, or afraid of a legal proſecution for his oppoſition to the laws, endeavoured to fly beyond ſea, and embarking privately on board [4] a ſhip at *Rumney*, made two eſſays to get over: but was hindered either by contrary winds, or by the pretences of the ſeamen, who were afraid of carrying him over without the king's licenſe. *Henry*, apprehenſive of his reriring abroad, thought it high time to commence the proſecution propoſed againſt him, on occaſion of an appeal brought by *John Mareſchal*: whoſe name ſeems to have been taken from his office, which his deſcendants enjoyed afterwards by the title of earls, mareſchal of *England*. This nobleman had ſued in the archbiſhop's court for an eſtate at *Mundeham*, ſaid to be parcel of the manor of *Pageham*, belonging to the ſee of *Canterbury*: and excepting to the proceedings in the cauſe, had come into the court, and ſwore (as *Becket's* advocates [5] pretend) not upon the goſpels, but on a *tropar* [6] (or book of hymns ſung in church before the introit of the communion ſervice) that he had not juſtice done him, and appealed to the king's court, bringing with him a writ, evoking the cauſe thither. It was well known, that though this was a civil cauſe, yet the archbiſhop's avowed principles would not allow him to appear in the king's court, and that he muſt of conſequence incur the penalties of a contempt: he was accordingly ſummoned, but did not come in perſon, on *September* 14, the day appointed for his attendance; contenting himſelf with ſending four of his knights, with a letter from himſelf, to excuſe his abſence on account of ſickneſs, and a certificate from the ſheriff of *Kent*, aſſerting the defects of *John's* title and appeal. His excuſes being rejected, as trifling, inſufficient, and mere pretences without any foundation; and his meſſengers

[1] *Vita S. Thomæ, præfix. Epiſt.* p. 167. *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1388. *Epiſt. S. Thomæ*, l. i. ep. 26. [2] *Epiſt. S. Thomæ*, l. i. Ep. 2. [3] *Baron. Annal.* t. xi. p. 883. [4] *Fitz Stephens, Vit. S. Thomæ*, p. 35. [5] *Ib.* p. 36. [6] It was uſual to put ſome paſſage of the Goſpels at the head of ſuch books uſed in divine ſervice: and I have ſeen in old Manuſcripts, the beginning of the Goſpel of St. *John* ſo placed, on purpoſe for people to ſwear on.

being taken into cuſtody for offering falſhoods to the court, he was cited to the great council (which met on *Tueſday, October* 6, at *Northampton)* not by a letter from the king, as uſual; but by a writ to the ſheriff of the county, with orders to ſummon him; the method perhaps taken in citing litigants and criminals, whoſe cauſes were to be there adjudged. *John* was then at *London*, attending the king's buſineſs in the court of exchequer, where pleas of the crown were held, as well as accompts of the revenue ſettled: but as he was expected immediately, the trial was deferred for two or three days, till his arrival. The next day, all the biſhops [1], except two, being preſent on this occaſion, with all the earls and barons of *England*, beſides ſeveral of *Normandie*, the cauſe came to an hearing in the great council: and the archbiſhop being found guilty of a contempt of the royal authority, and of a breach of his allegiance, for not appearing in perſon according to the citation, nor making a ſufficient excuſe of abſence, was adjudged to have forfeited all his goods and chattels. He did not fail to inſiſt on the fair proceedings of his court, and the injuſtice of *John's* pretenſions: but becauſe he had not alledged any bodily infirmity, or any neceſſary act of his eccleſiaſtical office, which could not be deferred, non-appearance was deemed an heinous breach of the terrene honour he had ſworn to the king in his oath of fealty, and the ſentence was publiſhed accordingly. There was ſome debate, who ſhould be the mouth of the court on this occaſion [2], the biſhops not thinking it proper for any of their character; ſince in their eccleſiaſtical capacity they were ſubject to him as their archbiſhop, and it was better for the barons to be ſo in a ſecular court, as that was wherein they ſat, rather as barons than biſhops: but the biſhops and barons being peers alike, and equally concerned in the ſentence, it was at laſt reſolved, that it ſhould be pronounced by the biſhop of *Wincheſter*. There is no contradicting a ſentence or record of the king of *England's* court: and it being the cuſtom to give ſecurity to ſtand to the judgment there given, the archbiſhop ſubmitted to it by the advice of the biſhops, who all agreed to be his bail; except *Gilbert* biſhop of *London*, who was marked out by that ſingularity.

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THERE were other matters [3], for which he was called to an account, particularly for three hundred pounds he had received of the honours of *Eye* and *Berckhamſtede*. *Becket* would fain have waved anſwering this charge, becauſe he was not cited to the council on that account; and pretended he had laid out more than that ſum in the repairs of thoſe caſtles, and of the royal palace at *London:* but the king not allowing the fact, and demanding judgment, the archbiſhop [4] agreed to make good the money; and gave ſecurity for the payment. On the day following, he was proſecuted for five hundred marks, lent him by the king in the expedition of *Toulouſe*; and for another ſum of the ſame value, in which his majeſty ſtood bound for him to a *Jew* of that country. He was likewiſe required to give an accompt of his receipts of the profits, as well of the archbiſhoprick during its late vacancy, as of all the biſhopricks and abbeys that had fallen vacant, and been entruſted to his cuſtody for ſeveral years, whilſt he was chancellor: and upon his replying as before, that he had not been cited for that purpoſe, and did not come prepared, but would, in time and place, give ſatisfaction on that head, the king inſiſted, that he ſhould, in the mean time, find ſecurity to anſwer the demand. This was not an eaſy matter for the archbiſhop to do; no body caring to be his ſurety for an uncertain ſum [5], and ſo immenſe an accompt, he being charged with no leſs than two hundred and thirty thouſand marks, and all the world knowing the unparalleled profuſeneſs, and the infinite expences he had run into, whilſt he enjoyed that office;

[1] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1389. [2] *Fitz Steph.* p. 37. [3] See *Diceto*, col. 537. [4] *Fitz Steph.* p. 38.
[5] *Vit. S. Tho. præfix. Epiſt.* p. 48.

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ſo that to gain time, he found it neceſſary to deſire leave, firſt to conſult his ſuffragans and clergy; which the king granted. There was accordingly a great meeting of the clergy at his houſe the next day: and having talked with the biſhops and abbots, with each of theſe ſeverally and apart, he approved the biſhop of *Wincheſter's* advice; who engaged to ſupply him largely, if he could make a compoſition with the king for a ſum of money. Two thouſand marks were offered, but refuſed: and this rendering it neceſſary to come to ſome other reſolution, the prelates were again conſulted, and much divided in their opinions. Some were for his intrenching himſelf in the eccleſiaſtical privileges; and to furniſh him with a pretence for giving no accompt, advanced a very extraordinary notion, that as a vacant abbey, electing a monk from another monaſtery to be their abbot, would not receive him till he was freed from all obedience to his former abbot; ſo his accepting of the ſee of *Canterbury* (no accompt being demanded of him at that time) diſcharged him from [1] all the civil actions that the king had againſt him, and from all the debts he owed as chancellor. Others were for his reſigning the archbiſhoprick, and ſubmitting himſelf entirely to the king's mercy, leſt he ſhould be ſeized as the king's chancellor and accomptant, for want of ſureties, and as being guilty of embezzleing his majeſty's treaſure [2]; no eccleſiaſtical privilege extending ſo far as to exempt the clergy from being called to an accompt, and puniſhed by the royal judges for any miſdemeanors in the exerciſe of their civil offices.

Most of the prelates were of this laſt opinion, adviſing him to comply; which was certainly the honeſteſt, if not the moſt reaſonable, party he could take: but the firſt, flattering the pride of his heart, was more agreeable to a man, whoſe temper would not ſuffer him to ſtoop to a ſubmiſſion; though if he was not able to pay the money he had miſapplied or embezzled, it was all the ſatisfaction he could make to the perſon he had injured. Whoever reflects on the prodigious figure that *Becket* made whilſt he was chancellor, and that neither his private fortune, nor the preferments which he had before (the moſt conſiderable whereof was the archdeaconry of *Canterbury)* nor even the emoluments of the former of theſe dignities, could enable him to bear the hundreth part of his monſtrous expence, and more than royal luxury, whilſt he filled it, cannot but conclude without the leaſt heſitation, that *Becket* was vaſtly indebted to the king, and muſt have diverted to his own uſe a large ſhare of the crown revenue in his receipt. It would appear a very ſtrange thing in this age, for an archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to plead the privileges of his church or order, in bar of the payment of his juſt debts; there is neither juſtice nor decency in ſuch a plea: and yet *Becket* was not aſhamed of making it, under pretence, that he was acquitted of his debt (and he was certainly in no other way acquitted than) by his promotion to the ſee of *Canterbury*; it not being juſt, that the revenues of that church ſhould be applied to pay the debts of a chancellor. This is what the Pope and others of his correſpondents, during his exile, chiefly inſiſt on, to juſtify his not giving the king an accompt of the profits of that branch of the revenue, which was entruſted to his management: and it muſt be owned to be of a piece with ſome of the other pretended eccleſiaſtical liberties, in the defence whereof *Becket* gloried to be a ſufferer.

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[2] *Becket*, in his conference, mentioned a particular which deſerves notice, *viz.* that when a man was condemned to be fined at the king's mercy, the fine was not arbitrary, but limited to a certain and ſtated ſum in each county of the kingdom. This ſum in *London* was one hundred ſhillings: in *Kent*, (which being nearer the ſea, and charged with keeping the coaſt free from pirates, and giving the firſt onſet in battle, had a greater burthen lying upon it, and was therefore entitled to a greater indulgence) it was ſtinted to forty ſhillings; and as his ſee and dwelling was in *Kent*, his forfeiture ſhould be taxed at the rate of the *Kentiſh* fine, as *Fitz Stephens*, who was preſent in all this tranſaction, relates in *Vita S. Thomæ*, p. 42.

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THE king was in an inner room; and cauſing proclamation to be made, that the prelates and nobility ſhould attend him there, made heavy complaints to them of *Becket's* intolerable inſolence, in entering his court like a traytor, in ſo preſumptuous and affronting a manner, that no *Chriſtian* prince had ever ſeen or heard of the like behaviour. They all agreed in imputing it "to the pride and vanity of the man, "whom they all allowed to be a traytor, and in judging it an unparalleled inſult, "offered not to his majeſty alone, but to themſelves alſo and the whole kingdom: "but ſaid it was the king's own fault, in putting ſuch an one above them, and "making him the ſecond perſon in the kingdom." The biſhops then gave an account of their having been with *Becket* that very morning and of his reproaching them for their ill uſage of him in joining with the barons in the ſentence, adjudging all his goods and chattels to be forfeited[2]; a ſentence which he thought too

[1] *Vita S. Thomæ Præf. Epiſt.* c. 30, 31.

[2] *Becket*, in his conference, mentioned a particular which deſerves notice, *viz.* that when a man was condemned to be fined at the king's mercy, the fine was not arbitrary, but limited to a certain and ſtated ſum in each county of the kingdom. This ſum in *London* was one hundred ſhillings: in *Kent*, (which being nearer the ſea, and charged with keeping the coaſt free from pirates, and giving the firſt onſet in battle, had a greater burthen lying upon it, and was therefore entitled to a greater indulgence) it was ſtinted to forty ſhillings; and as his ſee and dwelling was in *Kent*, his forfeiture ſhould be taxed at the rate of the *Kentiſh* fine, as *Fitz Stephens*, who was preſent in all this tranſaction, relates in *Vita S. Thomæ*, p. 42.

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harſh for a ſingle non-appearance, and a bad precedent for the biſhops and barons themſelves; and which probably would not have been inflicted upon him, if his open declarations to all the world againſt the conſtitutions of *Clarendon*, particularly the third, requiring, "the clergy, when ſummoned by the juſticiary, to appear in "the kings' court, and anſwer to the charge againſt them," had not cauſed his abſence to be deemed the effect of a formed reſolution, and rendered his contumacy a matter of publick notoriety. The biſhops added, that the archbiſhop had likewiſe notified to them, that he had appealed to the Pope againſt this ſentence, and in conſequence thereof diſcharged them, by the papal authority, from taking upon them for the future to judge him, for any ſecular accuſation brought againſt him, on account of any matter previous to his being made archbiſhop.

APPEALS to the Pope, even in eccleſiaſtical cauſes, were as yet forbidden by the laws of *England:* but an appeal to him in a civil cauſe, was ſtriking directly at the monarchy itſelf. It was ſubjecting the kingdom to a foreign judicature in temporals, and ſuch a daring attempt upon the king's crown and dignity, as in the nature of the thing, as well as in the eye of the law, merited the puniſhment of high treaſon. The king, not a little [1] provoked by this freſh inſult on his authority, ſent his earls and many of the barons to *Becket*, to know whether he had made the appeal, and given the prohibition above related: "ſince he was his liege man, and "bound to him as well by the common oath of fealty, as by the ſpecial oath he "had taken at *Clarendon*, to maintain, faithfully, ſincerely, according to law and "without any prevarication, his royal dignities; one of which obliged the biſhops to "aſſiſt at all trials and judgments in his court, except at ſentences of blood; and "whether he would give ſecurity to ſtand to the judgment of the king's court in "the account of his chancellorſhip." The archbiſhop in his anſwer owned his liege homage, fealty, and oath to the king, but ſaid "that a ſacerdotal oath was to be "underſtood with a *ſalvo* to the obedience of God, his eccleſiaſtical dignity, and "the epiſcopal honour of his perſon; that he was cited only for the cauſe of the "Mareſchal; and having beſides ſpending his own income, contracted debts in "the king's ſervice, he was under no obligation to give account of his ſecular "charge, being diſmiſſed from it freely before his conſecration and poſſeſſion of the "church of *Canterbury*; that he had no pledges to offer in the caſe of giving up "his accounts; and then avowing the appeal and prohibition to the biſhops, de-"clared again, that he appealed and put his own perſon and the church of *Canter-"bury* under the Pope's protection." This anſwer was received by ſome of the noblemen with amazement, and by others with ſuch indignation, that talking aloud with one another as they returned, they took notice of the methods taken for humbling their clergy, as well by *William the Conqueror*, who ſeized his brother *Odo* biſhop of *Bayeux* for a rebel, and thruſt archbiſhop *Stigand* into a ſtinking dungeon, as by *Jeffrey Plantagenet*, who being maſter of *Normandie*, had cauſed the elect of *Seez*, and ſeveral of the clergy who had choſe him, to be caſtrated; becauſe they had either made, or accepted that election, without his aſſent.

THE king, upon receipt of this anſwer, preſſed the biſhops (to whoſe arbitration he [2] had before offered to leave all matters, if *Becket* would have agreed to it) by their homage and fealty to adviſe him, jointly with the barons, to a proper ſentence againſt the archbiſhop: and when they began to excuſe themſelves on account of the prohibition, he told them that a ſimple prohibition could not hold againſt what was done and ſworn at *Clarendon*. They well knew *Becket's* haughtineſs, obſtinacy, and violence; they had ſeen him prepared with his croſs in hand to denounce his cenſures; and being apprehenſive he would proceed to ſuch extre-

[1] *Fitz Steph.* p. 43, 44, & *ſeq.* [2] *Ep. S. Tho.* l. i. ep. 29.

mities, as either to ſuſpend or excommunicate them, if they did not ſubmit to the prohibition and appeal, they deſired [1] leave to acquieſce therein for the good of his majeſty and the kingdom; propoſing to attack him another way, to accuſe him to the Pope, and get him depoſed. The king conſidering the caſe, allowed them to conſult apart by themſelves: and the biſhops having taken a reſolution, ſent to the archbiſhop, "complaining to him of the difficulty he had put them under by "his prohibition; it directly claſhing with one of the conſtitutions of *Clarendon*, "which required them to ſit in the king's court and aſſiſt in its judgments. They "repreſented further, that thoſe conſtitutions had been ſhewed them in writing, to "prevent all doubts on the ſubject; that he had firſt himſelf, and they afterwards "by his precept, engaged in the moſt ſolemn manner to obſerve them; and yet now "he was forcing them to violate that engagement; that this was a grievance they "could not bear; and though they would ſubmit to his prohibition for that time, "they yet appealed to the Pope, for redreſs of the preſent, and to prevent his put-"ting upon them any future, grievances." The archbiſhop declaring he would be preſent at the proſecution of the appeal, pretended "that neither he nor they "were bound by their engagements at *Clarendon*: that the words, *good faith*, with-"out *deceit* or *evaſion*, and *according* to *law* included a *ſalvo* for their eccleſiaſtical "dignities, which they enjoyed by the Pope's law; that they could not with "*good faith*, legally obſerve what was contrary to the faith they owed the church "and to the laws of God; and ſhould not ſcruple breaking the conſtitutions of "*Clarendon*, eſpecially ſince they had been diſapproved by the Pope, whoſe example "they ought implicitely to follow [2]."

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The biſhops returning to the king, were excuſed from judging their primate, and ſat apart by themſelves; whilſt the king required the earls and barons to give judgment on the archbiſhop. Some high ſheriffs of counties, and barons [3] of a ſecond rank or dignity, far advanced in years, were alſo called in, and added to the others, to aſſiſt in the judgment; by which *Becket* was declared guilty of perjury and treaſon. The earl of *Leiceſter* [4], one of the chief juſticiaries of the realm, going at the head of all the earls and barons to the archbiſhop, told him, that the king ordered him to come and anſwer what was objected to him, as he had promiſed the day before, or elſe he muſt hear his ſentence. *Becket*, riſing up haſtily and interrupting him, ſaid, that "when he was elected to *Canterbury*, upon his aſking, "what manner of perſon that promotion would make him, he was told it would "free him from all engagements to the court [5]; and therefore he would make no "anſwer about things from which he was freed; that he was their father, whereas "they were only barons of the king's court, lay powers, ſecular perſons, and "ſhould not pretend to judge their father; nor would he hear their ſentence, "abſolutely diſowning the king's, the juſticiarys, and the barons judgment, and "all other judicatures except the Pope's, by whom alone he could be judged, to "whom he appealed again in their preſence, and under whoſe protection he would "then retire." This ſaid, he went with the croſs in his hand to the door, which had been ſtrictly guarded all the day, but was readily opened to him; and as he paſſed through the caſtle yard to his horſe, was hooted along as a perjured wretch and a traytor; reproaches which he retorted upon ſome perſons of diſtinction,

Becket flies beyond ſea.

[1] *Chr. Gervaſ.* col. 1389. [2] *Heribert in Vit. Præf. Ep. S. Thomæ*, c. 32. ſays, that the biſhops at this time denounced *Becket* perjured for breaking his oath of fealty, and that which he had taken at *Clarendon*, and renounced all future obedience to him, as being a perjured archbiſhop.

[3] *Secundæ dignitatis Barones.* [4] *Vita Præf. Epiſt. S. Tho.* c. 33, and 34.

[5] *Liberum ac quietum ab omni nexu curiali:* This might poſſibly be the reaſon, why he ſo ſuddenly threw up his poſt of chancellor, in hopes that he ſhould not be called to account for any thing he had done in that poſt; but as he had ſtill kept the cuſtody of caſtles and honours, particularly of *Eye* and *Berkhamſtade*, even this ſhallow pretence could not excuſe him from giving in his accounts.

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whom he knew, calling them *liars*, *baſtards*, and *ſcoundrels*, abuſing earl *Hamelin* the king's natural brother in this manner, and upbraiding one *Ralf* with his couſin's being hanged for felony. This intemperate language, the effect of his violent paſſions, was not very ſuitable either to the character of an archbiſhop, the humility of a *Chriſtian*, or the patient temper and ſpirit of a confeſſor. The king conducted himſelf with more decorum on the occaſion; having the moment he heard of the opprobious words uſed to the archbiſhop, cauſed proclamation to be made through the ſtreets, that nobody ſhould revile him, or offer any inſult to him or his clergy. Thus he paſſed unmoleſted to the convent of *St. Andrew*, and ſent from thence three biſhops to aſk a licenſe and ſafe conduct for his departure: but the king deferring his anſwer till the next day, he was afraid of being arreſted, and went off privately in the night, with only two ſervants. His firſt motions were directed northwards towards *Lincoln:* but then altering his courſe, travelling by night, and lying ſtill by day, he got at laſt to *Sandwich*; and putting to ſea in a ſmall veſſel on *Tueſday*, *Nov.* 2, landed the next day in a creek about a league from *Gravelines* in *Flanders*.

When the archbiſhop's flight was known on the morrow, the eighth day of the ſeſſion, the king conſulted the great council about the meaſures proper to be taken on that occaſion: and [1] it was reſolved, not to ſeize the revenues of the ſee of *Canterbury*, nor remove any of his officers. The reſt of the day was ſpent about raiſing a body of foot to be ſent againſt *Reſe*, prince of *South-wales*, who had broke the late treaty: and a certain number being promiſed by every eccleſiaſtical and lay perſon for the king's aſſiſtance, the council was diſſolved. The king, apprehenſive of *Becket's* making his eſcape abroad, loſt no time in diſpatching the archbiſhop of *York*, with the biſhops of *London*, *Worceſter*, *Chicheſter*, and *Exeter*, two earls, two barons, and three of his chaplains, to accuſe him to the *Pope*, and ſollicite his being depoſed. He wrote alſo to *Louis* king of *France*, and *Philip* count of *Flanders*, charging the archbiſhop with treaſon, and deſiring them not to ſhew the fugitive any countenance, nor receive him within their dominions: but notwithſtanding this requeſt, *Philip*, as well as his brother *Matthew*, count of *Boulogne*, ſhewed him great civilities; and [2] *Louis*, who both dreaded and hated the king of *England*, did the archbiſhop the honour of a viſit at *Soiſſons*, aſſured him of his protection, and wrote to the Pope in his favour. *Henry* had as ill ſucceſs in his application to the *Roman* pontiff, who was then at *Sens*; his embaſſadors, who croſſed the ſea from *Dover* the ſame day that *Becket* ſailed from *Sandwich*, not being able to prevail with him to enter into an examination of the affair, till the archbiſhop's arrival. It was ſaid, that if the Pope had readily agreed to depoſe that prelate [3], they had power to offer an enlargement of the income of *Peterpence*; which being paid as yet only by copyholders, and not by all of them in *England*, the king propoſed to make it a perpetual tax, to be paid by every inhabitant of the land, for every houſe that had a ſmoke in it; a regulation which would improve it a thouſand pounds a year above its preſent value. The embaſſadors finding themſelves put off with delays; and being ordered not to ſtay above three days for an anſwer, deſired him to ſend two legates into *England*, to examine the diſpute between the king and the archbiſhop, and to determine it finally: but he would not conſent to the propoſal, without reſerving a liberty of appeal to himſelf.

They were but a little way on their road from *Sens*, when they perceived three hundred horſe of *Becket's* train going thither: and ſending back *Guy* dean of *Waltham*, one of the king's chaplains, to ſee the manner of the archbiſhop's re-

[1] *Fitz Stephens*, p. 48.
[2] *Epiſt. S. Tho.* ep. 24. *Fitz Steph.* p. 49. *Chr. Gervaſ.* col. 1394.
[3] *Fitz Stephens*, p. 51.

ception, they found it to be very pompous, all the cardinals going out of the town on horſeback to meet him, as well as very reſpectful and affectionate on the part of the *Pope*, who roſe up to kiſs and embrace him, and uſed many other marks of eſteem and tenderneſs. The report, which upon their arrival at *Marlborough* on *Chriſtmas-eve*, they made of theſe things, was far from being agreeable to *Henry*: and having his nobility about him, he ordered [1], on *St. Stephen's* day, all the poſſeſſions of the ſee of *Canterbury*, and all the churches, rents, and chattels of the clergy, that adhered to the archbiſhop, to be ſequeſtered. A more ſevere method was taken in regard to *Becket's* relations and domeſticks, whether clergymen or laics; a proclamation being iſſued for their baniſhment. Such of his relations as lived in *London*, were ſummoned to his palace at *Lambeth*, and ſworn, not only to quit the kingdom with the firſt fair wind, but to go directly to the archbiſhop; with a view, either of afflicting him with the diſtreſs of perſons ſo near to him, and ſuffering on his account, or rather of loading him with the burden of their maintenance [2], that he might the ſooner ſpend the great wealth, which he was thought to have amaſſed out of the cuſtody of the crown lands whilſt he was chancellor, and be reduced at laſt by poverty to a ſubmiſſion. HENRY II. A. D. 1164.

THESE meaſures did not produce the effect expected: moſt of the archbiſhop's relations, being abſolved [3] from their oath by the Pope, ſtaid in *Flanders*; ſuch eſpecially, as by their ſex, or infirmities, could not go to him without danger of their health; the reſt were diſperſed and provided for in different provinces and churches. The archbiſhop, finding himſelf in too high favour at the court of *Rome*, to fear any inconvenience from the propoſal of a reſignation, confeſſed [4] to the Pope in a private audience, that he had not been canonically elected to the ſee of *Canterbury*, but intruded into it by the terror of the regal power: and though neither the king's threats, nor the inſtances of the *Engliſh* biſhops, could prevail with him to renounce his epiſcopal authority, yet he now freely reſigned his ſee into the pontiff's hands; delivering him at the ſame time the ring which he wore upon his finger. Some of the cardinals looked upon this as a favourable opportunity of ſatisfying the king of *England*, by putting another perſon into the ſee of *Canterbury*, and providing for *Becket* in ſome other place: but others thinking his being treated in that manner after all his ſufferings, and hazarding his very life, to aſſert the claims of the papacy, might diſcourage others from following his example; the Pope approving this latter opinion, reſtored him to his archbiſhoprick, and till he could recover poſſeſſion thereof, recommended him to the abbot of *Pontigny*, to be entertained in that monaſtery. He had ſcarce [5] got thither; when conſidering that his predeceſſors had been generally monks, and imagining that he had not rightly received his paſtoral care from the Pope's hand, unleſs he received from him likewiſe the monachal habit, he beſought *Alexander* to do him that honour: and the habit was accordingly ſent him, after being hallowed by the papal benediction. The Pope was as yet diſtreſſed in his affairs, though [6] his rival *Octavian* had died on the *Wedneſday* after the laſt *Eaſter* week, and was afraid of coming to an open rupture with the king of *England*, who had formerly done him very great and ſeaſonable ſervices: yet he ventured in *Becket's* favour to annul the ſentence, which had been given againſt him in a civil cauſe by the biſhops and barons of *England*, declaring all his goods and chattels forfeited for contumacy. The chief [7] pretences for this act of uſurped authority over a parliament of *England* were, that an inferior could not judge a ſuperior, eſpecially one who had, by his prelatical authority, a right to obedience; that the proceeding was contrary to the canon law; and it A. D. 1165.

[1] *Ib. & Epiſt. S. Tho.* l. i. ep. 15. [2] *Ib. Epiſt.* 53. [3] *Vita S. Tho. præf. Epiſt.* p. 82.
[4] *Ib.* p. 79. [5] *Ib.* p. 81. [6] *Epiſt. S. Tho.* l. i. *Epiſt.* 2, 3, 7. [7] *Ib.* l. i. ep. 49. *M. Paris.*

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clashed with the ecclesiastical usage, to subject to a forfeiture, the goods and chattels of a person who had none but those of his church; which ought not to suffer for the personal crime of its pastor.

Provisions against *Becket's* measures.

XI. Henry knew *Becket* to be capable of proceeding to any extremity: and though *Alexander* was a man of more temper, he could not tell how far, after such an extraordinary stretch of the papal power, he might be wrought upon by the other's instances and suggestions, to take measures still more violent. He had offended both, by the orders issued in his court [1] at *Christmas*, for taking into custody all persons that should appeal to the court of *Rome*, and for leaving [2] the archbishop's name out of the prayers used in divine service in all churches: and thought it proper to go over in *Lent* into *Normandie*, in hopes of preventing an interdict on the realm (which he most apprehended) by a personal conference with *Alexander*. Frequent messages had passed between them, treating of an accommodation [3], but without any effect; the Pope's affairs, and the invitations of his friends, recalled him to *Rome*: and that method of negotiation being too slow for adjusting all disputes, before he set out on his journey, an interview was proposed, and the time, as well as place, appointed. The king readily agreed to it: but insisting that *Becket* should not be present, this prelate, who fearing *Henry* might convince the Pope of the reasonableness of his proceedings, had come from *Pontigny* to take care of his own interests in the treaty, opposed it warmly; suggesting to *Alexander*, "that "he might be imposed on by the king's fluent and plausible discourses, if himself "were not present to interpret their meaning, by what he knew of the inward senti- "ments of his heart, and his real purposes." It was presumptuous in *Becket* to pretend to know the secrets of the king's heart; it was contrary to reason and equity, or at least no sign of a disposition towards peace, for the Pope to make the biassed and uncertain conjectures of a party interested in the dispute, the rule of his judgment, and the test of the measures proposed to terminate it: nor was it very decent for him to insist on the presence of one, who had been declared a traytor by the highest judicature in his country, in a conference with the prince, whom he had so highly offended. *Alexander* however persisting in this unreasonable demand, broke off the agreement for an interview: and as soon as he had kept *Easter* at *Sens* [4], set out thence for *Italy*, accompanied as far as *Bourges* by *Becket*; who there taking leave of him, returned to *Pontigny*.

Henry, seeing the ascendant, which this turbulent prelate had got over the Pope, thought it necessary, even before he left *Normandie*, to provide against the worst that might happen: and he made [5] there several constitutions, which being to be observed over all his dominions, were transmitted into *England* by *Walter de Grimesby* and *Winier*, both of them high sheriffs, though the latter was in priests orders. By some of these [6], "all appeals either to the Pope or archbishop were "absolutely forbidden; the receiving [7] and transmitting any mandate either to or "from either of them, and all suits and proceedings therein were to be punished with "imprisonment; the chattels and possessions [8] of all the Popes or the archbishops "adherents, and of all belonging to them, were to be seized and confiscated: and "such clergy, as having livings or estates in *England* [9], were in foreign parts, and did "not return upon the general summons published in all the counties of the realm, "within three months, were to have their benefices sequestered." By others, "all "persons bringing [10] any letters from the Pope or archbishop, containing an interdict, "were to be punished as traytors to the king and kingdom; secular clergymen by the

[1] *Ib.* ep. 15. [2] *Vit. præf.* p. 82. *Chron. Triveti. Rob. de Monte.* [3] *Ib.* p. 84. [4] *Baron. Annal.* t. xii. p. 646. [5] *M. Paris. Hoveden. Epist. S. Tho.* l. i. ep. 14. *Vit. præf.* p. 169, 167.
[6] C. 3. [7] C. 4, 5. [8] C. 7. [9] C 8. [10] C. 1.

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"loſs of their eyes, and by caſtration, *regulars* by amputation of their feet, laicks by "hanging, and leprous perſons by burning: and all biſhops [1], abbots, clergy, or lay-"men, that ſhould obey ſuch interdict, were with all their kindred to be immediately "expelled the realm, and their chattels ſequeſtered." It was to prevent any thing of this nature, that orders were given for "all the ports of *England* to be ſtrictly "guarded [2]: and no perſon whatever being allowed either to paſs thither without the "king's licenſe, or to go from thence abroad without the letters of the chief juſti-"ciary, whoever attempted to break [3] this ordinance was to be impriſoned." Directions were likewiſe given for the careful collection of *Peter-pence:* but the payment thereof to the Pope was forbidden; they being to be kept in the exchequer [4], and not iſſued, unleſs by the king's order. The laſt article was added on occaſion of the biſhops of *London* and *Norwich* having publiſhed in their dioceſes the interdict laid on the lands of *Hugh Bigot* earl of *Norfolk*, and the excommunication denounced againſt his perſon by the Pope: "their doing ſo without a licenſe from the juſticiaries, "in contempt of the ſtatutes of *Clarendon*, ſubjected them to the forfeiture of their "chattels;" and orders were given for their proſecution before the king's juſticiary. Theſe conſtitutions were ſent to the chief juſticiaries [5] in *England*, to be obſerved and ſworn to by all the nobility and people of the kingdom.

Alliance with *Germany*, and reduction of *Bretagne*.

XII. HENRY, endeavouring to improve the time he paſſed abroad, by cultivating a friendſhip with his neighbours, had an interview [6] ſoon after *Eaſter* with the king of *France* at *Giſors*; and entertained his couſin *Philip* count of *Flanders* at *Roüen:* but being called into *England* by the incurſions of the *Welſh*, who had over-run [7] *Cardiganſhire*, he ſent for his queen to take care of his foreign dominions; who coming over with two of her children, *Richard* and *Maude*, and reſiding at *Angers*, was there delivered of her daughter *Jane* in the *October* following. The king, in the mean time, carrying over with him a body of forces from *Anjou*, *Poitou*, and his other foreign dominions [8], marched in Autumn into *Wales*; took the ſtrong caſtle of *Cardigan*, with two ſons of prince *Reſe*, and the children of ſeveral of the nobility; ſlew great numbers of the *Welſh*; and repaired the caſtle of *Baſingwerk*. It was during his ſtay in *England*, that the elector of *Cologne* came with other embaſſadors from the emperor [9] *Frederick*, to treat of a marriage between the king's eldeſt daughter *Maude*, and *Henry*, ſon of the late emperor *Conrade*, and duke of *Saxony* and *Bavaria*: *Robert de Thorigny* adds, that they had a commiſſion likewiſe to propoſe another match between the king's younger daughter, and a ſon of the emperor. Whatever was the caſe of this laſt propoſal, the firſt was approved: the articles of the contract were ſettled and ratified here by the king; who ſent embaſſadors the next year to *Germany*, to receive the ratification of the emperor and *German* princes; which was given upon oath at *Whitſontide*, in the diet [10] of *Wirtzburgh*.

THE king ſeems to have kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Oxford*; being preſent in a council of his biſhops held there [11] about that time, on occaſion of an hereſy lately broached in *Gaſcogne*, and propagated thence into *Germany*; thoſe who profeſſed it being diſtinguiſhed by the name of Publicans. From the time of the *Pelagian* hereſy, *England* had never been infected with any thing of that nature: nor was there now above one perſon, a young woman, perverted by about thirty of theſe hereticks, as well men as women, very ignorant, and ſpeaking only the *Dutch*

[1] C. 6. [2] C. 2. [3] C. 9. [4] C. 10. [5] Theſe were *Richard de Luci*, and the two archdeacons, *viz. Geffrey Ridel* of *Canterbury*, and *Richard* of *Poitiers*. [6] *Rob. de Monte.* [7] *Powel's Hiſt. of Wales.* [8] *Chron. J. Abb. de Petriburg. Hoveden. Fordun. Scotichron.* l. vi. *int. Epiſt. S. Thomæ*, l. i. ep. 35. [9] *M. Paris. Rob. de Monte.* [10] *Triveti Chron. M. Paris.* [11] *Dicet.* col. 539. *Chr. Dunſtaple. M. Paris. Gul. Neubrig.* l. ii. c. 13.

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language, that came over under the direction of one *Gerard*. Their chief errors related to baptiſm, the euchariſt, and marriage, which they rejected with deteſtation, and being ſummoned before the council to give an account of their faith, and to be convinced of their errors by reaſoning, they abſolutely refuſed to enter into any diſpute, but were reſolved to perſiſt, and ready to ſuffer for their opinions. The king, not caring either to puniſh them, or ſend them away uninſtructed, had called this ſynod in order to convince them: but their obſtinacy rendering them incorrigible, they were declared hereticks, and delivered over to the ſecular arm for ſuch corporal puniſhment, as might prevent the ſpreading of their hereſy. The king ordered them all to be whipped, and marked with an hot iron in the forehead, and their ringleader to be likewiſe marked in the chin: and by a proclamation diſcharged all perſons from receiving them into their houſes, or giving them any relief. This probably was meant to provide againſt any farther infection, or to haſten their departure out of the realm: but it had another effect, moſt of this ſilly enthuſiaſtic ſect dying, either of famine or cold, during the ſeverity of the winter. The king did not ſtay to paſs all that ſeaſon in *England:* but having ſettled his affairs there, and provided for the ſecurity of the marches of *Wales*, went in the beginning of *Lent* [1] to viſit his foreign dominions, where ſome commotions rendered his preſence neceſſary.

A. D. 1166.

Some nobles of *Le Maine* and *Bretagne* had, during the king's abſence in *England*, refuſed to obey the orders of queen *Eleanor:* and had made a [2] league together for their common ſecurity; obliging themſelves to join for the defence of each other, in caſe any one of them ſhould be attacked. *Henry*, alarmed with an aſſociation which endangered the peace of his dominions, raiſed an army: and marching into *Le Maine*, ſoon reduced the diſcontented nobility, forcing them to ſurrender their caſtles. Among others, *William Talvas*, and his grandſon *John*, ſon of *Guy* count of *Ponthieu*, delivered up their fortreſſes of *Alençon* and *Le Roche-Mabile*; which having occaſioned great diſorders in the neighbourhood, and ſerving for a ſhelter to offenders, the king was deſirous to reſume into his hands for reſtoring the quiet of the country. *Henry* then entered *Bretagne*, took and demoliſhed *Fougeres:* and under pretence of a contract of marriage between his fourth ſon *Geffrey*, and *Conſtance*, the onely daughter of duke *Conan*, came to *Rennes* to take ſeiſin of the dutchy. The *Bretons* were an haſty, inconſtant, reſtleſs, rapacious, and turbulent people, fond of war, and ever ready to engage in it for the ſake of plunder: and the viſcount of *Porhoet* [3], with the lord of *Fougeres*, and others of of the nobility, had haraſſed the province during all the time of *Conan's* government. Tired out by their continual inſurrections, he reſolved to provide them a maſter, potent and vigorous enough to keep them in order: it was with this view, that he contracted his daughter to *Geffrey*, and made a grant to *Henry*, for his ſon's uſe, of the whole dutchy of *Bretagne*, except the county of *Guingamp*, which had belonged to his grandfather *Stephen Derien* earl of *Richmond*, in right of his wife the counteſs *Hawis*. *Henry* accordingly making a progreſs through the country, received the homage [4] of all the nobility and gentry of *Bretagne*; and having viſited *Combour* and *Dol*, came to *Mount S. Michael*; where *William*, who, upon the death of *Malcolm* IV [5], on *December* 5, in the precedent year, had ſucceeded to the crown of *Scotland*, repaired to him, accompanied by *Ninian*, king of the weſtern iſles, either to do him homage, or by ſerving in his army to merit a grant of the earldom of *Northumberland*.

[1] *Triveti Chron. M. Paris. Rob. de Monte.* [2] *Rob. de Monte. Chron. Trivet. M. Paris.*
[3] *Neubrig.* l. ii. c. 18. [4] *Trivet. Chron.* [5] *Chron. Mailroſ. Fordun. Scotichron.*

XIII. The

XIII. The *Chriſtians* in the *Holy Land* had lately received a great defeat. *Bohemund* prince of *Antioch*, *Raimond* count of *Tripoli*, and ſome of their princes had been taken by the infidels: and their affairs in thoſe eaſtern parts were in ſo diſtreſſed a condition, that without immediate ſuccours, nothing but ruin could be expected. It was a point to which the *Chriſtian* princes in *Europe* gave in thoſe days great attention; vying generally with one another, who ſhould contribute moſt largely to the relief of a country, where their religion was firſt planted, and which had been honoured by the ſepulchre of its divine author. *Louis*, king of *France*, had for that purpoſe cauſed a collection, at the rate of a penny in the pound, to be made this year through all his dominions, and ordered it to be continued the four following years: which raiſing an emulation in *Henry*, he aſſembled ſoon after *Eaſter*, at *Le Mans*, the prelates and nobility of his foreign territories to engage them in a like contribution [1]. It was agreed to be levied upon all perſons, as well clergy as laity, at double the rate for the firſt year: but in the four next, it was rated only at a penny in the pound out of all rents, profits of huſbandry and vineyards, goods and chattels; every body ſwearing to the value of their goods; and a trunk with three locks being fixed in every church [2] for the charitable benevolence of the pariſhioners. The like contribution ſeems to have been made in *England*, though perhaps not in the ſame manner; *M. Paris* ſaying it was raiſed at the rate of four pence a ploughland. This work of piety was done by the general conſent of the nobility in the king's foreign dominions; though there was no ſmall diſcontent among thoſe of *Poitou*; which it behoved him either to remove, or at leaſt to prevent its effects. It was with this view, that in a conference, on *November* 18, at *Tours*, he took care to ſecure *Theobald* [3] count of *Blois* in his intereſt, by the payment of a penſion of five hundred pounds a year, which he had promiſed him: and went, on the *Sunday* following, to *Chinon*, where he met the *Poitevin* barons, become more tractable by their deſpair of the count's aſſiſtance. There had been for ſome time a difference between him and *Matthew* count of *Boulogne*, who having married the eldeſt daughter of the late king *Stephen*, claimed in her right the county of *Mortain* in *Normandie*: he had uſed the mediation of *Matthew's* brother *Philip* count of *Flanders* to make up the diſpute, and had propoſed to *Matthew* an annuity of a thouſand pounds in lieu of his pretenſions to that county. In order to ſettle this accommodation, he had a meeting with thoſe two princes, on *December* 7, near *Roüen*: and went afterwards to paſs the *Chriſtmas* at *Poitiers*, to ſecure the quiet of the adjacent province.

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Tax for the *Holy Land*.

XIV. These meaſures were the more neceſſary, becauſe of the conſequences he had reaſon to apprehend from the furious meaſures which *Becket* was eager to take [4]: and would have taken much ſooner, had he not been diſſuaded by ſome of his fellow-ſufferers more conſiderate then himſelf, and reſtrained by the authority of the Pope; who preſſed him to take rather proper methods for a reconciliation, and, till he ſaw the event of things, to do nothing harſh againſt the king or kingdom. *Alexander* [5] was alarmed at the alliance contracted between the king and the emperor; and not without apprehenſions, that the former might, if matters were puſhed to an extremity againſt him, be drawn to ſide with the latter, in ſupporting *Guy de Crema* the anti-pope: nor were his own affairs as yet in ſo flouriſhing a condition, but they might be ruined by ſuch a conjunction; and theſe ſeem to have been the motives of that caution, which the *Pope* recommended. The archbiſhop,

Becket's pretences and proceedings.

[1] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1399. *Rob. de Monte.* [2] *Trivet. Chron.* [3] *Epiſt. S. Thomæ*, l. i. ep. 44, 45.
[4] *Epiſt. S. Tho.* l. i. ep. 85, 88. ep. 54. [5] *Ib.* ep. 69.

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however, till he got leave to lance his cenſures, which he ſollicited in the moſt earneſt manner, and could not ſee deferred without the utmoſt impatience, made by his letters and agents a terrible outcry in all places [1]; *pretending his cauſe to be the cauſe of God*; that *Chriſt was judged in his perſon before a lay-tribunal, and crucified again in his ſufferings*; of which he gave a tragical account. He repreſented his own departure out of *England*, as an act of perſecution [2] on the king's part; though voluntary on his own, effected without his majeſty's knowledge, and deſigned to avoid paying his juſt debts: and the conſtitutions of *Clarendon*, "as contrary [3] to "the *Chriſtian* faith, becauſe contrary to the eccleſiaſtical liberties, there being but "one faith and one liberty, and every derogation from the one being ſo likewiſe "from the other." He did not fail to admoniſh the king himſelf; to tell him, that he derived all his power from the church [4], but the church had her's from *Chriſt*; that prieſts were exempt from human laws, and the ſecular power ought always to be ſubject to the eccleſiaſtical; and required him to give up the ancient cuſtoms and regalities of his crown: but *Henry* underſtood the rights of his crown too well to part with them, upon ſuch empty declamations, and trifling pretences, as were made uſe of by *Becket* in his letters.

Christ did not come upon earth to make any alteration in civil government, nor to aſſume to himſelf any power of judicature: this he expreſsly diſclaimed, and declared *his kingdom not to be of this world*. Agreeable hereto, the church which he founded had originally no juriſdiction in the cognizance of cauſes: but confined herſelf to matters of religion and faith, wherein ſhe judged by way of polity; to the correction of manners in caſes of publick ſcandal, wherein ſhe proceeded by way of cenſure; and to the terminating of differences among *Chriſtians*, wherein ſhe acted by way of arbitration. All her acts of power lay in the conferring or denial of the ſacraments, in enjoining or relaxing penance, in iſſuing or removing ſuſpenſions and excommunications, which are rather cenſure or correction, than abſolute juriſdiction. Theſe acts extend only to the ſouls of men; which are not liable to a conſtraint, properly ſo called, but only to perſuaſion: and whilſt the ſecular authority can exact obedience by force and terror, the eccleſiaſtical works purely by exhortations; having in itſelf no coercive power. Whatever judicial power or juriſdiction is at preſent enjoyed by the church in any part of the *Chriſtian* world, it was originally derived from the grants or permiſſions of princes: and for the four or five firſt centuries of *Chriſtianity*, all eccleſiaſticks, being members of the civil ſociety, were tried, in all civil and criminal cauſes, by the ſecular magiſtrate. *Conſtantine the Great* judged in the caſe of *Cecilian*, a cauſe of an eccleſiaſtical nature; as his ſon *Conſtantius* did in the caſe of *Stephen* biſhop of *Antioch*: nor was there any exemption granted by the imperial laws to biſhops and clergymen, till the time of *Juſtinian*; who firſt granted biſhops the privilege of not pleading before lay-judges; but though he enlarged their juriſdiction, he ſtill reſerved the right of appeals to himſelf. It is evident from the nature of the penalties, that pecuniary mulcts, impriſonments, mutilation of members, and other corporal puniſhments muſt be derived from the ſecular power: and as to eccleſiaſtical cauſes, it is plain from the *Theodoſian* and *Juſtinian* codes, that the emperors inflicted temporal penalties, even in the caſe of hereſy. Princes ever had, from the beginning of the world, an authority to puniſh the crimes of their ſubjects: nor can this be taken away by the cenſures of the church upon them; the ſame fact being cognizable by both powers, and puniſhable by the one with eccleſiaſtical cenſures, and by the other with civil penalties; the civil power not being qualified to inflict eccleſiaſtical cenſures, nor the eccleſiaſtical authorized to denounce civil puniſhments

[1] *Ib.* l. i. ep. 40, 85, 127, 129. [2] *Ib.* ep. 53. [3] *Ib.* ep. 85. [4] *Ib.* ep. 64, 65, 66.

any further than ſhe is empowered by the civil magiſtrate. HENRY II.

CHRISTIAN princes indeed were from time to time very bountiful to the church, and fond of adding to her privileges: but yet a learned author [1] maintains, that the Popes had not, even in *Rome*, the *jus carceris*, or a power of impriſoning, till it was granted them by *Charles the Great*; who giving them territories to ſupport their dignity, laid the foundation of their temporal grandeur. Other princes, moved by his example, granted the ſame right to other biſhops in their cities: but in *England*, where the biſhops exerciſed the judicial power, granted them by the ſtate, in the county-courts, in concert with the civil judge, they had no ſuch right till the latter end of *William the Conqueror's* reign, when the two judicatures were ſeparated. The matters cogniſable in the eccleſiaſtical court were then fixed; and to preſerve an harmony between it and the courts of law, certain regulations were made; ſome traces whereof appear in the conſtitutions of *Clarendon:* all which are either uſages of the *Saxon* times, or elſe inſtitutions eſtabliſhed by the *Conqueror* (when he introduced the papal authority, and ſeparated the two judicatures) to guard the civil power from the encroachments of the eccleſiaſtical. Theſe barriers of the civil authority were diſagreeable to the Popes; who made it their conſtant endeavour to demoliſh them, that they might aſſume as abſolute a power in *England*, as they had uſurped in other countries: and they attacked them in the ſame way, by making canons in ſynods of their own creatures, and calling them *divine* laws; to which the cuſtoms and conſtitutions of all countries were to give way, as being laws merely human. It was but an ill return in the clergy, for the privileges granted them by princes, to diſown the fountain from whence they flowed; to claim them by divine right; to arrogate to themſelves what other privileges they pleaſed; and to make uſe of ſuch pretended privileges, to ſupplant and deſtroy the authority of their benefactors. No monarchy, no conſtitution of any country can ſubſiſt, if its laws are to be ſet aſide by the decrees of a foreign, whether papal or other, power: and there cannot well be a greater abſurdity, than appears evidently in the notion, that the laws of a land are repealed, and the obligation of ſubjects to obey them ceaſes, whenever a Pope's decretal, or a canon of a foreign council enacts any thing to the contrary. Yet on this abſurd pretence was founded all the oppoſition made by *Becket* to the conſtitutions of *Clarendon*, which were not new laws, but merely declarative of the old, and an affirmance, either of the ancient cuſtoms of the realm, or of rights which the kings of *England* had always enjoyed. This is ſo clear, that in the collection of letters [2], during the archbiſhop's ſeven years exile, made at that time, lodged in the *Vatican*, and from the copy there preſerved, printed at *Bruxelles*, *A. D.* 1682, there is not ſo much as an attempt to ſhew, that they were not the ancient uſages and laws of the kingdom: but all that is alledged againſt them conſiſts in this, that they were unlawful, and ought to be annulled, becauſe contrary to the canon law, or to the decrees of Popes and foreign councils. *Becket* and his adherents, to make up what was wanting in the juſtice of their cauſe, and in the weight of their arguments, by a cant and ſophiſtical way of expreſſion, always take care to dignify thoſe canons and decrees with the title of the *laws of God* [3], in contradiſtinction to the laws of the kingdom, which they repreſent as mere human traditions: and though the civil power is as much the *ordinance of God*, as the *eccleſiaſtical*, however conveyed by a different channel, and is expreſsly declared to be ſo in the *New Teſtament*, yet they perpetually inſiſt on

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[1] *Giannone*, *Hiſt. di Napoli*, l. vi. c. 8.

[2] Among the manuſcripts of the *Bodleian* library at *Oxford*, *Arch. E.* 99, is a manuſcript of this collection wrote in an hand of the time of *Henry* II, belonging formerly to *Alan* prior of *Canterbury*, who hath put at the head of the epiſtles a table of them to ſhew the true order wherein they were wrote, thereby remedy the confuſion, wherein they ſtand in the collection.

[3] See *Epiſt. S. Tho.* l. iii. ep. 91. l. iv. ep. 14. l. v. ep. 67. & *paſſim.*

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this fallacy; which, with ſome pompous quotations, and ſolemn miſapplications, of paſſages of ſcripture, nothing to the purpoſe, is all they have to ſay for their cauſe, and in defence of their conduct.

This is the ſubſtance of all the archbiſhop's apologetical, declamatory, and commonitory letters; the particulars whereof it would be equally tedious and uſeleſs to relate: and as to the liberties of the church, for which he pretended to be a champion, the king certainly, who invaded no eccleſiaſtical privilege allowed by the laws of the kingdom, conſulted much more the honour and the true *rights* and *liberties* of the *Church of England*; when he offered over [1] and over to ſubmit the diſpute to her judgment, than *Becket* did, either in declining it, or in giving up the dignity and independency of the church of *Canterbury*, by taking a new illegal inveſtiture of his ſee from the Pope, or in ſuing to him for a grant of the primacy [2] of all *England*. This he obtained, with an inhibition to the metropolitan of [3] *York*, to carry his croſs erect in the province of *Canterbury*: and the Pope wrote likewiſe on *May* 3, to [4] the biſhops of *England*, ordering them to procure a reſtitution of all the benefices belonging to *Becket's* clergy and the profits thereof, on pain of excommunication, without the benefit of an appeal. *Alexander* had been received in *Rome* on *Nov.* 21, in the foregoing year: and his affairs ſeeming to be in a proſperous condition, he now thought fit to allow the archbiſhop to purſue his own meaſures. *Becket* [5] accordingly going from *Pontigny* to *Soiſſons*, watched there all night at the ſhrine of St. *Dranſius*; who is thought by the *French* to render champions, who perform that ceremony, invincible: and [6] being thus fortified in his reſolution, haſted to *Vezelay*, in order to thunder out on *Whitſunday* (*June* 12) an excommunication againſt the king of *England* and his miniſters. But having advice two days before of the king's being very ill, he for that reaſon left him out of the cenſure: and contented himſelf with ſending him threatening letters, that it ſhould be denounced in a ſhort time, if he did not repent, and make ſatisfaction for what he had done againſt the church. In this cenſure were involved ſeveral of the king's miniſters by [7] name; all [8] that were concerned in the ſequeſtration of the poſſeſſions of the church of *Canterbury*; and all that either obeyed, favoured, or put in execution the conſtitutions of *Clarendon*, which he took upon him to annul, and abſolved every body from the oaths they had taken for their obſervation.

The ſentence of excommunication, beſides its effect in ſpirituals, was the more inconvenient and terrible in thoſe days, by reaſon, as well of a prevailing notion, that it rendered people infamous and deteſtable, depriving them in a manner of civil ſociety, and cauſing them to be ſhunned as if infected with the plague, as of ſome papal decretals, diſabling [9] them to make wills or contracts, to ſue at law, to do any legal act, or exerciſe any office of ſtate or judicature. But *Becket's* cenſures were little minded; ſcarce any body caring either to publiſh his ſentence, or to avoid thoſe whom he had excommunicated: and as the wiſeſt perſons aſcribed his proceedings to pride and paſſion, this perhaps might be one rea-

[1] *Epiſt. S. Thomæ*, l. i. ep. 38. 128.
[2] *Ib.* ep. 75. [3] *Ib.* ep. 18. 79.
[4] *Ib.* ep. 72. 119. 120. 121. 122.
[5] *Ib.* ep. 140. 143. 145. [6] *M. Paris.*
[7] *Viz. John de Oxford*, who having been ſent embaſſador into *Germany* had been falſely accuſed of [a] communicating with the archbiſhop of *Cologne*, and being choſen by [b] the chapter of *Sarum*, had been inſtalled in that deanery againſt the Pope's and *Becket's* mandates; which forbad the chapter to proceed to an election without the conſent of the members, that followed *Becket* in his exile; *Richard de Ivelcheſter* archdeacon of *Poitiers*, for communicating with the ſaid archbiſhop; *Richard de Luci* the chief juſticiary, and *Jocelin de Baliol*, for maintaining the conſtitutions of *Clarendon*; *Ralf de Broc*, *Hugh de St. Clair*, and *Richard de Fitz Bernard* for being ſequeſtrators of the poſſeſſions of the ſee of *Canterbury*.
[8] Ep. 96. [9] *Fitz Stephens*, p. 54. *Epiſt. S. Thomæ*, l. i. ep. 146.

[a] *Epiſt. S. Thomæ*, l. i. ep. 164. [b] Ep. 104.

ſon,

ſon, why he applied to the Pope [1] to ratify his ſentence. To provide againſt its conſequences, orders were ſent to *England* to have the ports ſtrictly [2] guarded; to prevent the bringing over of the Pope's letters or mandates: and the prelates of the kingdom, meeting ſoon after at *London*, appealed from it to the Pope; who at laſt [3] reſolved to ſend two legates to make up the difference between the king and the archbiſhop. *Henry* had before expreſſed his diſpleaſure at *Becket's* being entertained in *Pontigny*, but was now ſo incenſed at his proceedings, that he wrote to the general chapter of the *Ciſtertians* [4], and threatned to ſeize all their eſtates throughout his dominions, if he was ſubſiſted any longer in that abbey. The archbiſhop hereupon, after near two years ſtay at [5] *Pontigny*, left it on *Nov.* 11: and coming to *Sens*, was honourably ſupported by the king of *France* for four years, in the monaſtery of *St. Colombe*. The onely effect of his excommunication, yet not of that alone, was the biſhop of *London's* reſignation of the benefices and effects of *Becket's* clergy, which had been ſequeſtered into his hands [6]; and paying the profits thereof into the Exchequer, about the end of this year: the [7] ſum after a ſequeſtration of two years was ſo very ſmall, that it affords reaſon to think, the number of the clergy, who adhered to the archbiſhop, and followed his fortune, to be very inconſiderable.

HENRY II. *A. D.* 1167.

To ſtrengthen his party and procure more reſpect to his authority, the archbiſhop deſired, and obtained from the Pope, the character of legate [8] of *England*; with leave to exerciſe his legatine powers over all the kingdom, except the dioceſe of *York*, which was exempted from his juriſdiction, becauſe the archbiſhop of that ſee was legate of *Scotland*; and it was a rule in the court of *Rome* not to ſubject the church of a legate, whilſt he enjoys the character, to any other legate, on account of his legation. As there are no dates to any of the letters in the above quoted collection, except the Pope's; and in theſe, the year is never mentioned, it is not eaſy to aſcertain the preciſe time, when this legation was granted to *Becket*: but it ſeems to be in *A. D.* 1166, becauſe the Pope's letters notifying it to him are dated [9] *Oct.* 9, at *Anagni* [10], a town in the *Campagna di Roma*, twelve leagues from *Rome*, and a place which he might eaſily viſit, whilſt he was maſter of that city, and his affairs were there in a proſperous condition. It was not at firſt perhaps intended to publiſh theſe legatine powers, but to [11] reſerve the exerciſe thereof till a convenient time, when they might be executed, without any danger to the intereſts of *Alexander*, or when matters were come to an extremity. But *Becket*, who, after his ſolemn excommunication on *Whitſunday*, above related, had proceeded to paſs the like cenſure on all that guarded the ports [12], and had ſummoned the biſhops of *London*, *Sarum*, *Hereford*, and others to attend him within forty days after notice, thought fit to notify them earlier; either out of vanity, or to procure obedience to his cenſures and ſummons, the force and effects whereof had been ſuſpended by the biſhops appeals. Thus on *Jan.* 25, when the biſhop of *London* was [13] at the high altar in his church, celebrating the feſtival of St. *Paul*, an un-

[1] *Ib.* ep. 138. 118. [2] Ep. 140. 146, 147. [3] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1400. [4] *Vita S. Tho. Præf.* ep. p. 86, 87. ep. *ſeq.* 138. 129. [5] *Hoveden.* [6] *Fitz Stephens*, p. 54. *Epiſt. S. Tho.* l. i. ep. 45. 123. [7] It was 108*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* [8] *Ib.* ep. 168. [9] *Ib.* ep. 115. See ep. 129. 131.

[10] It appears from a cotemporary writer, author of the Acts of *Alexander* III, that this Pope was received in *Rome*, *Nov.* 21, *A. D.* 1165; that he kept poſſeſſion of it, till *July A. D.* 1167, when he was driven out by the emperor *Frederic*, (*Triveti Annal.* an. 1167.) and the antipope *Guy de Crema*, and was forced to retire to *Benevento* in the kingdom of *Naples*, under the king of *Sicily's* protection: but *Frederic* being called away by the revolt of the cities of *Lombardy*, he came nearer *Rome* to *Anagni* in *A. D.* 1169, though he did not recover poſſeſſion of *Rome* itſelf, till *A. D.* 1178. *Baron. Annal.* t. xii. p. 647. 671. 743, and 44. It appears alſo that the Pope was at *Rome*, when *John de Oxford* negotiated with him, from *Epiſt. S. Thomæ*, l. i. 164. 166. See alſo l. ii. ep. 66.

[11] *Vita S. Thomæ Præf. Ep.* p. 93.

[12] Ep. 130. [13] *Ib.* ep. 131.

known

Henry II. A. D. 1167.

known perſon delivered to him authentic copies of the bull of legation, and *Becket's* letters, to be tranſmitted to all the prelates of the realm, notifying his legatine powers, and enjoining them to reſtore, within two months, all his clergy to their benefices under pain of excommunication, with a bar to all appeals. This mandate, flowing from the papal authority, exerted by a legate, could not be ſuſpended by an appeal: and put the biſhop under great difficulties; ſeeing no remedy or fence againſt it, but being obliged either to execute the mandate, or incur the uſual cenſure of diſobedience. The Pope however had not yet, by any act of his own, notified this legation of *Becket* to the biſhops and clergy of *England*; the letters for that purpoſe not being diſpatched [1] till after *April* 24 following; on which day they are dated from the palace of *Lateran*.

This ſtep was probably then taken, for the more effectual removing of the uneaſineſs, which the archbiſhop felt on account of the legation of the cardinals *William of Pavie* and *Otho*, who ſet out about that time from *Rome*; and with the ſame view as thoſe other acts, by which the *Pope* then confirmed his primacy, and exempted him from the cogniſance or judgment of the legates. But before that day came, the biſhop of *London* was rid of his fears, by the adroitneſs of *John de Oxford*; who was ſent by the king [2] to *Rome*, along with *John Cumin* and *Ralf de Tamworth*, agents employed by the *Engliſh* biſhops and clergy to notify their appeal; and who, if he did not ſucceed in his negotiation, ſo as to get the archbiſhop removed to ſome archiepiſcopal dignity in foreign parts, or the ancient cuſtoms of *England* confirmed, had yet gained time for a negotiation, and prevailed with the Pope to take the appellants under his protection and to ſuſpend all the [3] effects of *Becket's* cenſures and ſummons; who was not a little incenſed at being thus ſtopped in the very entrance upon his legation. This was done by perſuading the court of *Rome* that it was no difficult matter to make an accommodation between the king and the archbiſhop: and the Pope was ſo pleaſed with the thing, and the reaſons he urged to prove it feaſible, that he immediately reſtored him to the deanery of *Sarum*, and reſolved to ſend the cardinals, *William*, a favourer of the king's cauſe, and *Otho*, a zealous partiſan of *Becket* into *Normandie*, to bring about the accommodation. *Cumin* and *Tamworth*, leaving *Rome* on *Jan.* 1, returned in the beginning of the next month: and *John de Oxford*, returning not long after, made the biſhops of *England* eaſy about their appeal, and reſolved to meet the legates upon their arrival in *Normandie*.

XV. Whilst theſe things were tranſacting, a rupture had happened between the crowns of *France* and *England*; the occaſion whereof is variouſly related. Some [4] imputed it to the count of *St. Gilles*, with whom *Henry* was ſtill at variance about *Toulouſe*; others to *Joſſe* archbiſhop of *Tours*, who was for delivering the money, collected in *Touraine* for the ſervice of the *Holy Land*, to the king of *France*, becauſe he was patron of his church, but was hindered from doing ſo by the king of *England*; who reſolved to ſend it thither by his own meſſengers, as it was collected in his territories. It was ſtill more generally thought to be on account of archbiſhop *Becket:* but however all thoſe things might contribute to exaſperate *Louis*, the immediate occaſion of the war ſeems to have been *Henry's* invaſion of *Auvergne*, a fief held under him as count of *Poitiers*, or duke of *Guienne*. The king of *England* had kept *Chriſtmas* at *Poitiers*, whither his ſon *Henry* had come to him from *England:* and went ſoon after into *Guienne*; where he had in *Lent* a conference with the count of St. *Gilles*, the particulars whereof are not related; but there is

[1] *Ib.* ep. 116. [2] *Ib.* ep. 164, 165. [3] *Ib.* l. ii. ep. 60. 68. 23. [4] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1102. *Chron. Trivet. Rob. de Monte. M. Paris.*

no reaſon to think it terminated in putting an end to their quarrel about *Toulouſe*. *William* count of *Auvergne* had diſinherited the young count his nephew, and had promiſed to abide by the king of *England's* determination in the matter of their diſpute; but, inſtead of keeping his word, had gone over to the king of *France*, and endeavoured to ſet the two kings at variance. This incenſing *Henry*, he fell with an army, ſoon after *Eaſter*, into *Auvergne* and waſted the count's lands: which ſeems to have drawn *Louis* with another army into the *Vexin Normand*; where he ſtaid four days, ravaging the country. *Henry* marching thither with his forces, had a conference with the king of *France* on the octaves of *Eaſter*, to treat of peace: but the *French* nobility being averſe to an accommodation, the treaty had no effect, and both princes applied themſelves to raiſe more forces, and to fortify their caſtles. The king of *France* invading the borders of *Normandie*, burnt ſeveral villages between *Mante* and *Pacey*: *Henry* was ſo exaſperated at this method of making war, that, notwithſtanding the great deference which he had to him as his ſuperior, he took and burnt *Chaumont*, a very ſtrong caſtle; where the *French* had their military cheſt and a magazine of victuals. *Louis* in revenge burnt *Andeli*, a town belonging to the ſee of *Roüen*: but a ſtop was ſoon after put to the miſeries of the country by a truce; which was made in *Auguſt*, for the ſuſpenſion of all hoſtilities till the *Eaſter* following. This allowed *Henry* time to make an expedition into *Bretagne*: where he ſubdued the county of *Leon*; forcing *Guiomar* the viſcount to ſubmit, and deliver hoſtages for his future fidelity. HENRY II. *A. D.* 1167.

WHILST he was in that country, he received advice of the deceaſe of his mother, *Maude* the empreſs; who died on *Sept.* 10, at *Roüen*, and was buried in the abbey of *Bec*, to which ſhe had been a great benefactreſs. This princeſs founded three monaſteries in *Normandie*, beſides that of *Stoneley* in *England*: and was as much diſtinguiſhed by her judgment and prudence, as by her piety and devotion; which laſt were probably the qualities that moved the Pope and the archbiſhop[2] to write to her, and deſire her interceſſion to accommodate the diſpute between her ſon and *Becket*. She was entirely ſatisfied, that *Henry* was drawn into that diſpute, purely by his zeal for juſtice; and that the conſtitutions of *Clarendon* were agreeable to the ancient rights of the crown and the cuſtoms of the kingdom: but ſhe thought it wrong to put thoſe cuſtoms in writing and to extort from the clergy a promiſe of obſerving them; theſe things not having been done by any of the king's predeceſſors. With regard to the healing of that breach, it was her opinion, that the beſt way was, to wave the points of the writing and promiſe, and to provide in general for the obſervation of the ancient cuſtoms of the realm; with ſuch a moderation, that the liberty of the church ſhould not be deſtroyed by the ſecular judges, nor the biſhops abuſe their eccleſiaſtical liberty. It was with ſome difficulty, that *Maude* was brought to uſe her good offices in this affair of a mediation: but ſhe had engaged in it a little before her death; which event left the work to be carried on by *William* of *Pavie* and *Otho*, the two legates *à latere*, that were ſent this year into *Normandie*, for that purpoſe.

THESE legates ſet[3] out from *Rome* before the ſeventh of *May*: and whether they had any power granted them to determine the diſpute in a judicial way or no, the reports which had prevailed of their deſign to condemn *Becket*, and to determine the diſpute as the king of *England* pleaſed, the complaints of the archbiſhop, with his reſolution to reject their judicature, and the preſſing inſtances of the court of *France* in his favour, engaged[4] the Pope to ſend after them orders to uſe their endeavours for curing *Becket* of that ſuſpicion, and for making peace between him

[1] *Chron. Norman. Chron. Beccenſe. Chron. Triveti. Chr. S. Steph. Cadomens.* [2] *Ep. S. Tho.* l. i. ep. 52. *Epiſt. S. Tho.* l. i. ep. 53. [3] *Ib.* l. ii. ep. 23. [4] *Ib.* l. ii. ep. 4, 34, 104.

Henry II. A. D. 1167. and *Henry*, but not to go into *England* nor meddle in the conſecration of biſhops to vacant ſees [1], till the reconciliation was effected. Their motions, after they began their journey, were very ſlow; all the roads between *Rome* and *Venice* being beſet by the emperor's forces, or the *Gibelins:* but paſſing from the latter of thoſe places by *Turin*, and through *Provence* to *Montpelier*, they got at laſt, in the beginning of *November*, to *Caen* [2] in *Normandie*; where they found the king with a good number of his biſhops and abbots as well of *England*, as of his other dominions. *Henry* expected that [3] they had brought powers to terminate all matters in diſpute, by a ſentence that would have confirmed the conſtitutions of *Clarendon*; which all the biſhops there preſent atteſted to be the ancient cuſtoms of the realm, and he was himſelf ready to give up any, that it could be pretended, were introduced in his own time: but when he found the contrary, and that the archbiſhop had been exempted from their judgment by letters ſince they began their journey, he was highly incenſed; and it was with reluctance [4], that he conſented at laſt to their treating with *Becket* about an accommodation. The Pope had wrote to this prelate, inhibiting him from iſſuing any ſentence againſt the king, or any of his kingdom [5], and preſſing him earneſtly to take proper meaſures for a peace and reconciliation: but he was not of a temper to hearken to this advice; and when the legates deſired him to meet them at a certain place and time, in order to learn his ſentiments on the ſubject, he excepted to the place, as lying in the king of *England's* land, though a ſafe-conduct was ſent him; being reſolved to meet no where but in the *French* territories, at a place he named himſelf, and to put off the day from the eleventh to the eighteenth of *November*. On this laſt day they met at *Planches* between *Giſors* and *Trie:* and the legates recommending to him, that he would humble himſelf a little to the king, ſo as to afford them means of making an accommodation, and deſiring to know his mind with regard to the terms, he would enter [6] into no particulars. When they propoſed, for the peace of the church, that he ſhould reſign his ſee, if the king would renounce his cuſtoms, he refuſed: nor would he ſubmit to their judgment; when they aſked him the queſtion, and told him that the king and biſhops had promiſed to leave all the points in diſpute to their arbitration. His pretence was, that he had received no mandate from the Pope on the ſubject: and till himſelf and all his clergy were reſtored, he would not enter into any treaty, or agree to any method for determining the difference; a conduct naturally [7] enough to be expected from a man, that had declaimed in all places againſt one of the legates, as well as the king, in the bittereſt and moſt injurious language.

The legates, deſpairing of any ſucceſs in their negotiation, returned however to the king [8], to give him an account of what had paſſed: and found him with his prelates at *Argentan*. The biſhops took that occaſion to acquaint them with ſeveral invaſions made by *Becket* upon their authority, and with his conduct towards the king: to whom, on a juſt ſtate of the accompt, "he was indebted forty thouſand "marks of the rents he had received whilſt chancellor, and refuſed to make any "ſatisfaction, on the ridiculous pretence of his not being obliged to it, becauſe he "had not been called to an accompt at the time he was advanced to the ſee of *Can-*"*terbury*; as if he imagined, that debts were wiped off by a promotion, juſt as ſins "were pardoned by baptiſm." The time of their former appeal [9] was now expired; and expecting, after the legates departure, every thing that was violent from the archbiſhop, who importuned the Pope continually for leave to iſſue out excommunications and interdicts, they renewed their appeal, taking near a year's

[1] *Epiſt. S. Tho.* l. ii. ep. 4, 34, 105. [2] *Ib.* ep. 28, 30. [3] *Ib.* l. iii. ep. 20. [4] *Ib.* ep. 7.
[5] *Ib.* ep. 28. [6] *Fitz Steph.* p. 57. [7] *Ib.* ep. 10, 14, 20, 21, 22, 41. [8] *Ib.* ep. 6, 33.
[9] *Ib.* ep. 35, 55, &c.

time for it, by fixing the day of hearing to the *Martinmas* following: and the legates not only gave them appellatories [1], but ſignified to *Becket*, that he was not to paſs any cenſure either upon them, the king, or the realm, without the Pope's expreſs direction. The king, not a little vexed at being diſappointed of all his expectations [2] from this legation, deſired the cardinals at parting, to repreſent his caſe to the Pope, and get the archbiſhop removed out of his dominions: and ſent *Henry Picbum*, with *Reginald*, ſon to the biſhop of *Sarum*, to ſollicite the court of *Rome* on the ſubject; not without ſome inſinuations, that though he had not yet complied with the emperor's inſtances in the behalf of the anti-pope, yet if he was denied juſtice, he might be tempted to take his own methods of redreſs. The legates having nothing more to do, left the king on the *Tueſday* after the firſt *Sunday* in *Advent*, and ſet [3] out for *Paris*, in order to execute another part of their inſtructions, and to ſettle a peace between the two crowns; in which they had as little ſucceſs, as in the chief ſubject of their legation. HENRY II. A. D. 1167.

THE barons of *Poitou* and *Guienne* had been for ſome time full of complaints, on account of ſome pretended privileges which *Henry* had either invaded, or did not care to allow them: and the king of *France* had ſo enflamed their diſcontents [4], that, encouraged by the promiſe of his aſſiſtance, the counts of *Engouleſme* and *La Marche*, the *Vicomte de Touars*, *Aimery de Leſignan*, *Robert* and *Hugh de Silly*, with many others of the nobility broke out into an open rebellion, and made horrible ravages in the country. They choſe an improper time for their inſurrection, whilſt the truce with *France* was ſtill ſubſiſting: and the king of *England* having paſſed the *Chriſtmas* at *Argentan*, marched againſt them as ſoon as the holidays were over, took the ſtrong caſtle of *Leſignan*, deſtroyed their towns, and ſoon reduced them to ſo low a condition, that they were ready to ſubmit; had it not been for the hoſtages, which, in conſequence of their engagements with *France*, they had delivered to *Louis* for a ſecurity, that they would not lay down their arms without his conſent. To remove this obſtacle to a pacification of that part of his dominions, *Henry* leaving good garriſons in the caſtles, and the care of the country to his queen and *Patric D'Eureux* earl of *Saliſbury*, went at the end of *Eaſter* holidays to treat with the king of *France*, between *Mante* and *Pacey*, about a peace, or a renewal of the truce, which was then expiring. In this conference he complained heavily of the methods taken to debauch his ſubjects from their allegiance, and demanded the hoſtages of the *Poitevins*: but the *French* not caring to reſtore them, and warm diſputes ariſing, all he could do, was to continue the truce till a week after *Midſummer*; a ſtep very convenient in the ſituation of his affairs. He had ſcarce ſet out for the conference, before the *Poitevins* had treacherouſly ſurprized and ſlain the earl of *Saliſbury*: he was tempted to take immediate vengeance on *Guy de Luſignan*, and the other authors of that murder, but was obliged to ſuſpend his reſentment; being called by a more urgent occaſion into *Bretagne*, the barons of which country had refuſed upon ſummons to come to his aſſiſtance. A. D. 1168.

THIS refractorineſs was owing chiefly to *Eudo* viſcount *Porhoet*, on whom he had beſtowed great favours in order to engage him in his ſervice: but nothing being able to keep that nobleman quiet, who pretended, in right of his late wife, to no leſs than the government of the whole province, *Henry* had at laſt expelled him the country. The court of *France* was the conſtant refuge of all the mutinous nobility in the king of *England*'s foreign dominions: *Eudo* entering into meaſures with that court, drew *Oliver de Dinan*, and his couſin *Roland*, with many of the *Breton* lords, into the like engagements; ſo that a general conſpiracy was formed,

[1] *Epiſt. S. Thomæ*, ep. 29. [2] *Ib.* ep. 26. [3] *Ib.* ep. 34. [4] *Chron. Trivet. Rob. de Monte. Chron. Norman.*

for

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for getting rid of the *Engliſh* dominion. The promiſe of *French* ſuccours was the great encouragement to this defection: they had complied with all the conditions required of them by *Louis*, and had put hoſtages into his hands, upon the ſame terms as the *Poitevins*. *Henry*, ever active, vigorous, and expeditious in all his meaſures, marched, as ſoon as he had renewed the truce, with an army into *Bretagne*; took and demoliſhed the caſtles of *Jocelin* and *Abrahi*, *Eudo's* ſtrongeſt fortreſſes; reduced *Vannes*, with all the country of *Porhoet*, and half that of *Cornouaille*; and having waſted all his lands, marched back, and fell upon the country about *Dinan* and *S. Malo*, which he treated in the ſame manner. There he took the caſtles of *Hedde* and *Bocherel*; diſmantled that of *Tintigny*; and would have reduced all the ſtrongholds of *Oliver* and *Roland*, if he had not been called away to meet the king of *France* at *La Ferte Bernard* on the octaves of *Midſummer*, in hopes of renewing the truce, if a peace could not be concluded. The obſtacle of the hoſtages ſtill remained; the *Bretons* were in treaty with the *nobleſſe* of *Le Maine*, for raiſing an inſurrection in that province: and the *French* thinking they might carry on the war with advantage, whilſt the *Bretons*, *Poitevins*, and their neighbours continued in their rebellion, and diverted a great part of *Henry's* forces, the conference broke off without any effect, and the war, being immediately renewed, laſted till *Advent*.

HENRY prepared for it with his uſual caution: and not to have too many enemies on his hands at a time, had, by a conſiderable penſion, made up all differences with *Matthew* count of *Boulogne*; who had the year before fitted out a fleet of ſix hundred veſſels in order to an invaſion of *England*. His attempt was diſappointed by the vigilance of *Richard de Luci*, chief juſticiary and guardian of the realm: but as it was troubleſome and expenſive to be continually on the guard againſt ſuch enterprizes, the king thought it proper to comply with his demand of an equivalent for the county of *Mortain*, and to engage him in his ſervice. That prince, propoſing to come to his aſſiſtance with a body of knights, was denied a paſſage by land through *John* count of *Ponthieu's* territories: and put to the charge and inconvenience of a ſea-voyage to perform his ſtipulations. The king reſenting this refuſal, fell into *Ponthieu*; deſtroyed the country; and burnt above forty towns: but whilſt he was thus employed, the king of *France*, making a ſudden incurſion into the frontiers of *Normandie*, ſurprized and burnt *Cheſnebrun*, near *Vernueil*. *Henry*, advancing to oppoſe the enemy, who retired upon his approach, cut off part of their rear, took the ſeneſchal of the court of *Flanders*, with ſeveral other knights, priſoners, and over-ran the province of *Le Perche*. In ſuch little actions, as the taking of caſtles, and the ſkirmiſhes of parties, was the war carried on without coming to a general engagement; though the two kings, equally warlike, were both in the field at the head of great armies.

In this ſituation of affairs, it was no ſmall inſtance of *Henry's* prudence, or of his ſteddineſs to the principles he [1] profeſſed in religion, that he rejected the offers made him by the emperor, and princes of *Germany*, of ſending him great ſuccours, and invading *France* with a powerful army. Queen *Eleanor* had gone over at the latter end of the laſt year into *England*, to prepare matters for the ſending away her daughter *Maude* to be married to *Henry* duke of *Saxony*, purſuant to the contract made ſome years before, and to receive the elector of *Cologne*, and other embaſſadors, who were ſent to convey her to her huſband. The young princeſs accordingly went to *Germany* in the beginning of this year, with a prodigious ſum of money for her fortune, raiſed by a general aid from all the knights fees in *England*, and by a fine of five thouſand marks laid upon the *Jews*, allowed to ſtay in the kingdom. At the *Whitſontide* following, the emperor had held a diet of the empire at *Wirtzburgh*,

[1] *Chron. Gervaſ.* 1403.

the fulleſt that had been known of a long time; the duke of *Saxony*, with all the great princes of *Germany* aſſiſting at it: and there a reſolution was taken to ſupport the intereſts of the anti-pope *Paſchal*, and in caſe of his death (which happened ſoon after) thoſe of his ſucceſſor *Calixtus*. This was confirmed by the oaths of all preſent; and endeavours were uſed to draw the king of *England* into the confederacy by the offers abovementioned: but he declined them, either out of principle, or for fear of increaſing the troubles of his kingdom, already diſordered enough by the diſpute about the conſtitutions of *Clarendon*; though he had lately met with great provocations in that affair. The king of *France*, whoſe friendſhip was abſolutely neceſſary [1] to Pope *Alexander*, whilſt his title to the papacy was controverted, had been exceedingly irritated at his grant of a diſpenſation for the marriage of the king of *England's* ſon *Geffery* with the heireſs of *Bretagne*, the parties being in the third degree of conſanguinity, and at the mildneſs or ſlowneſs of his proceedings in the cauſe of *Becket*. This prelate [2], importuning *Alexander* continually for leave to iſſue out his cenſures againſt the king and realm of *England*: and being ſupported by the inſtances of *Louis*, prevailed at laſt to have a day fixed for the reſtoring him to his ſee, and his clergy to their benefices; and in caſe that was not done, had liberty given him [3], to excommunicate the king, and lay an interdict on the kingdom. *W. de Pavie*, one [4] of the legates, had indeed procured a reſcript for ſuſpending that liberty; but could not get it revoked: the bull of permiſſion remained ſtill of force; and after the day fixed, *Becket* was at full liberty to denounce his cenſures. This was the reaſon the legates were in ſuch haſte to leave *Normandie*, that they might be out of the king's hands before the term expired: nor did the archbiſhop fail, after the day had paſſed without any reſtitution of himſelf or his clergy, to excommunicate [5] ſome of the king's miniſters, without any citation or form of law, and notwithſtanding their appeal. *Ralf*, archdeacon of *Landaff* [6], was ſent to the court of *Rome*, to get abſolution for the perſons under that cenſure: and it was expected that *Gratian* and *Vivian*, whom the Pope ſent to treat with *Henry* for *Becket's* reſtitution, would come empowered to relax the ſentence.

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XVI. THESE nuncios, who ſeem to have left *Benevento* about *May* 10, arrived, on *Auguſt* 24, at *Danfront* in *Normandie* [7]; where the king met them; and received the Pope's letters, preſſing him to reſtore the archbiſhop to his favour, and referring him to the *Nuncios* for a further explanation of his deſires. Theſe ſeem not to have been agreeable to *Henry*, nothing being done in the treaty, till the laſt of *Auguſt* at *Bayeux*; where the king having aſſembled a number of his prelates, as well of *England* as of his foreign dominions, told the *Nuncios*, that though he had not ſent *Becket* away, and had frequently ſummoned him to return, and anſwer to what was charged upon him, yet out of regard to the Pope, he would be reconciled to him and his clergy: but he expected in return, that they ſhould abſolve his miniſters there preſent, and one of them ſhould go to *England*, to do the ſame office for the others that had been excommunicated in that country. The nuncios at firſt made a difficulty in this matter [8]: nor would they at laſt abſolve ſuch as were on the ſpot, unleſs in hopes of a reconciliation, and in caſe it was effected by a certain day. This agreement being [9] drawn up in writing by the biſhops, the king cauſed to be inſerted in it *a ſalvo for the dignity of his kingdom*: and this being readily admitted, he went the next day to *Caen* upon ſome buſineſs, of which he had apprized them before-hand; ſuppoſing that every thing was abſolutely ſettled.

Treaty with the nuncios *Gratian* and *Vivian*, and peace with *France*.

[1] *Epiſt. S. Thomæ*, l. i. ep. 166. [2] *Vit. præf. S. Tho.* l. ii. c. 22. [3] *Ib.* l. ii. ep. 108. [4] *Ib.* l. ii. ep. 62, 108. [5] *Ib.* l. iii. ep. 5, 20. [6] *Ib.* ep. 2, 3. [7] *Ib.* ep. 6. [8] *Ib.* ep. 35, 37. [9] *Ib.* ep. 6, 12, 21.

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When this clauſe came to be communicated to the archbiſhop's partiſans, they knowing well the uſe they made themſelves of their uſual *ſalvos for their order, and the liberty of the church*, to ſet aſide the obligation of the ſolemneſt oaths, excepted to it [1], as ſerving to eſtabliſh the cuſtoms of the realm, and to baniſh the papal authority out of *England*. The *Nuncios* hereupon retracted their conſent to it: and inſiſting that the clauſe [2] ſhould be ſtruck out, *Rotrou*, archbiſhop of *Roüen*, propoſed to ſubſtitute another in its ſtead; whereby the king ſhould engage to reſtore *Becket* to his ſee, and his clergy to their benefices, in as full a manner as they enjoyed them, before they quitted the kingdom. To this amendment *Henry* made no difficulty of agreeing: but ſtill inſiſted that his own clauſe ſhould remain [3], and the dignity of his realm be maintained, without any reſtraint by a captious ſaving of eccleſiaſtical liberties. *Becket's* friends reſolving to reject the clauſe, the *Nuncios* not able to do any thing more in the negotiation, departed: the prelates that aſſiſted at it, wrote to the Pope in favour of the clauſe; and the king ſent *Reginald de Saliſbury* and *Richard Barre*, to remonſtrate againſt its being rejected, and "to "deſire as well, that ſome temperament might be found out to ſave his honour and "dignity, from which he could not think it the pontiff's intentions to derogate; as "that he would abſolve the perſons excommunicated, and prevent the like cenſures "for the future, or elſe he ſhould be obliged to provide for his honour and ſecurity "in ſome other manner."

Henry was always perſuaded, that the inſtances of the court of *France* were the chief reaſon, why that of *Rome* did not comply with his deſires; and that *Becket's* obſtinacy was encouraged by the ſupport he received from *Louis:* hence he imagined that this troubleſome affair would never end agreeable to his wiſhes, as long as the war continued. The hopes which the *French* had entertained of the great advantages they ſhould receive [4] from the inſurrections in *Bretagne*, *Poitou*, and *Guienne*; the reſentment of *Henry* againſt *Guy de Luſignan* for the death of the earl of *Saliſbury*, and the difficulty he made of reſtoring *Luſignan*, without demoliſhing the new fortifications he had added to the place, had occaſioned former treaties of peace to prove unſucceſsful: but the power of the revolted barons in thoſe provinces being now broke, and *Guy* having taken the party of going to the *Holy Land*, where he was afterwards raiſed to the throne of *Jeruſalem*, thoſe obſtacles no longer remained; and in a conference held in the beginning of this year, on *January* 6, at *Montmirail*, the two kings adjuſted all their differences. *Henry* did not care to appear in the poſture of a ſuppliant before the king of *France*, and to do homage for his foreign dominions: it was either to avoid this recognition of his vaſſalage, or to make a proper proviſion for his younger children, that he had conſigned [5] *Poitou* and *Guienne* to his ſon *Richard*, *Bretagne* to *Geffrey*, and *Normandie*, *Le Maine*, and *Anjou* to his eldeſt ſon *Henry*, who had likewiſe the ſuperiority of *Bretagne* veſted in him: on which account *Geffrey* ſoon after did him homage by his father's order. *Louis*, as ſovereign of all thoſe fiefs, confirmed this diſpoſition: and the next day, prince *Henry* did homage to his father-in-law, and to the young prince of *France*, *Philip* ſurnamed *Auguſtus*, for *Anjou*, *Maine*, and *Bretagne*; having done it ſome years before for *Normandie*. *Richard* [6] (who was to marry *Louis's* daughter *Adelais)* did the like homage for *Guienne:* and as *Henry* was now reſtored to the charge of high-ſteward of *France*, which had been from the time of *Geffrey Griſegonelle* veſted hereditarily in the counts of *Anjou*, he did, on the *Candlemas-day* following, the functions of his office, and ſerved the king of *France* at table, in the ſame manner as hath been ſince done by ſtewards of the

[1] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1407. [2] *Ib.* ep. 13. [3] *Ib.* ep. 15, 22, 23. [4] *Ib.* l. ii. ep. 66.
[5] *Rob. de Monte. Chron. Trivet.* [6] *Chron. Gervaſ.*

houſhold;

houſhold; the great offices of the crown, and houſhold, not being then diſtinguiſhed, as they were afterwards; probably on occaſion of the great officers ſubſtituting deputies to act in their abſence. In conſequence of this treaty, prince *Geffrey* going in *May* to *Rennes*, received the homages [1] of the nobles of *Bretagne*, and the king of *England* not reſtrained, as far as appears, by any article of it, from doing himſelf juſtice upon the revolted barons of *Poitou* and *Guienne*, marched in *Lent* into thoſe provinces, deſtroyed the caſtles of his enemies, and forced the counts of *Engouleſme* and *la Marche*, with the leſſer nobility, to a ſubmiſſion. This was effected before *Auguſt*; when having eſtabliſhed the quiet of thoſe parts, he returned into *Normandie*, and built the ſtrong caſtle of *Beauvoir en Lions*. The king could never reconcile himſelf to a ſtate of inaction: he was in times of peace always employed in beautifying his palaces, in erecting magnificent buildings, in fortifying his frontiers, in providing for the ſecurity of his territories, and in making regulations for the good of his ſubjects. He now made broad and deep trenches between *France* and *Normandie*, for the better preventing of the frequent depredations committed on the borders of countries ſubject to different princes: and erected fiſheries, with other conveniencies in the river *Mayenne*, for his more commodious reſidence at *Angers*. The great river of the *Loire* had been in all ages apt to overflow its banks, and ſpread itſelf over the adjoining lands, to the deſtruction of the harveſt, and great damage of the country people: and the emperor *Charle Magne* [2] had in his time ordered dikes (called in the cuſtumary of *Orleans, Turcies*) to be made for remedying that grievance, and put the work under the inſpection of careful intendants. The evil however ſtill ſubſiſted for the ſpace of thirty miles, running from *Angers* higher up the river: and *Henry*, to remove it entirely in that tract of country, raiſed the high and ſtrong banks (now termed the *Levee*) along the north ſide of the *Loire*, to keep it within its channel; building houſes at proper diſtances for the habitation of thoſe he appointed to keep the work in order, and granting them ſpecial privileges; particularly an exemption from perſonal ſervice in his armies, and from all payments to his exchequer.

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XVII. THE peace between the two crowns did not produce the like in church affairs; the diſpute between the king of *England* and the archbiſhop [3] ſtill continuing, notwithſtanding the mediation of *Louis*, who procured ſeveral conferences to be held, in hopes of finding a method of accommodation. In that of *Montmirail* [4], when the peace was ratified and executed in the moſt material of its articles, the king of *France*, with his prelates, had prevailed upon *Becket*, not to mention the conſtitutions of *Clarendon*; it not being at all neceſſary to ſpeak of them, ſince he as well as the Pope had both already condemned them in writing, and had abſolved all from obſerving them, that had approved them either by their oaths or aſſent. They had likewiſe almoſt perſuaded him, to throw himſelf at the king of *England's* feet, and to refer the terms of their reconciliation to his pleaſure, as the moſt likely way to recover the good graces of a prince of his ſpirit: but when that haughty prelate was introduced to execute this reſolution, he clogged the offer, which he made of ſubmiſſion, with his uſual *ſalvos of the honour of God, and the liberty of the church*. He knew very well how odious and ſuſpicious thoſe exceptions were to the king, and that they could not fail of provoking him: *Henry* accordingly conſidered them as an inſupportable inſult, and told him, he would allow of no ſuch ſubterfuge or artifice to elude a promiſe. Then turning to the king of *France*, he inveighed ſeverely againſt *Becket's* pride, arrogance, and deſigns

Becket's obſtinacy and violent meaſures.

[1] *Chron. Gervaſ.* [2] *Capitular.* l. iv. c. 10. Art. 256. [3] *Vita S. Thomæ, præf.* ep. 95, 96, & ſeq. [4] *Fitz Stephens*, p. 58. *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1405, & ſeq.

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to invade all the rights of his crown, and to reject whatever he diſliked under pretence of the honour of God: and to clear himſelf from any intention of derogating from the divine honour, made the following propoſal: "There have been "(ſaid he) ſeveral kings of *England* before me, ſome of greater, others of leſs "authority than myſelf; there have been many archbiſhops of *Canterbury* great "and holy men, before him: let him but pay me the ſame regard, which the "greateſt and beſt of his predeceſſors paid to the leaſt of mine, and I am ſatisfied. "I did not baniſh him out of my realm, but he quitted it clandeſtinely of his own "accord: I have been ever willing, and now give him leave to return, to enjoy his "ſee and govern it with the ſame liberty and privileges, wherewith it was governed "by any of his predeceſſors." The king, the prelates, and the nobility of *France* there preſent, all declared in favour of the offer; which they judged a ſufficient ground of peace, and as much as could be deſired of *Henry:* they preſſed *Becket* to comply; but nothing could remove his ſtiffneſs, or engage him to withdraw his *ſalvos*. This gave even the prelates and his own clergy, now weary of their exile, a good deal of uneaſineſs: and the *French* nobility exclaiming againſt his pride and obſtinacy, made no ſcruple of crying out, that ſince he refuſed ſuch reaſonable terms propoſed by the kings, he deſerved the protection of neither, and ought not to be ſuffered to live in either of their dominions. Night putting an end to the conference, the two princes got on horſeback, without ſo much as ſaluting the archbiſhop; and the king of *France* for ſome days neither made him a viſit, nor ſent him any proviſions: but this ſeems to have been rather a feint, than a real expreſſion of diſpleaſure; for finding an intereſt in the troubles of *England*, he ſoon after treated him with his uſual kindneſs and familiarity. It was in vain that *Henry* ſent the biſhop of *Seez* and *Geffrey Ridel* to remonſtrate againſt his entertaining in his realm, and countenancing a man, that had rejected the moſt reaſonable terms of peace that could be offered: *Louis* replied [1], "that as the king of "*England* inſiſted upon the cuſtoms of his anceſtors, ſo he ſhould himſelf follow "the example of his own; and exerciſe a right of generoſity, which they had "tranſmitted to him from ancient times, by hereditary right, with the crown of "*France*, in protecting and relieving exiles; ſuch eſpecially as ſuffered in a cauſe "of juſtice." *Becket* was now in a more intimate ſtate of friendſhip with the king of *France* than ever: and being thus ſupported, thought he might venture to proceed to thoſe extreme meaſures; which his paſſions ſuggeſted, and which he had hitherto been reſtrained from taking by the *Pope's* inhibition. He had, whilſt the laſt mentioned nuncios were in *Normandie* [2], conſented to their relaxing the excommunication againſt *Geffrey Ridel*, *Nigel de Sackeville*, and others of the king's miniſters: but it was only for a time, and on condition that the peace between the king and him was compleated by *Martinmas* following, the time fixed for their departure; otherwiſe, if they did not give the archbiſhop due ſatisfaction, they were to relapſe into the ſame cenſure. The peace being not concluded within that time, *Gratian* ſet out for *Italy*; whilſt *Vivian* ſtaid behind in *France*, to mediate in the peace of the two crowns, and to promote the archbiſhop's reconciliation. *Gratian* was entirely in this prelate's intereſt; and it was perhaps owing to his repreſentations [3], that the Pope, after he had received the king's menacing letter, wrote on the breaking off of the treaty in the laſt *September*, upon the nuncio's inſiſting that the clauſe for *ſaving the dignity of this kingdom* ſhould be ſtruck out of the agreement, had wrote to *Becket*, "that though it was neceſſary for him, in "his preſent circumſtances, to keep meaſures with the king of *England*, and not

[1] *Vita præf. Epiſt. S. Tho.* p. 100. and l. iii. ep. 79. [2] *Epiſt. S. Tho.* l. iii. ep. 32. [3] *Ib.* l. iv. ep. 16.

"allow

"allow that prelate to iſſue any cenſures either of interdict, excommunication, or "ſuſpenſion againſt him, or his realm, and any perſons therein, till further orders; "yet if he and his clergy were not reſtored to their rights before the beginning of "next *Lent*, he gave him leave to exert his legatine powers on whom he pleaſed, "with a bar to all appeals." The archbiſhop did not fail to make uſe of this licenſe, as well againſt *Geffrey*, *Nigel*, and the reſt who had been abſolved for the time ſpecified, as againſt others, whom he proviſionally excommunicated (for ſeizing his goods, and thoſe of his clergy; for receiving eccleſiaſtical benefices from the hands of laymen; for hindering his own or the Pope's meſſengers from purſuing the buſineſs of the church, or for adviſing or abetting the cuſtoms of the realm, in oppoſition to the eccleſiaſtical canons) in caſe the king did not make him due ſatisfaction before *Candlemas*. He iſſued likewiſe, upon the ſame contingency, a proviſional interdict upon the province of *Canterbury*[2]: and actually excommunicated, without any citation or form of law, the biſhops of *London* and *Saliſbury*, with ſeveral others; threatening many more with the like ſentence on the next *Aſcenſion-day*, if they did not in the mean time make ſatisfaction. HENRY II. A. D. 1169.

THIS ſentence was pronounced againſt the biſhop of *London* on *Palm* ſunday: but was not notified to him till *Aſcenſion-day*; when he was in *S. Paul's*, aſſiſting at the communion ſervice. The biſhop, on the rumour, or in expectation of ſome ſuch cenſure, had, in the beginning of *Lent*, made an appeal[3], according to the conſtitution of Pope *Sixtus* in that caſe, in order to prevent it: and finding it denounced, notwithſtanding that precaution, he ſummoned, on *Saturday* after the *Aſcenſion*, the clergy of *London* to join with him in a new appeal; which they all did, except the canons of *S. Bartholomew*, *S. Martin le Grand*, and *S. Trinity*. This prelate was a man[4] of great parts, elocution, and capacity for buſineſs; wanted no courage to purſue his ſentiments, nor any knowledge requiſite to maintain them, being eminent in moſt parts of learning, an excellent governor of a dioceſe; and ſo diſtinguiſhed by his good qualities and uncommon merit, that his reputation was very great in the world; and the archbiſhop of *Roüen*, with ſeveral other prelates, complaining of his treatment, interceded with the Pope in his behalf. The king[5], who was at *Guienne* at this time, wrote, from *S. Macaire*, to the Pope to annul theſe raſh and irregular ſentences of *Becket*: and offering to bear the expences of the voyage, the biſhop, about *Michaelmas*, ſet out for *Italy*, in order to juſtify his appeal. When he came in his way thither into *Burgundy*, a country, where the archbiſhop's reſidence, at *Pontigny*, had gained him many zealous partizans[6], he found all the roads ſo beſet with enemies in order to intercept him, that he was forced to change his road, and paſs through mountainous countries to *Montpelier*, and from thence through *Provence*, and over the *Alpes* to *Milan*. Upon his arrival at this place, he received from the Pope (whoſe injunctions for his obeying *Becket's* cenſure he had hitherto complied with) a letter[7] with orders for *Rotrou*, archbiſhop of *Roüen*, to abſolve him from it: and this rendering it unneceſſary for him to purſue his journey, he made haſte back to *Roüen*, and was there abſolved on *Eaſter-day* next following.

THIS prelate had been a few years before the king's embaſſador at the court of *Rome*; and a man of his character and dignity could not want friends, wherever he was known: but this relaxation of the cenſure doth not ſeem ſo much owing to any particular tenderneſs to him, as to the Pope's irreſolution and temper, which was naturally averſe to violent proceedings. The warmth with which the court of *France* eſpouſed *Becket's* meaſures, had engaged him to give that archbiſhop free liberty

[1] *Ib.* l. iii. ep. 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38. [2] *Ib.* ep. 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45. [3] *Ib.* ep. 46. [4] See *Wharton De epiſ. London.* p. 68. [5] *Epiſt. S. Thomæ*, l. iii. ep. 49, 50 *Ib.* ep. 46, 48. [6] *Rac. de Diceto*, col. 550, 551, 552. [7] *Epiſt. S. Thomæ*, l. iv. ep. 48.

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to act as above-related; but when he conſidered upon how ſmall a matter the treaty for his reſtitution, carried on by the two laſt nuncios, had been broken off, and found, that in the conference at *Montmirail*, all the court of *France* had declared with a general conſent in favour of the reaſonableneſs of *Henry's* offers, he imagined that the affair might be accommodated without having recourſe to extremities. He had to do with a great and wiſe king, that choſe his meaſures with a better judgment, and executed them with greater vigour, than any prince of the age; beloved by his ſubjects, eſteemed or dreaded by his neighbours; jealous of his honour, tenacious of the rights of his crown, and determined not to part with them on any conſideration. The archbiſhop, cloathed with the additional character of a papal legate, had exerciſed all his authority in denouncing ſentences, as well of excommunication againſt ſeveral magiſtrates by name, and an infinite number of other perſons under the general denominations of receivers of benefices from lay-hands, poſſeſſors of the goods of his own church, and other exiles' churches, and abettors of the cuſtoms and laws of the realm; as of interdict againſt the whole province of *Canterbury:* but though they had taken place from *Candlemas*, they were little minded in *England*. Divine ſervice was ſtill performed as uſual in all churches, unleſs perhaps in a convent or two; of which however there is no evidence; ſcarce any body avoided the company, or refuſed the kiſs of the excommunicated; the miniſters of juſtice ſtill put the laws in execution, and adminiſtered juſtice with the ſame regularity as before; the officers of the revenue went on in collecting the rents of *Canterbury*, and other ſequeſtered churches; the king's preſentations in the right of that ſee, whilſt the temporalties thereof were ſeized into his hands, were duely admitted. In a word, no alteration had happened on the occaſion of thoſe ſentences, no ſigns had appeared of any diſturbance in that country, or of any oppoſition to the king's meaſures, except what might be gathered from the clamours of a few exiles, eccleſiaſticks, or *Becket's* relations, who having been ſupported ſome years by the charity of the *French* prelates, were now ſent back to the archbiſhop; their benefactors being either tired with the burden, or diſapproving that prelate's obſtinacy. In this caſe, there was little encouragement for the Pope to expoſe his own immediate authority, when his legates had been ſo much ſlighted: it was a very dangerous experiment, and, if he failed in the attempt, it might prove the ruin of all the authority his predeceſſors had uſurped of late years, and reſtore the church of *England* to her ancient liberties and independency on that of *Rome*, which ſhe had enjoyed in all ages before the *Conqueſt*. Theſe ſeem to have been the reaſons, why *Alexander*, who, by a favourable turn of affairs in *Italy*, was no longer in any dread of the emperor, choſe the way of negotiation, for procuring the reſtitution of *Becket:* and upon the return of *Gratian*, employed the biſhop [1] of *Bellay*, and the prior of the *Carthuſians* in it, but with the like ill ſucceſs. He reſolved however to make another trial in the ſame way: and ſent a commiſſion for that purpoſe to *Simeon* prior of *Montdieu*, and *Bernard de Corilo* of the order of *Grandmont*, with powers [2] not to judge in the caſe, but only to procure an accommodation; making at the ſame time an apology to the king (in anſwer to a part of his menacing letter beforementioned) for the change of his mind in recalling the judicial authority, which he had promiſed to confer on the nuncios, *Gratian* and *Vivian*.

Another treaty with him fruitleſs.

XVIII. THIS commiſſion to *Simon* and *Bernard* is dated on *May* 25, at *Benevento:* and was accompanied with two letters, which they were to deliver to the king; the one commonitory, exhorting him to reſtore the archbiſhop to his ſee,

[1] *Epiſt. S. Tho.* l. iv. ep. 1, 2. [2] *Ib.* ep. 3.

and

and in hopes thereof, ſuſpending this prelate's former cenſures, with an inhibition to his iſſuing any new [1], either on the kingdom, the king, or his ſubjects, till the reconciliation was effected; the other, dated on *May* 22, and ſtyled comminatory, as threatening *Henry* with letting the archbiſhop looſe upon him, to exert all his powers of eccleſiaſtical cenſures, but not to be delivered, till it appeared that the firſt had no effect, and there were no hopes of a reconciliation. The delegates had orders to go together, within two months after the receipt of their commiſſion, if the king was in his territories upon the continent, to wait upon him, to exhort and enjoin him to reſtore *Becket* to his favour, and to the ſee of *Canterbury:* but as *Henry* was detained in *Guienne*, till the beginning of *Auguſt*, the firſt conference on the ſubject ſeems to have been held ſome time in that month [2] at *Montmirail*; the place where the peace between the two crowns had been lately ſettled. The king of *France*, with his prelates and barons, were preſent at it: and joined with the delegates in perſuading *Becket* to humble himſelf to *Henry*, and ſue for a reconciliation. It was no ſmall force upon the haughty prelate's temper [3] to comply with this requeſt: and though he made a kind of ſubmiſſion, it was ſtill with his uſual exceptions of the honour of God, and his own order. The king of *England* inſiſting, that he ſhould make an abſolute promiſe for obſerving the old cuſtoms, which former archbiſhops of *Canterbury* had obſerved towards the kings, in whoſe reigns they lived, without any reſerve or evaſion, *Becket* refuſed to do ſo: and perſiſting in the ſame reſolution in the ſecond conference [4], which was held ſoon after, and in which the Pope's comminatory letter was delivered to *Henry*, the negotiation of the Pope's delegates concluded without any effect; only the king ſaid, he would conſult the biſhops of *England*, and follow their advice, but fixed no day for his anſwer, nor gave any other hopes of a reconciliation. HENRY II. A. D. 1169.

We ſee on this occaſion the unhappy conſequences of deviating from old forms, and of creating new precedents. In the *Saxon* times, the oath of allegiance, taken in the king's court, was common both to the clergy and laity; who, being equally ſubjects, ſwore in the ſame form of words, without any variation: and this form continued after the *Conqueſt*, till *Anſelm* ſcrupled to do homage to *Henry* I, on pretence of its being [5] contrary to ſome papal decrees and eccleſiaſtical canons, made ſince he had done it to *William Rufus*. It is not unlikely, that other prelates might afterwards entertain the like ſcruples, and to the oath for bearing faith of life, and limb, and terrene honour to the king, add a clauſe for *ſaving their order*; by which they reſerved to themſelves a liberty of adhering to thoſe papal decrees and canons of foreign councils, which, as eccleſiaſticks, they conceived themſelves bound to obey. This was probably conſidered at firſt only, as an harmleſs expedient for ſatisfying the tender conſciences of ſome prelates, whom the king was minded to favour, or thought incapable of abuſing it, to ſuch a degree, as to make it a pretence for invalidating the ſubſtance of their oath; for denying all prerogatives of the crown, which did not ſuit their inclinations; and for violating the laws of the land, wherever they ſeemed to claſh with papal decrees or canons. Whether this clauſe was introduced into the prelate's oath of fealty in the reign of *Henry* I, or in the beginning of *Stephen's* uſurpation, when the biſhops themſelves dictated the terms in which they would ſwear allegiance to him, is not a point eaſily to be cleared: but they having been indulged in the uſe of it by connivance for ſome time, it came at laſt to acquire a legal countenance by the *conſtitutions of Clarendon*; in one of which the prelates are ſaid, before their conſecration, to take the oath of fealty, *with a ſaving of their order* [6]. This furniſhed *Becket* with a very plauſible pretence, for his refuſal to ſwear, in abſolute terms, that he would obſerve

[1] *Ib.* ep. iv. [2] *Ib.* ep. 8. [3] *Ib.* ep. 5. [4] Ep. 6, 7, 8, 10. [5] *Eadmer*, p. 20, 56.
[6] *Epiſt. S. Thomæ*, l. iv. ep. 6, 12.

the

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the cuſtoms of the king's anceſtors: he pretended not to know what theſe cuſtoms were, though he was ready to ſwear to them with the ſame ſaving, as was allowed in the oath of fealty; but did not care to enter into new obligations, not warranted by the practice of his predeceſſors. He was reſolved not to be made an example for loading the church with new teſts and new oaths, which might have very pernicious conſequences, when come into a general uſe: and he was the more confirmed in this reſolution, becauſe when *Alexander* had abſolved him from the oath he had taken to keep the conſtitutions of *Clarendon*, he had enjoined him at the ſame time, never to enter into the like obligation in any caſe, without a *ſalvo* for his order [1], and the honour of God; and to act otherwiſe would be a breach of the obedience he had, at the reception of his pall, ſworn to pay to the Pope; which he deemed a crime full as heinous, as idolatry. Theſe reaſons made ſuch an impreſſion on the audience, that *Henry* was generally condemned for inſiſting on a new oath, without the uſual *ſalvo*; and the archbiſhop [2] of *Reims*, with ſeveral other *French* prelates, uſed their inſtances with the Pope to ſupport *Becket* in taking the extremeſt meaſures.

The king of *England*, ſeeing the turn that this affair had now taken, ſent agents again to *Rome*, to ſollicite [3] either the tranſlation of *Becket* to ſome foreign archbiſhoprick, or a revocation of his powers to denounce cenſures, or elſe a further reſpite thereof, in hopes of a reconciliation. They ſucceeded indeed in the laſt part of their commiſſion: but as *Henry* was uncertain of the event of their negociation, he thought it proper to ſend orders into *England* to inforce the regulations made four years before [4], in order to provide againſt, what he moſt apprehended, an interdict. Some ſmall alterations were made in them, ſuch as relaxing the ſeverity of the penalty in certain inſtances, particularly with regard to perſons that offered to land without the king's paſs; none that made ſuch an attempt being ſubject to impriſonment, except the *Welſh*, whoſe countrymen that ſtudied in *Engliſh* ſchools were to be ſent away, to prevent their infecting the king's own ſubjects with a ſpirit of mutiny and diſaffection. The time for the return of ſuch *Engliſh* clergy as were abroad was fixed at *January* 13, as the term, after which it was criminal to make any appeal to the Pope or archbiſhop, or to obſerve any mandate of theirs, was at *October* 9; and whoever after the ſame day, was found bringing any letter or mandate of interdict from either of them, was to ſuffer puniſhment as a traitor to the king and kingdom, but not to be executed till after *Martinmas*. In caſe an interdict was brought over, notwithſtanding theſe precautions, there was another proviſion made to prevent its effects; all perſons that obſerved it, incurring, with all their kindred, the penalty of baniſhment, and the forfeiture of their eſtates real and perſonal. The ſheriffs of counties were directed to take care that all perſons throughout the kingdom, fifteen years old or upwards, ſwore to the obſervation of theſe orders: the oath was to be taken in the county-courts by the knights and freeholders; in cities and towns, by the inhabitants; and in villages, by ſuch as did not owe ſuit and ſervice to the county-court; it being adminiſtered to theſe laſt by the ſheriff's officers deputed for that purpoſe.

The king allows *Becket* to return.

XIX. These meaſures of ſeverity were diſagreeable to the lenity of the king's nature: and he had ſcarce given the neceſſary orders for putting them in execution, when he reſolved to get rid at once of this troubleſome affair by recalling the archbiſhop, without exacting from him any oath or promiſe for obſerving the conſtitutions of *Clarendon*. His mother *Maude* had formerly recommended this as the beſt method of ending it: and *Henry*, either in conſequence of his own reflections on

[1] *Epiſt. S. Tho.* l. ii. ep. 69. [2] *Ib.* l. iv. ep. 24, 25, 29. [3] *Fitz-Stephens*, p. 62.
[4] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1409.

what had paſſed in the diſpute, or by the ſuggeſtion [1] of ſome of his council (perhaps the archbiſhop of *Rouen* [2]) entertaining an opinion, that he could deal better with *Becket* at home, than whilſt he was abroad, reſolved to let him return into the kingdom. This reſolution was ſo contradictory to what he had declared in the laſt conferences, that he did not think fit to move for another: but pretending a voyage of devotion to *St. Denis* [3], choſe to make the propoſal in an interview with the king of *France* at *Montmartre*. The prelates and nobility of *France* attending the king on this occaſion, and the diſcourſe falling on the liberties, which they all maintained to be compatible with the royal dignities, great inſtances were uſed with *Henry* to be reconciled to the archbiſhop: and he appearing not averſe to the motion, the latter, who, not being admitted to his preſence, ſtaid in a place adjoining, was prevailed upon to draw up a petition in writing, expreſſing all his demands. The purport of it was, to deſire he might be reſtored to his ſee, and the revenues thereof, in as full a manner as he enjoyed them before his exile; that all his clergy, and thoſe who had followed him abroad, might have the benefit of a like reſtitution to their livings and eſtates; and that he might have the diſpoſal of all the benefices and prebends in the donation of the ſee of *Canterbury*, that had fallen vacant during his abſence. The king excepted to the laſt of theſe articles, as having already filled up thoſe vacancies, and to reverſe his own act, was unbecoming the dignity of the crown; and to the demand of reſtitution, if it included the mean profits of the ſee, becauſe he had not expelled the archbiſhop out of the realm: and the ſeizure of the temporalties having been made according to law, it was not either reaſonable or decent, that he ſhould pay back what it was his undoubted right to receive, and revoke the grants he had made thereof to ſeveral perſons. But as he thought himſelf bound to follow law and equity, he would ſubmit himſelf in this point to the judgment either of the king of *France's* court of peers, or of the *Gallican church*, or of the univerſity of *Paris*: and was not unwilling to make the archbiſhop a preſent of a thouſand marks to defray the charges of his return, and enable him to ſatisfy his creditors [4]. *Becket* pretended that theſe mean profits would amount to a large ſum: but the king of *France* and all the nobility, as well *French* as *Engliſh*, there preſent, perſuading him not to obſtruct the peace of the church, by inſiſting on reſtitution, he agreed to wave the demand; and only deſired ſome ſecurity for the performance of the agreement. Every body repreſenting it as a very indecent thing for him to require ſecurity from his lord, he conſented to accept of a kiſs of peace from the king's mouth: but when the mediators intimated this to *Henry*, he rejected the condition; alledging that he was willing enough to do it, but having ſworn in his anger never to kiſs the archbiſhop, though he ſhould be reconciled to him, he could not give him the kiſs propoſed; which he declined purely for that reaſon, and not out of any rancour. This refuſal looking a little ſuſpicious to *Louis* and the other mediators, they only reported the anſwer to the archbiſhop, without offering to perſuade him one way or other: and this haughty prelate [5], deſirous of having the glory of forcing the king to perjure himſelf by his own confeſſion in the preſence of ſo honourable an aſſembly, inſiſted abſolutely on the kiſs; rejecting a reconciliation, which he imagined neceſſary for the king's affairs, purely for want of that ceremony. Thus ended the conference held at *Montmartre*, on *November* 18; which though it did not produce a peace immediately, yet laid the foundation, upon which it afterwards proceeded, and was at laſt finally adjuſted. The king, to forward it, loſt no time in diſpatching *John of Oxford*, dean of *Saliſbury*, with the archdeacons of *Roüen* and *Seez*, as his embaſſadors to the Pope, to give him an account of what paſſed, to repreſent his readineſs

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[1] *Fitz Stephens*, p. 65. [2] *Epiſt. S. Thomæ*, l. v. ep. 14. [3] *Ib.* ep. 1. *R. de Diceto*, col. 550, 551. [4] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1408. [5] *Epiſt. S. Thomæ*, l. v. ep. 45.

Henry II. to reſtore the archbiſhop, and, by way of expedient for removing the onely difficulty remaining, to propoſe [1] his eldeſt ſon's giving, in his ſtead, the kiſs of peace to that prelate.

A. D. 1170. Alexander, pleaſed to ſee the peace ſo far advanced, approved the articles: and on *January* 19, ſent from *Benevento* a commiſſion to *Rotrou*, archbiſhop of *Roüen*, and *Bernard*, biſhop of *Nevers* (to whom the archbiſhop of *Sens* was afterwards joined) to ſee it perfected and put in execution. Their inſtructions were, to wait upon the king within a month after the receipt of their commiſſion, and admoniſh him to give *Becket* the ſecurity of a kiſs, in token of his reconciliation and reſolution to reſtore him to his ſee: but if *Henry* [2] (whom he abſolved from his raſh oath) ſhould ſtill decline it, they were to perſuade the archbiſhop to accept of the ſon's kiſs, as an equivalent. If the king could not be brought to pay the thouſand marks abovementioned, the peace was not to be ſtopped on that account: but if he did not, within forty days after the commonitory letter addreſſed to him, perform the other articles which he had promiſed, they were then, in virtue of the papal authority, to lay an interdict, without any remedy of appeal, on all his foreign dominions, where it was likely to have a greater effect than it had in *England*. They were likewiſe, not immediately, but at ſome diſtance of time after the concluſion of the peace, to require *Henry* to aboliſh the evil cuſtoms that interfered with the liberties of the church, and to reſtore the mean profits of their churches to the archbiſhop and his clergy: and whenever they were ſure of a reconciliation, they might abſolve all that had been excommunicated, but ſo, that in caſe it did not take effect, they were to relapſe under the ſame cenſure. The time of forty days, mentioned in theſe inſtructions, was afterwards prolonged, upon advice that the king [3], after keeping *Chriſtmas* at *Nantes* (where the prelates and barons of *Bretagne* ſwore fealty to him and his ſon *Geffrey*) and ſettling his affairs in *Normandie*, had gone over in the beginning of *Lent* to *England*; landing at *Portſmouth* on *Tueſday*, *March* 3, after a very bad paſſage, his fleet being diſperſed in a ſtorm, ſome ſhips loſt [4], and that which had him on board eſcaping with difficulty.

The king had been four years out of the kingdom, and the ſheriffs of counties had continued all that time in their offices, without any inſpection into their management, whilſt the affair of *Becket* took up all the time and attention of the government: hence had ariſen many abuſes in the revenue, and grievous oppreſſions of the people. To remedy theſe evils, *Henry*, in a great council of his nobility held at *Windſor*, where he kept his *Eaſter*, dividing the realm into ſeveral circuits, appointed a number of abbots, earls, barons, knights, and other commiſſioners to go through each, and take ſecurity from all ſheriffs, their bailiffs, or under officers, and the bailiffs of the hundreds of barons, whether they had them in farm or cuſtody, to appear before the king on a day appointed, to anſwer for their conduct [5]. They were likewiſe empowered to ſummon all barons, knights, freeholders,

[1] *Epiſt. S. Tho.* ep. 3. [2] *Ib.* ep. 1.
[3] *Ib.* ep. 4. *M. Paris. Rob. de Monte.*
[4] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1410. *Benedict. Abbas.*
[5] In caſe the ſheriffs could not come before them in perſon, they were to ſend deputies that would anſwer for them, and give ſecurity as well for themſelves as the ſheriffs, to do what was expected from the latter at the day fixed. This was a previous ſtep to the enquiry, which the commiſſioners were to make of all perſons upon oath, with regard to the following particulars: I. What ſums the ſheriffs had, in the four years elapſed ſince the king went laſt into *Normandie*, received of every hundred, townſhip, and particular man, to the grievance of the publick or of private perſons; what they had taken by judgment of the county or hundred, and what without any judgment; diſtinguiſhing them in different liſts, with the cauſe and evidence upon which any thing was ſo taken. II. What lands the ſheriffs or their bailiffs had bought or received in pawn or mortgage. III. How much, and what the prelates, nobility, knights, and corporations of the realm, and their ſeneſchals, bailiffs, and miniſters had received upon their lands, for the ſame time, from their ſeveral hundreds, townſhips, and vaſſals by or without judgment; putting down all their takings in writing, with the cauſes and occaſion thereof. IV. What and how much the king's officers, entruſted with the rents and profits of vacant prelacies, and the cuſtody of honours, baronies, and eſcheats, had gained in their employments. V. What had been given in any place

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froeholders, and others, before them, and examine them upon oath, in order to diſcover the frauds, extortions, and miſdemeanors of thoſe officers, as well as of archdeacons and rural deans, the arrears of the aid for marrying the king's daughter, and the deficiencies of his military tenants in paying their homage and ſervices. The ſheriffs in thoſe days had a great power, as well in judicature, which they had enjoyed in the *Saxon* times, as in levying the moſt conſiderable branches of the revenue, in which they were employed by our *Norman* princes after the *Conqueſt*[1]: and were in virtue thereof enabled to enrich themſelves, at the expence of the crown, and by the oppreſſion of the ſubject, in ways ſufficiently pointed out in the articles of this enquiry. Thoſe officers were much alarmed at ſo general and unuſual an inquiſition; they appeared with fear and trembling in the king's court, on *June* 14, the day appointed in their ſummons: and were almoſt all of them, both ſheriffs and bailiffs, turned out of their offices; which might have had a good effect in preventing future abuſes, if ſome of the number had not afterwards been reinſtated in their ſhrievalties, and, being encouraged by impunity, proved more oppreſſive than before.

Coronation of prince *Henry*, and its conſequences.

XX. THAT day was deſtined for a great ſolemnity: for aſſiſting at which [2] *William* king of *Scotland*, with his brother *David*, had been kept in court from *Eaſter* (when they came to wait on the king) and all the prelates and nobility of *England* had been ſummoned to meet at *London* three days before, on the feaſt of St. *Barnabas*. Prince *Henry* was now in the ſixteenth year of his age: and the king his father ſending for him over from *Normandie* on a ſudden, ſo that he did not arrive above a day or two before the ceremony[3], cauſed him to be crowned king on *June* 14, being the ſecond *Sunday* after *Trinity*, in the church of *Weſtminſter-Abbey*. There was on this occaſion a more numerous aſſembly of prelates and nobility, than had ever appeared at the like ſolemnity: and they all, together with the king of *Scotland*, ſwore fealty the next day to the young king and did him homage[4]. This ſtep

place to the king's itinerant bailiffs or officers. VI. What was become of the goods of ſuch as had either ſuffered by the aſſize of *Clarendon*, or fled out of the kingdom on that (i. e. *Becket's*) account; what had been received of every hundred, townſhip, and perſon: whether any one had been wrongfully accuſed in that aſſize, for reward, promiſe, hatred, or in any unjuſt manner; or if any accuſed perſon had been releaſed, or had his judgment reverſed, for reward, promiſe, or affection, and who received the præmium; what had been received in every hundred and townſhip, and of every man, for the aid to marry the king's daughter, and who received it. VII. What and how much the foreſters and their bailiffs, or under officers, had taken for the ſaid term within their ſeveral diſtricts, in what manner or on what occaſion ſoever; and if for any reward, promiſe, or friendſhip, they had remitted ought of the king's dues, and the forfeitures of foreſts, or pardoned any that had forfeited on account of harts, hinds, and other game; and if the foreſters or their bailiffs, after attaching, taking ſecurity, or proſecuting any one, had releaſed him without trial or fine. All perſons guilty of theſe practices were to be noted down, and all accuſed of any fault were to give ſecurity to appear before the king on the day he ſhould appoint, to do right according to law; or for want of ſuch ſecurity, to be impriſoned. VIII. Whether the ſheriffs or the lords of manors, and their reſpective, bailiffs, had returned any thing they had taken, or had made their peace with people, upon hearing of the king's return, to keep them from laying their complaints before him or his juſticiaries. IX. Whether any perſon had, for reward or affection, been excuſed or abated any thing of what he had been at firſt amerced, and by whom this was done. X. They were to enquire likewiſe in every dioceſe, what, how much, and for what cauſe, the archdeacons or rural deans had taken from any one illegally, and without judgment; the whole to be written down and noted. XI. The laſt point of enquiry was, what perſons, owing homage to the king, had not done it to him, or his ſon: and of theſe a roll was to be made.

[1] *Benedict. Abbat*, p. 3. [2] *Ib.* p. 4. *Fitz Stephens*, p. 63. *M. Weſtmin. Chron. Norman. Hoveden.* [3] *Epiſt. S. Thomæ*, l. v. ep. 11.

[4] This homage was performed to the ſon with a limitation, or ſaving the *fealty due to their lord the king his father*[a], ſo that his power was rather ſubſervient to the old king's, than co-ordinate with it, and in the agreement between *Henry* II, in the twentieth year of his reign, and his ſons, the young king and his brothers are ſaid to return all of them into their father's ſubjection, *ad patrem ſuum & ſervitium ejus, ſicut ad dominum ſuum, redierunt*[b]. *Richard* and *Geffrey*, on that occaſion, did homage to their father, but when *Henry* was for doing him the like homage, *Henry* II would not receive it, becauſe

[a] *Rymer*, t. i. p. 39. [b] *Rymer*, t. i. p. 38.

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ſtep is by moſt writers imputed to the father's exceſſive fondneſs for his ſon, and cenſured by moſt of them, judging of things only by the event, as a weakneſs and inconſiderate novelty. The frequent undutiful ſalleys of diſobedience, contrary to nature and duty, remarkable in the conduct of the young king, the miſchiefs which thence aroſe, and the troubles he created his father, have indeed afforded a plauſible pretence for this cenſure: but whoever conſider the circumſtances of the king's dominions and the ſituation of his affairs at this time, may obſerve as much policy, as there was paſſion, in this extraordinary proceeding. It was a practiſe ordinary enough in *France*; *Louis* VII, then reigning, had, as well as his elder brother *Philip*, been crowned in their father's life-time; and though it was a precaution taken by all the kings of that country from *Hugh Capet* to *Philip Auguſte*, yet no inconvenience had been ever found to ariſe thence in any inſtance. Their ordinary view was to ſecure the ſucceſſion of their eldeſt ſons: but when *Philip* I cauſed his ſon *Louis le Gros* to be thus crowned, it was done as the onely method that could be taken, for keeping the crown on his own head, and ſaving the monarchy from deſtruction. He had, on account of his unlawful marriage and cohabitation with *Bertrade*, been excommunicated by the Pope and by the council held at *Poitiers A. D.* 1100: and though the cardinal legates, that preſided in this council, did not perhaps go ſo far, as Pope *Urban* II had done five years before in that of *Clermont* in *Auvergne*, and threaten to paſs the ſame cenſure on all his ſubjects that ſhould give him the title of king, or ſpeak of him as their lord and as ſuch obey him, yet it being unlawful to hold any communication with a perſon under that cenſure, he was in a manner incapacitated to exerciſe the government; his ſubjects loſt all veneration to his perſon; and the moſt powerful of them, caſting off their allegiance, thought it a plauſible pretext for a revolt. In theſe diſtreſſed circumſtances, *Philip* cauſed his ſon *Louis le Gros*, at the age of nineteen, to be crowned king; thus aſſociating him in the royalty: and the young monarch, ſtyled in his charters, king of *France* by *deſignation*, exerted his ſhare of the royal authority with ſo much temper, vigour, valour[1], and judgment, that he extricated his father out of all his difficulties, and ſaved *France* from ruin. The king of *England* was now falling into the like ſituation with *Philip*, and continually expecting, as well to be excommunicated, as to have an interdict laid on all his dominions, by *Becket* in his archiepiſcopal and legatine capacities, or by the Pope himſelf; ſome of whoſe predeceſſors had taken upon them to depoſe emperors and abſolve ſubjects from their allegiance to princes: and he had no reaſon to[2] doubt but his traitor (as he uſually ſtyled *Becket*) would puſh *Alexander* on to follow their example, by treating him in the ſame manner, as he had lately treated the emperor *Frederic*. It ſeems to have been a common notion in thoſe days, that princes, lying under an excommunication, had no right, either to the ſtyle of king, or to the duty of allegiance. Hence in the convention between *Henry* I king[3] of *England*, and *Robert* count of *Flanders*, *A. D.* 1101, the latter engaged himſelf in the ſervice of the former, with a ſaving *of his fealty to Louis king of France*; whoſe father *Philip* was then excommunicated; but in the next convention, made between them two years after, when that cenſure was taken off, the ſaving is of the fealty to *Philip* king of *France*. The happy effects of ſuch a coronation of a ſon in *France* were ſufficient to perſuade *Henry* to take the like method in *Eng-*

cauſe he was a king, and only took ſecurity from him. The ſtyle of *Louis le Gros*, after his coronation in his father's life-time, was *Ludovicus D. G. deſignatus rex Francorum*: and that of young *Henry*, in the convention between the kings of *France* and *England* for a croiſade, *A. D.* 1177, is *Henricus rex filius regis Angliæ*, though in ſeveral writs entered in the regiſteries of monaſteries, it appears, that as the father ſtyled himſelf *Henricus rex Angliæ pater regis*, ſo the ſon's title was, *Henricus rex Angliæ regis Henrici filius*.

[1] *P. Daniel. Hiſt. de France, A. D.* 1100.

[2] *Epiſt. S. Tho.* l. ii. ep. 89.

[3] *Rymer*, t. i. p. 1. and in *Pr.*

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land: the coronation of young king *Henry* was not only a political precaution to secure the ſucceſſion to his ſon, but alſo a proper [1] proviſion (nor is it eaſy to find out any other ſo proper) for maintaining the authority of the crown, and the peace of his dominions; ſince the government muſt of courſe have devolved upon the ſon, if the father ſhould be thought, in that ignorant and ſuperſtitious age, to have been excluded by the *Pope's* cenſures. HENRY II. A. D. 1170.

THERE are however ſome circumſtances in this affair, which ſeem to intimate that the king's paſſions had an hand in it, as well as his politicks. For after the young [2] prince had been knighted by his father early in the morning, the ceremony of his coronation was performed by *Roger* archbiſhop of *York*, without any proteſtation to ſave the rights of the ſee of *Canterbury*: nor was his wife crowned with him, according to the uſual practiſe, when a king has a conſort. The former of theſe circumſtances was an affront to *Becket*, and the latter to the king of *France*; whoſe daughter *Margaret* by that omiſſion was ſlighted, and treated as if ſhe had been divorced, or was an unequal match for her huſband, and unworthy to ſhare in the ſolemnity. *Henry* certainly had received the higheſt provocations from *Becket*: and could not but reſent the conduct of *Louis*; who ſupported and adviſed that prelate [3] in all his meaſures, and had ſollicited the court of *Rome* to denounce her cenſures againſt the king, his miniſters, and kingdom. But theſe circumſtances are not alone ſufficient to warrant a notion of the king's acting out of reſentment; ſince they were abſolutely neceſſary for the execution of a meaſure, that was of the utmoſt conſequence to *Henry's* affairs and the quiet of his dominions. The king, never caring to leave any thing to chance [4], had upon the death of archbiſhop *Theobald*, got a bulle from the Pope; allowing him to have his ſon crowned by what biſhop he pleaſed. This was probably done to prevent any diſpute about the perſon who ſhould perform the office, in caſe the king ſhould think it proper to take that ſtep; though *Becket* maintained, that the licenſe was obtained with a view to prevent the archbiſhop of *York's* pretending (in caſe the ſee of *Canterbury* ſhould be long vacant) to conſecrate the new king, preferably to all the biſhops of this laſt province. Whatever was the motive, [5] *Roger* arcbiſhop of *York*, deſirous to advance the dignity of his ſee, procured likewiſe a bulle on *July* 13, *A. D.* 1162, about five weeks after *Becket's* conſecration, from the Pope then at *Montpelier*; granting him the privileges, of crowning the king of *England*, as ſome of his predeceſſors had done, and of having his croſs carried erect before him through all the kingdom: and though the latter of theſe was ſuſpended or reſtrained to his own province on [6] *Jan.* 21, *A. D.* 1165, whilſt *Alexander* reſided at *Sens*, yet the former privilege ſtill continued. *Roger* likewiſe was a privileged perſon, being the papal legate for *Scotland*, and not obnoxious to *Becket's* ordinary legatine powers; ſo that he was on all accounts the perſon beſt qualified, and pointed out as it were, to put the crown on the head of young *Henry*. As ſoon as the coronation was over, the king ſent orders to provide a [7] magnificent equipage for *Margaret* with all the ornaments proper for the ſtate of a queen; in order to her being brought over to *England*, and appearing there in a manner ſuitable to her royal dignity. This does not look like a premeditated deſign of affronting her father: and if nothing of this kind was done before the coronation, and ſhe bore no part in it, this was evidently owing to the abſolute neceſſity of keeping the affair ſecret, and preventing all oppoſition to its execution. The young king knew nothing of it himſelf, till *Richard de Ivelceſter* came on *Friday June* 5, at *Caen*, to fetch him over into *England*, and perhaps not till his own

[1] *Gul. Neubrig.* l. ii. c. 27. [2] *Ep. S. Tho.* l. v. ep. 11. 25. [3] *Ib.* l. iv. ep. 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24. 51. l. v. ep. 52. [4] *Ib.* l. v. ep. 24. 45. [5] *Ib.* l. i. ep. 10. [6] *Ib.* ep. 78, 79. [7] *Ib.* l. v. ep. 11. 33.

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arrival in this kingdom: and all the meaſures taken or propoſed to obſtruct it, were baffled chiefly by this ſecreſy.

A general notion [1] had indeed prevailed for ſome time, that the king had ſuch a deſign: but the time of its execution was unknown. *Becket* however had taken all the precautions he could againſt it, by ſending letters to the archbiſhop of *York*, and [2] other *Engliſh* biſhops, forbidding them either to officiate or aſſiſt at the coronation of the young king, and by getting the Pope to ſend them, on *Feb.* 26, the like inhibition, under pain of being excommunicated or deprived. Some of theſe mandates had been carried over [3] into *England:* but were there ſuppreſſed in the hands of the bearer; who terrified by the ſeverity of the laws againſt ſuch an action, durſt not deliver them according to the directions. Upon advice of their miſcarriage, orders were tranſmitted to the convent of *Chriſt-Church*, to iſſue out a like inhibition, in virtue of the papal authority, to all the ſuffragans of their church of *Canterbury*, to enter immediately a proteſtation in favour of its rights, and to make an appeal to prevent the injury deſigned: but nothing of this kind was attempted by that body, either out of fear of the penalties of the law, or rather out of a diſlike to the proceedings of their archbiſhop; to whom [4], notwithſtanding earneſt and repeated ſollicitations, they never ſent any preſent for his ſubſiſtence during his exile. To ſupply theſe defects, that prelate had taken ſtill another precaution, by ſending his own and the Pope's inhibitions to *Roger* [5] biſhop of *Worceſter*, who was then in *Normandie*, and undertook to deliver them; being ſummoned into *England* to attend the great council, which was to meet at *London* upon arduous affairs, the chief whereof proved to be the young king's coronation. But whether the queen, and *Richard du Hommet* juſticiary of *Normandie* had any notice of his deſign [6], or only ſuſpected him, on account of his attachment to *Becket*, as likely to oppoſe the coronation, he was ſcarce got to *Dieppe* in order to embark for *England*; when he received from them an injunction not to go over, and an embargo was laid on all the ſhipping in that harbour.

Thus were all *Becket's* meaſures for oppoſing the coronation defeated: and when the deſign came to be known at *London* a few days before it was performed [7], there appeared no method of preventing it, but by getting ſome kind of prohibition from the king of *France*; who might reaſonably inſiſt on his daughter's being crowned at the ſame time with her huſband. It was propoſed to ſend this prohibition, with threats of a rupture in caſe of non-compliance, without the loſs of a moment's time, to queen *Eleanor* and the juſticiary of *Normandie*; who, dreading the conſequences, would immediately tranſmit it to the king, and by this means it would reach his hands: whereas if it were ſent directly to *England*, *Louis's* meſſenger would be detained at the port of his landing, and treated in a very civil manner, but not allowed to proceed to court, till *Henry* was firſt acquainted with his buſineſs. This ſtep, the ſureſt of any to delay the affair, was prevented purely by want of time to put it in execution; of ſuch importance was the ſecrecy which the king, reſolving to delay his reconciliation with *Becket* as long as poſſible, thought neceſſary to be obſerved in taking the onely meaſure, which he thought capable of ſecuring him from the ill effects of that prelate's and the Pope's cenſures. Thus did the archbiſhop of *York* perform the ſervice of the coronation, without receiving any inhibition from the Pope; which being his legate for *Scotland*, it would not have been decent in him to oppoſe. But before I diſmiſs this ſubject, it is proper to take notice of another papal mandate, inhibiting all the biſhops of *England* from aſſiſting at it, on a very extraordinary account.

[1] *Ib.* l. iv. ep. 36, 37. [2] *Ib.* ep. 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46. [3] *Ib.* ep. 36. [4] *Ib.* l. i. ep. 154. l. ii. ep. 36. 52, 53. 89. l. iii. ep. 19. l. iv. ep. 34, 35, 36. l. v. ep. 63. [5] *Ib.* l. iv. ep. 40. [6] *Fitz Stephens*, p. 63. [7] *Epiſt. S. Tho.* l. v. ep. 11.

It is not improbable but the king had notice of this, as well as of the others: and had therefore, not to put the *Engliſh* biſhops that ſtood by him to any difficulty in caſe it ſhould have been delivered, taken care that the biſhops of *Bayeux* and *Seez* ſhould come over with his ſon, to officiate on the occaſion in all events. The purport of it was to enjoin [1] them all, even the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, not to put the crown on the young king's head, or be preſent at the ſolemnity; unleſs he firſt took an oath to maintain the liberties of the church in general, and of that of *Canterbury* in particular, and abſolved all perſons from obſerving the conſtitutions of *Clarendon*, and from the oaths they had taken for that purpoſe. *Becket*, it ſeems, had informed the Pope, that the oath uſually taken by the king's predeceſſors at their coronation, contained in it a promiſe to maintain the liberties of the church, particularly of *Canterbury*; whereas the coronation-promiſe made by the *Saxon* kings before, and the oath taken by the *Norman* princes after the *Conqueſt*, for an hundred years lower than this time, without the leaſt variation, contained only a general aſſurance [2] given equally to *the church*, and *the people* of the realm, that they would *preſerve both in peace and concord to the utmoſt of their power*, without any mention at all of *Canterbury*. The liberties of the church, and privileges of the clergy, claimed in the times we are ſpeaking of, were utterly unknown in *England*, nor do we find ſo much as their name, in the days of the *Saxon* monarchs, when the rite of coronation, and the promiſe which made a part of it, were introduced: and it muſt be very groſs ignorance, or a deteſtable prevarication in *Becket*, to impoſe ſuch a falſhood and miſrepreſentation upon *Alexander*; who believed implicitely all that he offered to ſuggeſt.

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In the collection of that prelate's epiſtles, it is eaſy to obſerve, in abundance of places, his deficiency in all kinds of learning, except civil and canon law, and particularly his utter ignorance of the ancient cuſtoms, and hiſtory of his own country: but it muſt be a ſtretch of charity to his memory, to aſcribe the miſrepreſentation here mentioned to an ignorance, which ought to have been accompanied with modeſty, and to have reſtrained him, as he could not but be conſcious of it, from aſſerting what he did not know to be true, at the expence of his veracity. The heat of his temper, the weakneſs of his judgment, the ſtrength of his paſſions; his diſpoſition to believe every thing ill of the king, and his haſty credulity in ſwallowing every report and ſuggeſtion ſpread by his own partiſans to *Henry*'s prejudice, may perhaps account for the many malicious relations obſervable in that collection, with regard to the negotiations, proceedings, and engagements [3] of the king's embaſſadors in *Germany*; the falſhood whereof was ſoon detected: but the like falſe accounts, with regard to tranſactions in *England*, will not admit of ſo natural an excuſe. Such was the account given the Pope, that the young king had at his coronation, not [4] only omitted the uſual oath (as he imagined it to be) for preſerving the liberties of the church, but had alſo taken a new one for maintaining the conſtitutions of *Clarendon:* which put *Alexander*, otherwiſe a man of great temper into ſuch a fury, that he diſpatched immediately to *Becket* ſentences either of ſuſpenſion [5], or excommunication againſt all the *Engliſh* biſhops that had aſſiſted at it, in order to be forwarded to *England*, and there publiſhed. *Gilles* biſhop of *Evreux*, amazed at the impudence of ſuch a falſe ſuggeſtion, wrote [6] the Pope word that he had been preſent at the coronation: and aſſured him in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he heard the young king take the uſual oath at the time of his conſecration, but not a word of the cuſtoms or conſtitutions; which that prince neither then nor afterwards made any promiſe to maintain. It was a point of

[1] *Epiſt. S. Tho.* l. iv. ep. 43. l. v. ep. 52, 66. 67, 68. [2] See before p. 392. [3] *Ib.* l. i. ep. 102. [4] *Ib.* l. v. ep. 55, 65, 66, 67. [5] Theſe are dated the firſt from *Veruli*, *September* 10, the ſecond and third from *Ferentino*, *September* 16. [6] *Ib.* ep. 77.

juſtice

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justice to undeceive the Pope: but the testimony which *Gilles* bore to the truth on this occasion, was too honest a part for *Becket* to imitate. It was too great an humiliation for this haughty prelate to contradict himself, and own the falshood of his information, though he could not but know it as well as the other: and yet it was not proper to let the Pope's sentences, grounded upon a mistake, pass into *England*, where thousands could attest the falshood. To avoid therefore so mortifying a part to himself, and to save at the same time *Alexander's* character from suffering [1], when he had received his letters, with the censures aforesaid, he waved saying any thing of the falshood of the account of the young king's omitting the usual oath, and of his swearing to the constitutions of *Clarendon:* and choosing rather to represent how improper it was to insist on those two acts (which he still insinuates to be actually done, but in which the king himself was most to blame) when a peace was so near being concluded, desired the Pope to leave them out of his sentences, and only insist on the injury done the see of *Canterbury*, by the metropolitan of *York's* officiating at the coronation, not in his own, but in the former, province. The Pope accordingly amended [2] his letters for the suspension as well of the archbishop of *York*, as of the bishops of *London* and *Salisbury:* and insisting only on that injury, whereof (he says) he had received a certain account, sent them afterwards to be published; the former (as it appears in the collection) without any date; the latter wrote on *November* 24, from *Frascati*. Whoever considers *Becket's* behaviour in this matter, however he may be inclined to applaud it as artful and agreeable to the maxims of a *Roman* politician, will find little in it of the primitive simplicity of a *Christian* bishop: and will thence form no advantageous opinion, either of the fairness of his proceedings in this particular case, or of his veracity and modesty in any.

The king's interview and reconciliation with *Becket*.

XXI. Whilst the king was detained by this and other affairs in *England*; the Pope's legates were waiting for him in *Normandie*; [3] *Bernard* bishop of *Nevers*, having arrived at *Caen* the very day, that *Richard de Ivelcestre* came thither to fetch prince *Henry* over to be crowned. He brought with him the Pope's terms of peace in *Becket's* affair, with his comminatory letters in case they were not accepted: but neither he, nor *Rotrou* archbishop of *Roüen*, offered to cross the sea; relying upon the king's assurances, that he would soon be with them in *Normandie*. [4] *Henry* accordingly passed over thither about *Midsummer:* and about *July* 6, met *Theobald* count of *Blois* at *La Ferte Bernard*, to confer with him about an accommodation with the king of *France*; who being highly incensed at the affront put upon his daughter, threatened an invasion of his territories. There was no great difficulty in the affair; the king of *England* being ready to make a proper satisfaction for it: and all things were entirely settled in a conference between the two kings, on *July* [5] 20, and 21, at a place between *La Ferte*, in the *Pais Chartrain*, and *Fretteval*, a castle in *Touraine*. The legates had been the *Thursday* before at *Sens* with *Becket*, to acquaint him with the readiness they had found in *Henry* to be reconciled to him, to restore his see, and excepting the kiss, to shew him all other marks of his favour: and with the assistance of the archbishop of that city, prevailed upon him to wave insisting either on that condition, or on the restitution of the mean profits, and to go with them to the conference. When the affairs of the two crowns were settled, *Henry* and *Becket* met early in the morning, on the feast of *S. Mary Magdalen*, at the same place, in the presence of count *Theobald*, and a great number of the *French* nobility; *Louis* himself being absent on this occasion, that the king's mercy to one that had offended him in so high a manner, might appear the more free and unconstrained. The king, at the archbishop's

[1] *Epist. S. Tho.* ep. 52. [2] *Ib.* ep. 34, 68, 69. [3] *Ib.* ep. 11, 46. [4] *Benedict. Abbas*, p. 5.
[5] *Epist. S. Tho.* l. v. ep. 45, 46.

approach,

approach, advanced to meet him, received him with the beſt grace in the world: and to the amazement of all the audience, talked to him with as much eaſe, familiarity, and kindneſs, as if they had never been at variance. When the firſt ſalutes were over, and they had conferred ſome time with the archbiſhop of *Sens*, apart from the reſt of the company, they retired by themſelves: and paſſed the greateſt part of the day in private diſcourſe. When other points were ſettled, *Becket* propoſed to the king, that he would make ſatisfaction to the church of *Canterbury*, whoſe rights had been invaded by the archbiſhop of *York's* crowning his ſon: and with ſome miſtakes about *Stigand*, and the conſecration of *Henry* I, endeavoured to anſwer the objections, which *Henry* made to the rights of *Canterbury* in that particular. The king ſeems to have been of opinion, that he had a right to appoint the place of his coronation, and to chooſe what biſhop he pleaſed to perform the office [1]; a right which the kings of *France* had frequently exerciſed, being crowned in different places, by different metropolitans, and ſometimes by private biſhops, as beſt ſuited their affairs and inclinations; notwithſtanding the pretenſions of the primates of *Reims* to the ſole right of preſiding in their coronation.

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In *England* indeed, from the time that the rite of unction and a coronation ſervice were introduced by *Alfred*, there had been many variations as to the place, though it was always in the province of *Canterbury*, but none as to the character of the perſon who performed them; the archbiſhop of that ſee having always done it, except in the caſes of *Harold*, *William the Conqueror*, and *Henry* I. *Becket* endeavoured to account for the two latter deviations from the common practice ſince the *Conqueſt*, upon which he founded his claim: and mentioned the [2] apology which the laſt of thoſe princes had made to *Anſelm*, for being forced, in the unſettled ſtate of the realm, to be crowned in his abſence, and the ſatisfaction which he made him, by a publick declaration before all his court, of the right of the church of *Canterbury* to crown the kings of *England*; a ſatisfaction which *Anſelm* accepted, and afterwards (without repeating the ſolemnity of a coronation, as *Becket* erroneouſly ſuppoſed) exerciſed his office in putting the crown upon the king's head, when he held his court on ſolemn feſtivals and occaſions. *Henry* did not object, that when his grandfather made this declaration, he was, by the diſtreſs of his affairs, under a neceſſity of complying with all *Anſelm's* demands: but proteſting, that he had no deſign either to diſpute or to leſſen the dignity of the church of *Canterbury*, which he was deſirous rather to advance, aſſured him that he would make her ſatisfaction; and as the king of *France's* daughter was not yet crowned, he ſhould perform the ſolemnity of her coronation, and put the crown at the ſame time upon the young king's head; with an acknowledgment of the right of the church of *Canterbury* to perform that office. The archbiſhop, tranſported at the king's goodneſs, diſmounted and threw himſelf at his feet: *Henry* alighting in haſte, took him up and helped him to remount on horſeback; and both going together to the company, declared their reconciliation. The king then freely extended his grace to the clergy who had followed the archbiſhop in his exile: but when the biſhop of *Liſieux*, at the inſtance of *Geffrey Ridel*, archdeacon of *Canterbury*, applied to *Becket* for granting a like pardon to ſuch as had adhered to the king, he eluded the requeſt by a parade of frivolous diſtinctions; which would have produced ſome warm expoſtulations, had not *Henry*, to prevent any revival of animoſities, drawn him away from the company, and put an end to the conference. The king would have had the archbiſhop go along with him immediately into *Normandie*, undertaking to provide there for his ſupport, and that of his retinue: but *Becket* declined the offer, under the pretence of its not being decent to part ſo abruptly with the king of *France*, and his other benefactors; though the true reaſon

[1] *Yvo Carnolens, Epiſt.* 189. [2] *Ib.* ep. 45.

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was, becauſe he had a mind to wait the return of the agents he propoſed to ſend to take poſſeſſion of his goods and revenues in *England*, reſolving not to go to the king, as long as one foot of the land of his ſee was detained.

HENRY[1] returning from the conference into *Normandie*, was ſeized ſoon after at *La Mote-Garnier*, near *Danfront*, with a very dangerous illneſs, which reduced him ſo low, that there were little hopes, of his recovery; and he made his will, deviſing *England*, *Normandie*, and *Anjou*, to his eldeſt ſon (whom he charged to provide for his brother *John*) *Guienne* to *Richard*, and *Bretagne* to his third ſon *Geffrey*: but getting at laſt the better of his diſtemper, be went, about *Michaelmas*, on a pilgrimage to *St. Marie* of *Roque-Madour*, in *Quercy*. This ſevere illneſs occaſioning a delay in ſigning the powers neceſſary for the archbiſhop's agents, it was the latter end[2] of *September*, before they arrived in *England*, with *Henry's* orders to his ſon to deliver them poſſeſſion of all the lands and rents which had belonged to that prelate and his clergy three months before he quitted the kingdom, and likewiſe of ſuch part of the honour of *Saltwode*, as ſhould, upon an inquiſition, be found to be held of the ſee of *Canterbury*. *Becket's* impatience could not brook this delay: and being always of opinion, that nothing could make the king comply, but an immediate dread of the cenſures of the *Vatican*[3], he had by himſelf and friends uſed all manner of inſtances with the Pope, to denounce them without loſs of time againſt the king's perſon, and all his dominions. *Alexander* hereupon iſſued his bulls[4]; declaring the perſons formerly excommunicated to be relapſed under that cenſure, and denouncing an interdict againſt the kingdom of *England*, and all *Henry's* foreign dominions, if ſatisfaction were not, within twenty or thirty days after the commonition, given to the archbiſhop[5]; who took care to diſpatch his orders to all the *Engliſh* prelates, to ſee theſe cenſures duly executed in their ſeveral diſtricts. It was what the king expected would follow the ſentences of ſuſpenſion abovementioned, denounced in the month of *September* againſt the archbiſhop of *York*, and the other *Engliſh* biſhops that had aſſiſted at his ſon's coronation: and being naturally averſe to run any hazard which he might prevent, did not care to wait the effects, which they were likely to have upon his affairs. Thus ſeeing no remedy, but an immediate execution of his agreement with the archbiſhop, he appointed a meeting with him on *Monday*[6], *October* 12, near *Amboiſe*; where, by the mediation of the king of *France*, it was agreed that the young king ſhould, in his father's ſtead, give him the kiſs of peace: and every thing was ſettled for *Becket's* ſetting out from *Sens* on the firſt of *November*, in order to return into *England*.

THE king of *France*[7] thought it dangerous for him to go over without receiving that mark of amity and favour from *Henry* himſelf: and ſeveral things, which though of little moment, were much exclaimed againſt by his followers, too proud and haſty to wait the courſe of the law, concurred to diſſuade him from the voyage. When his agents[8] had, on *Monday*, *October* 1, their audience of the young king at *Weſtminſter*, and expected to have had immediate poſſeſſion given them of the archbiſhop's houſes, goods, and lands, they were put off for a fortnight, till notice was given to the officers, in whoſe hands they were ſequeſtered, and who could not, in leſs time, remove their ſtock and effects. His clergy were generally reſtored to their benefices, but there were two livings ſtill detained: and ſome difficulty was made in the turning out of the clergy, who had been preſented by the king to churches belonging to the ſee of *Canterbury*, that had fallen vacant, whilſt the temporalties were in his hand, and in the admiſſion of thoſe that were now collated

[1] *Benedict. Abb.* p. 5, 6. [2] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1413. *Epiſt. S. Thomæ*, l. v. ep. 43, 53. [3] *Ib.* ep. 28, 29, 31, 40, 41. [4] Theſe are dated either from *Anagni* or *Segni*, on *October* 8, 9, or 13. [5] *Ib.* ep. 30, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39. [6] *Benedict, Abb.* p. 7. *Epiſt. S. Thomæ*, l. v. ep. 63. [7] *Fitz Stephens*, p. 69. [8] *Epiſt. S. Thomæ*, l. v. ep. 53, 54, 64, 73.

to

to them by the archbiſhop; nor did the king's writ contain any warrant or directi- HENRY II.
ons for that purpoſe. The king's miniſters, who had poſſeſſion of his lands, were A. D. 1170.
extremely diligent in getting in all the rents due at the feaſts either of *S. Michael* or *S. Martin:* and in receiving all that part of the profits of his manors, which conſiſted in proviſions for his houſhold. *Joannes Sariſburienſis* (whom he had ſent over after the other agents, and in the middle of *November*) had indeed been allowed to preſide as his commiſſary, in a ſynod at *Canterbury:* but the power of his enemies was very great, and the prelates of *York*, *London*, and *Sarum* had repreſented to the king, that the accommodation would appear diſhonourable, if the incumbents he had legally named to the vacant churches, were not maintained in their poſſeſſion, and that he ought not to admit *Becket* to enter the realm, unleſs he renounced his legatine authority, delivered up all the letters and bulls he had procured from the Pope, and promiſed to obſerve inviolably the laws of the kingdom; theſe laſt precautions not being much unlike what are taken in *France*[1], and other Roman-catholick countries, when a legate is admitted.

THERE was ſtill another point, which though an exerciſe only of the king's undoubted right, *Becket* ſtill deemed a grievance to himſelf, and was the more affected with it, becauſe it daſhed the hopes he had conceived of aggrandizing himſelf at the expence of the crown, and defeated a ſcheme he had formed to acquire an uncontrollable power in eccleſiaſtical matters, and perhaps in conſequence thereof to aſſume the principal direction of the affairs of the kingdom. This was the natural conſequence of having a number of prelates (who were in thoſe ages the chief miniſters in ſtate affairs) attached to his intereſts, as well as ſubject to his authority: and it having been for a good while a matter of clamour to thoſe of his faction, that the king kept ſeveral prelacies vacant, though if he had filled them up with perſons conſecrated by any other than himſelf, it would have been ſtill more vehemently exclaimed againſt, as an invaſion of the metropolitical rights of the ſee of *Canterbury*, *Becket*[2] got the Pope to preſs *Henry* to fill up the vacant ſees, and leave the choice of the perſons entirely to the archbiſhop and the eccleſiaſtical power. There were ſix now vacant: and the king reſolved to fill them up before this prelate's return, as well to guard againſt his ambitious deſigns, as to prevent any new diſpute about the eccleſiaſtical liberties, on account of the free manner of elections appointed by the papal canons; which he had good reaſon[3] to think *Becket* would inſiſt on, notwithſtanding the received uſages of the church of *England*. The king, by common right as founder, had in all times enjoyed the ſole right of preſentation to prelacies, till the diſpute about lay-inveſtitures in the reign of *Henry* I: but upon the accommodation of that diſpute, the choice of the chapter or convent becoming a neceſſary condition, it was made not by the ſuffrages of all the monks or canons, but (by what was called the way of compromiſe) by a deputation from the body to ſome of their number, to proceed in their name to an election. This was done purſuant to a writ from the king, requiring them to come to his court, and there make choice of a proper perſon, with the approbation of the biſhops attending him on that occaſion: and when theſe deputies had agreed with the biſhops in the nomination of a proper perſon, or in the recommending of three, for the king to chooſe one out of them, the royal aſſent rendered the election compleat. Some inſtances of this method of election, particularly to the ſee of *Canterbury*, have been already mentioned in this work: and it is eaſy to produce a multitude of others, were it neceſſary to ſhew that this was then the cuſtomary manner of election. The king had no *Engliſh prelate* about him in *Normandie*, but the biſhop of *Worceſter:* and therefore ſent orders for the prelates of *York*, *London*, and *Sarum* to come to him there[4], with ſix deputies from each of the chapters of

[1] See *Thuan. Hiſt.* l. iii. and viii. [2] *Vita S. Tho.* ep. 55. [3] *Ib.* ep. 65, 53. [4] *Diceto*, col. 554.

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the vacant ſees, in order to make choice of perſons to fill them, that were well-affected to the rights of the crown, and the laws of the kingdom. Such [1] was *Geffrey Ridel* archdeacon of *Canterbury*, a man of great quality, eſtate, and abilities, conſidered by *Becket* as the bittereſt, becauſe the moſt capable, of his enemies, and ſtyled by him, in the uſual language which his pride dictated, *the arch-devil, and a limb of anti-chriſt*; who being choſen to the vacant ſee of *Ely*, was enthroned and received the homages of his vaſſals, before he was conſecrated, and died chief juſticiary of all *England*. Such was *Reginald* [2], ſon of the biſhop of *Saliſbury*, who having been employed like the former by the king in ſeveral embaſſies for maintaining his cauſe againſt the ſame turbulent prelate, was elected to the church of *Bath*: and with ſuch, were the other ſees filled; though *Becket's* unexpected death cauſed a delay of ſome years in their promotion and conſecration.

Becket's return to *England* and proceeding there.

XXII. Whilst the archbiſhop continued abroad, he was ſubſiſted by the king's enemies, and acted by their advice or direction: this [3] made *Henry* uneaſy at the rejection of his offer to provide for that prelate in *Normandie*, in caſe he would go with him thither, and (as he was on the point of a war with *France*) it now made him preſs his ſpeedy return into *England*. *Becket*, being re-inſtated in the poſſeſſion of his ſee, had no pretence to delay it longer: and ſetting out from *Sens*, full of his ſchemes of power, as well as of the revenge he meditated, when he rejected the motion of the biſhop of *Liſieux*, for giving a like remiſſion to the king's adherents as the king had freely given to his, came to *Roüen*, where he expected to find *Henry*. This prince [4] had lately paid a large ſum of money to *Henry de Vienne* for the purchaſe of *Montmirail* and the caſtle of *St. Aguan* in *Berry*, in order to increaſe his power in this province, which was an appendage of the dutchy of *Guienne*: but this ſtep had like to have brought on him a war, as well with *Theobald* count of *Blois* who claimed thoſe places by no very good title, as with the king of *France*, who marched with an army to ſupport [5] the count's pretenſions, to aſſert his own claim of a ſuperiority over *Berry*, and (as it was apprehended) to invade *Auvergne*. *Henry*, about *Nov.* 23, had advanced with another near *Bourges*, expecting it would be delivered to him by the inhabitants: but finding his enterprize diſappointed, by the *French* forces being there before him, agreed to a truce with *Louis*. This was the occaſion of the king's abſence; when [6] *Becket* arrived at *Roüen*, and there found *John of Oxford* dean of *Saliſbury*, ſent by *Henry* to attend him into *England*: where paſſing with a favourable wind from *Witſand*, he arrived on *Tueſday Dec.* 1, landing at *Sandwich*. *Gervaſe de Cornhill* high ſheriff of *Kent*, and *Reginald de Warenne*, both itinerant juſticiaries, were there with a number of armed followers, to ſee the king's orders for the guard of the ports, and the ſearch of paſſengers duely executed: and the archbiſhop himſelf muſt have undergone their examination, if *John of Oxford* had not brought them the king's orders to the contrary. They treated his clergy and domeſticks with the like politeneſs: but it was with ſome difficulty they were perſuaded not to put the laws in execution againſt [7] *Simon* archdeacon of *Sens*; who came over with him under pretence of viſiting his friends, but more probably as an agent for *French* meaſures; all foreigners that landed without the king's paſs, or refuſed to take the oath of allegiance, being by the late regulations, to be taken into cuſtody. This indulgence was the more extraordinary, becauſe they were extremely irritated at a violent ſtep, which the archbiſhop had juſt taken, and which made them conclude, he was come not for peace, but to throw the nation into confuſion.

[1] *Angl. Sacr.* I. 631, 632. *Diceto*, col. 552. [2] *Ib.* 561, 562. [3] *Fitz Stephens*, p. 70.
[4] *Rob. de Monte. Benedict. Abb.* p. 9. [5] *Ep. S. Tho.* l. v. ep. 44. [6] *Fitz Stephens*, p. 71.
[7] *Ep. S. Tho.* l. v. ep. 64. 73.

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When the king promiſed at the conference near *Fretteval*, that ſatisfaction ſhould be made to the church of *Canterbury* for the invaſion of her rights in the coronation of his ſon, he never imagined that the archbiſhop would inſiſt on any thing more than was there propoſed to be given, by his crowning the young king again at the ſolemnity of his wife's coronation, and by a publick declaration of the right of the church of *Canterbury*. It was what the king of *France* had accepted for reparation of the affront offered his daughter; *Anſelm* in the like caſe had been contented with leſs: but *Becket*, implacable in his reſentments, would not be ſatisfied with ſecuring the rights of his church; his own furious paſſions were to be gratified by an ample revenge on all that had been concerned in the late coronation. Whether pride or policy ſuggeſted meaſures ſo unſuitable to that ſpirit of reconciliation, which had ſo lately appeared in the king, and ought to have been mutual, he reſolved to enter the realm like a conqueror; breathing fire and ſword againſt all he deemed his enemies; perhaps to intimidate every body from daring to oppoſe his future meaſures. He had brought with him the cenſures, he had procured from the Pope, againſt all the biſhops that had offended him by aſſiſting at the coronation: and having advice whilſt he was at *Witſand*[1], that the prelates of *York*, *London*, and *Sarum* were, in obedience to the king's orders, come to *Dover*, he diſpatched a young man, the day before he ſailed himſelf, with letters to them; notifying the ſuſpenſion of the firſt, and the excommunication of the two latter. He was in the more haſte to begin with theſe, becauſe they were going over to his majeſty, in order to aſſiſt at the elections to the vacant ſees, with *Geffrey Ridel*, and *Richard* archdeacon of *Poitiers*, two of the perſons propoſed to fill them: and he hoped to defeat the king's deſign, by incapacitating them to act in that affair. Upon notice of theſe cenſures, and advice of the archbiſhop's arrival at *Canterbury*, the biſhops ſignified to him, that they appealed to the Pope, notwithſtanding the prohibition: and the juſticiaries abovementioned waiting upon him, deſired him, in their own name, and charged him by publick authority to take off the cenſures, under pain of being declared a publick enemy of the king and kingdom, for violating the laws, and attempting to deprive the young king of his royal dignity. *Becket*[2], though he had full power to relax the ſentences, inflicted for an injury to his own ſee, pretended that, being an inferior, he could not regularly take off the cenſures of a ſuperior: yet he would ſtretch a point and abſolve the biſhops of *London* and *Sarum*, if they would ſwear to obey the Pope's mandates. This the juſticiaries repreſenting as impracticable, ſuch an oath being contrary to the laws of the realm, the archbiſhop perſiſted in his refuſal: and the three prelates[3], thinking it ought not to be taken without the king's leave, purſued their voyage to *Normandie*; continuing near a year under their reſpective cenſures[4].

Becket had brought over three fine horſes[5] for a preſent to the young king, whoſe taſte nothing could ſuit better: and not doubting of a good reception from a prince, ſome of whoſe younger years had been ſpent under his eye, ſet out from *Canterbury*, after a week's ſtay there, in order to wait upon him at *Woodſtoke*; being, as he paſſed through *Rocheſter* and entered *Southwark*, received in both places with ſolemn proceſſions and hymns of thankſgiving. Such triumphant entries, at

[1] *Ep. S. Tho.* l. v. ep. 64. 73. [2] *Ib.* ep. 68. 65. [3] *Ib.* ep. 85, 86, 87.

[4] They ſent agents to the court of *Rome*, and their cenſures would have been taken off immediately, if it had not been for the news of *Becket's* death (*Ep. S. Tho.* l. v. ep. 84.) The Pope's commiſſion to the archbiſhop of *Roüen* and the biſhop of *Amiens* (*Ib.* ep. 85) to take off the ſuſpenſion of the archbiſhop of *York* is dated at *Fraſcati*, *Nov.* 23, *A. D.* 1171. The biſhop of *London's* excommunication was taken off by the biſhops of *Nevers* and *Beavais* and the abbot of *Pontigny*, papal delegates, in the beginning of *Auguſt* the ſame year (*Diceto*, col. 557.) but his ſuſpenſion continued ſome time longer. They were all forced to ſwear that they were entirely innocent of *Becket's* death, and the firſt was obliged to take a like oath, that he had not received the Pope's inhibitory letters, before he crowned young *Henry*.

[5] *Fitz Stephens*, p. 74, 75.

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which no conſiderable perſons, and only the populace, aſſiſted, flattered his pride: but were very unbecoming a man, who had juſt received the king's pardon for crimes of the higheſt nature; and being allowed to return home upon a reconciliation, had broken the conditions, violated the laws, and inſulted the royal authority in the moſt tender point at the moment of his entering the kingdom; the peace whereof was endangered by ſuch inſolent parades and mobbiſh aſſemblies. After the conduct he had obſerved, the young king knew not how to treat him, without freſh inſtructions from his father: and ſent *Jocelin de Lovain*, brother to the ſecond wife of *Henry* I, and anceſtor to the great family of *Percy*, to ſtop his progreſs through other cities of the realm, and order him back to his dioceſe. *Becket*[1] had propoſed to go through his province with the ſame equipage as he had come to *Southwark*, attended by all the knights that held of his ſee, and a great number of armed followers, as if he had a view of ſeizing ſome caſtles; though his biographers ſay, he deſigned only to reform abuſes and eradicate the ill weeds, which had grown up in his abſence; probably (ſince he could do it in no other way) by ſuſpending or depriving the clergy and excommunicating the laity, who had adhered to the king's cauſe and obſerved the laws of the kingdom, where they interfered with papal decrees. He was ſetting out from the biſhop of *Wincheſter's* palace in *Southwark* upon this viſitation with his unbounded legatine authority, when he was ſerved with the king's orders to return to his ſee: he thought fit to comply in ſome meaſure, but ſaid with an unparalleled arrogance, that he would not have obeyed the mandate, had it not been for the near approach of *Chriſtmas*, and he had a mind to keep that feſtival at his own church of *Canterbury*. Nor did he return immediately, but, to ſhew his contempt of the royal authority, went to his manor of *Harowe* in *Middleſex*; where he ſtaid ſeveral days, till[2] the holidays approaching, he went at laſt to *Canterbury*. As he returned thither[3], he diſmiſſed the greateſt part of his retinue, retaining only five knights about him for his guard; and theſe too he ſent away when he came to his own palace, where he remained quiet till *Chriſtmas Day*: but then mounting the pulpit, after a ſermon calculated to move the people, and an invective againſt the oppoſers of his meaſures, he excommunicated *Nigel de Sackeville* and *Robert de Broke* by name (this latter for cutting off the tail of one of his ſumpter horſes) with a great many of the old king's miniſters, officers of the houſhold, juſticiaries, and the moſt conſiderable perſons in the kingdom.

His death.

XXIII. Advice of theſe and other proceedings was carried abroad to *Henry*, who was before ſufficiently[4] provoked by the account he had received of the cenſures laid upon the three prelates; and now ſeeing that ſtep was but a prelude to the like cenſures upon other biſhops, and upon all that had employments under him, could not help complaining, that his whole realm was diſturbed; that his crown was ſtruck at; that *Becket*, in virtue of his legatine powers, aſſumed a ſuperiority over him; and had even got a privilege from the Pope, to diſpoſe of all churches, the advowſon whereof belonged either to the crown or the nobility. The king was keeping the feaſt of the nativity at *Bures* near *Bayeux* in *Normandie* with his prelates and barons about him, when he broke out into theſe and other complaints againſt the tyrannical proceedings of the archbiſhop; lamenting his misfortune in having raiſed a man from nothing, to be the plague of his life and the continual

[1] *M. Paris. Vita præf. Ep. S. Tho.* p. 116, 117. Provinciam a quâ tam diu abſens fuerat circuire properans, & anhelans ad diſcurrendum ubique, ut evelleret & eradicaret quæ in abſentiâ ſuâ in horto Domini diſtortè & incompoſitè excreverant.

[2] *M. Paris*, p. 123. and in *Vit. Abb. S. Albani*, p. 91. [3] *Ib.* p. 118. *Fitz Stephens*, p. 76, 77.

[4] *Ib.* p. 79. & ſeq. *M. Paris. Vita præf. Ep. S. Tho.* p. 120, 121.

diſturber

disturber of his government. It was said by one of the court, that he could not expect a quiet hour, nor his kingdom enjoy any peace, so long as *Becket* was alive; and the king's countenance and gesture discovering a great commotion of mind, four barons, or (as they are called) knights of his household, *William de Tracy*, *Reginald Fitz Urse*, *Hugh de Moreville*, and *Richard Brito* imagined, that he would not be displeased, if the archbishop was dispatched. Whether they designed, or no, to kill him, they swore to revenge the king's quarrel; left the court privately on *Dec.* 26; took shipping at different ports; and, what is very surprizing, met the very next day, and about the same hour, at the castle of *Saltwode*, six miles from *Canterbury*. They had not kept their design so secret, but they were suspected of an ill one[1]: and the king being told of it, after their departure, dispatched away messengers immediately to overtake them and forbid their doing any violent action; but they did not arrive soon enough to prevent its execution. The king in the mean time had considered with his council, what method was fit to be taken with the archbishop, to prevent the mischiefs likely to ensue from his furious measures: and rejecting the harsh advices of some, who were for putting him to death, as a traytor, resolved however to have him taken into custody. *William de Magneville*, earl of *Essex*, *Saier de Quincey*, and *Richard du Hommet*, were charged with this commission: and the last of these passing into *England*, sent to *Hugh de Gundeville* and *William Fitz John*, councellors to the young king then at *Winchester*, to bring with all possible secrecy a party of knights from court to arrest the archbishop at *Canterbury*; whilst himself kept watch on the sea-coast, to prevent his embarking at any port, and the two first did the same on the other side of the water at[2] *Witsand* and another harbour, to seize him if he escaped thither. These measures, for proceeding against *Becket* in a legal way, were prevented by the haste, which the four knights or barons abovementioned made to execute their purpose; in which they were much confirmed by *Ralf de Broke*; who summoning to his castle of *Saltwode* twelve other knights for their assistance, went with them to *Canterbury*. The chief business of these assistants seems to have been the keeping of[3] the citizens quiet, whilst the four first knights, entering the palace with their followers, secured the great gates, and seized two or three knights of the archbishop's family. Then going to that prelate's apartment, they had a warm expostulation with him about his conduct; in which many bitter reproaches passed, that inflamed them to the highest degree: though *Fitz Stephens*[4] says, what seemed most to incense[5] them was, his maintaining that he had the spiritualties of his see from the Pope, denying that he held any thing of the king, but the temporalties, and upbraiding three of them with having been retained in his service, whilst he was chancellor. They were as yet unarmed[6]: and whilst they were putting on their armour, the archbishop might have saved himself, if he had not either presumed that they durst not hurt him on account of his character, or aspired to the glory of a martyrdom. The fears of the monks and clergy about him could not prevail with him to stay away from vespers; he passed through the cloister of the convent into the church, followed by the assassins: and receiving four wounds in the head, dropt down dead on *Tuesday Dec.* 29, before the altar of *St. Benedict*.

HENRY II. *A. D.* 1169.

THUS died *Thomas Becket*, the victim of his own pride, obstinacy, and revenge, the strong and violent passions that constantly engrossed his mind and leavened all

[1] *Vita præf. Ep. S. Tho.* p. 143, 144.
[2] *Fitz Stephens*, p. 90. [4] P. 82, 83.
[5] In the Life prefixed to *Becket's Epistles*, p. 123. it is said that he declared in this conference, that he would never take an oath to the young king for the barony he held, nor should any of his clergy take an oath to him, and that he would, as an archbishop, do himself justice in spight of any mortal.
[6] *Gul. Neubrig.* l. ii. c. 25.

his

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his actions: and which having created him abundance of enemies, put them likewise upon desperate measures to screen themselves from his fury; being persuaded, that no quarter was to be expected from a man, whom all the world knew to be implacable. His unmeasurable pride and lust of power rendered him impatient of any superior, unable to bear the least contradiction, and fond of having the direction of all affairs, whatever post he was in, whether civil or ecclesiastical. The same passions made him furious in his measures, inflexible in his resolutions, and incapable of being diverted by any consideration from the pursuit of any point, he had once, however rashly or unadvisedly, undertaken: and put him upon treating all that opposed him with a virulence of language, an haughtiness of behaviour, a rigour of punishment or severity of vengeance, which neither suited the character of a *Christian* bishop, nor could be endured by any body, without the keenest resentment. Had he consulted reason or modesty in the conjectures he threw out of others designs, they would have been less uncharitable, or have appeared less positive; and had he confined himself to truth, in his invectives, they would have been less criminal: but he seems to have thought himself authorized to pronounce as certain, whatever his warm imagination suggested as probable; and to advance any falsehoods that would serve his cause, promote his views, or help to gloss over his conduct. It is easy to produce many instances of such falsehoods used by him to blacken the character of a great king, whose favour raised him to an unmerited grandeur, out of those very epistles of his, which it was thought proper to select and preserve as most favourable to his character and cause; though, taking away the pompous declamations with which they are filled, and the cant terms of the *Divine Laws* and the *Law of God* (usually in those ages substituted instead of *papal* or *ecclesiastical* canons, which is their true meaning) that run throughout them, they furnish but a very wretched apology for his actions. He died in the luckiest time in the world, and in the most advantageous manner that could be imagined, for the sake of his reputation; his death preventing those measures he was resolved to take, though they could not fail of making his country a dismal scene of confusion; and his murder throwing a veil on those parts of his character and conduct, which else would have conveyed his memory down to future ages with infamy.

It was not without [1] reason, that *Henry* was jealous of his long stay in *France* after their agreement, much too long for making compliments to all his friends at parting: though perhaps not so, for concerting measures with *Louis* to distress the king's affairs and disturb the peace of his dominions; of which *Henry* seems to have had some intelligence. *Becket* [2] owns in his own letters, that he took all his measures by advice of the court of *France* and in concert with *Louis*: and when he entered into that agreement, or (as it is styled) peace with *Henry*, he did it without any peaceable dispositions, and with a formed resolution, scarce consistent with sincerity, of extorting further concessions from his prince, and of forcing him to give up what rights of the crown and laws of the kingdom, he should think fit to censure, as restraints upon the liberty of the church, and inconsistent with the papal supremacy. The paper which he presented at the conference near *Fretteval*, when that peace was made, containing his demands, as the conditions thereof on his part, concluded with a fraudulent promise "of paying *Henry* all the honour "and duty that could be paid to a king and prince by an archbishop *in the Lord*;" such was the reserve or pretence he proposed to make use of, whenever he pleased, to elude that promise, and violate that duty. His demands were, to be restored to the king's favour; to be re-instated in the lands and possessions of the see of *Canter-*

[1] *Epist. S. Thomæ*, l. v. ep. 44. [2] *Ib.* ep. 45.

bury according to a ſchedule, wherein they were ſpecified; that the like peace and ſecurity might be extended to his adherents; and that the king would take care to have ſatisfaction made to him and his church for the injury done them in his ſon's coronation. To all theſe *Henry* readily agreed: but *Becket*, to improve a victory over his lord, which he thought compleat, becauſe no mention was made of the cuſtoms of the *old tyrants* (ſo he terms the king's predeceſſors) or of any oath to obſerve them, reſolved, after his return to *England*, to make further demands; which though the king had at that time rejected, he made not the leaſt queſtion of obtaining by the terror of excommunications and interdicts. Theſe were an abolition of the cuſtoms or conſtitutions of *Clarendon*, an eſtabliſhment of eccleſiaſtical liberties; the reparation of his own honour; and though, out of deference to the *Pope's* orders, he had ſaid nothing, either of the damages which he and his clergy had ſuſtained in their exiles, or of the reſtitution of the mean profits of his own ſee and their benefices, yet he was determined to inſiſt thereon afterwards. The coronation of the new king, conſidering the notions inculcated in thoſe days by the clergy, touching the rite of unction, and what the officiating prelate was ſuppoſed to confer, was too tender a point to be made a ſubject of diſpute: yet when *Henry*, at his requeſt, had undertaken to do juſtice to his church upon that head, he reſolved not to be content with it, but to carve out a ſatisfaction to himſelf. The excommunications iſſued by him had not been regarded; none under that ſentence had been avoided; and the clergy had ſtill officiated, though inhibited by his interdict. To paſs cenſures on all theſe, was a work of infinite labour: yet he determined to go through with it; under a pretence that the *papal* authority could not ſubſiſt, if they were left unpuniſhed.

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FOR the better execution of theſe meaſures, he [1] preſſed the Pope to refer matters to his diſcretion; to ſend him three bulls of cenſures on different biſhops in *England*, to be uſed as he ſaw fit; to empower the biſhop of *Meaux*, and the abbot of *S. Criſpin* at *Soiſſons*, to enjoin the king to reſtore the mean profits abovementioned; and, on failure thereof, to iſſue ſevere cenſures upon his perſon and dominions. If this method was not approved, he deſired the Pope to give him the ſame legatine powers as the archbiſhop of *Roüen* and the biſhop of *Nevers* had, or rather a larger authority than was given to thoſe legates, ſince the more ſtiff and powerful the king was, the bonds to tie him were to be the ſtronger, and his treatment harſher. To theſe extraordinary powers for himſelf, he added another which he requeſted might be annexed to his ſee: this was a right of primacy over the province of *York*, that every part of *England* might be ſubject to his ordinary juriſdiction [2]. There was ſtill another point which he had at heart; it was to exempt the clergy of *England* from taking the oath of allegiance, and engaging to ſtand by the king againſt all men, unleſs the Pope was expreſsly excepted; ſince otherwiſe ſuch an oath would leſſen, if not totally ruine, the papal authority. To theſe may be likewiſe added, the deſign of taking away from all laymen the rights, which they had always enjoyed by law, of preſenting to churches and prebends of their anceſtors foundation and endowment, mentioned in the Pope's letters to all the biſhops of *England*, dated at *Benevento*, [3] *May* 19; enjoining them to excommunicate all the clergy ſo preſented, who did not, within forty days after admonition, reſign their benefices, and make ſatisfaction to the church for the profits they had thence received, and in caſe of their neglect, declaring his own reſolution, to ſubject them to the ſame cenſure, and order them to be avoided by all the world. Such were the ſchemes, which *Becket*, after his reconciliation, formed, as he tells the *Pope* in his letters: and ſuch the powers, with which he propoſed to put them in execution, as ſoon as he returned into *England:* it was his fixed reſolution to do

[1] *Epiſt. S. Thomæ*, l. v. ep. 52. [2] *Ib.* ep. 73. [3] *Ib.* l. iv. ep. 30.

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ſo, and he was too obſtinate be diverted from his purpoſes. We have ſeen in what manner he began the work, from the very moment of his landing: and there is no room to doubt he would have purſued it with the ſame eagerneſs and fury, and by the methods of excommunications and interdicts, which he looked upon as infallible means of ſucceeding. It is eaſy to imagine what a diſtraction this would have cauſed all over the nation in that age of ignorance and ſuperſtition; and what an ocean of evils would have enſued, if he had not been taken off ſuddenly in the very beginning of his enterprizes.

The prerogative of the crown, and the rights of the ſubject, muſt have been ſubverted; the laws of the land violated; and the conſtitution of the kingdom invaded, to make way for *Becket's* projects; all calculated to ſubject the nation to a foreign judicature and the papal power, under the pretence of ſecuring the liberties of the church, and privileges of the clergy. Both theſe enjoyed already in *England*, as much real liberty as could in reaſon be deſired, either for the ſervice of the one, or the character of the other, or to anſwer the ends of the *Chriſtian* religion. What more was contended for, tended only to encourage the clergy to all manner of diſorders and iniquities; to ſcreen the moſt ſcandalous of their order from the legal puniſhments which their crimes deſerved; to protect them in the commiſſion of murder, ſacrilege, rapes, and crimes of the blackeſt nature; to obſtruct juſtice, and deſtroy all good order and government in the nation. Such was the occaſion, which firſt gave riſe to the controverſy with *Becket*; and ſuch the conſequences of thoſe points of licentiouſneſs, rather than liberty, for which he contended; with a view of enſlaving the clergy themſelves to the arbitrary dominion of the papacy, and expoſing them to all the horrible exactions, oppreſſions, and corruptions of the court of *Rome*; and upon a principle, the moſt dangerous in nature to the peace of all ſocieties, abſolutely inconſiſtent with all civil government; and ſo utterly indefenſible, that the bare ſtating of it is a ſufficient refutation.

This principle, containing the true ſtate of the controverſy on *Becket's* part, was, that the church had an authority ſuperior to that of all kings and ſtates upon earth: and whenever it was exerciſed by *Popes* in their decrees, or by a body of foreign eccleſiaſticks (aſſuming to themſelves a power of judicature which the author of their religion expreſsly diſclaimed) in the canons of their councils, even in the caſe of civil privileges, all the laws of a kingdom, and the moſt eſſential parts of its conſtitution were to be repealed and aboliſhed by thoſe deciſions. It is evident not only from hiſtory, but from the very nature of the points of liberty thus controverted, that they were all derived from the grant of the civil magiſtrate, in whatever countries they were enjoyed. Whether they were thus granted by the ſtate before, or after, any eccleſiaſtical aſſembly had by their canons arrogated to themſelves ſuch liberties, or Popes had by their decrees claimed them, doth not alter the nature of the queſtion. They were ſtill received and eſtabliſhed by the laws in thoſe countries: but there was no canon of an *Engliſh* council, no charter of the crown, no cuſtom or law of the land for their reception in *England*. In this country, they ſtill ſtood condemned by the laws, and inconſiſtent with the conſtitution: yet *Becket* was for aboliſhing the one, and trampling on the other, in order to introduce them; becauſe in his private judgment, he thought it fit for eccleſiaſticks to enjoy them here as well as abroad, and Popes had conferred them by their decrees. This he reſolved to do with an high hand, and by ways of violence to force the ſtate to a ſubmiſſion; to get the better of the king, or (to uſe his own expreſſion) to make [1] himſelf as a papal legate, *a God to Pharaoh*; an attempt treaſonable in its nature, ſtriking at the monarchy itſelf, and not to be carried but by a ſubverſion of the civil power. For this end, all the miniſters of the crown, all

[1] *Epiſt. S. Thomæ*, l. v. ep. 12.

judges

judges or officers of the law were to be excommunicated, and, as far as lay in *Becket*, incapacitated for the functions of their offices; the kingdom was to be put under an interdict, and all divine ſervice to ceaſe in churches; a ſtop was to be put to all ſtate affairs; the government was to be in effect diſſolved, the nation was to be left without the adminiſtration of juſtice, without the protection or benefit of the laws, without the publick exerciſe of religion, and to be thrown into a wild confuſion, expoſed to the invaſion of foreigners, ever ready to take advantage of their neighbours diſſenſions, to ſeditions and inſurrections at home, to an infinity of diſorders, and to all the inexpreſſible evils of anarchy. There is ſomething ſo dreadful and ſhocking in this ſcene, the natural conſequence of *Becket's* meaſures, that it is ſcarce reconcileable to common ſenſe, to imagine that his actions were directed by any publick ſpirit, whatever he pretended; but rather by a private view to aggrandize himſelf (in which caſe paſſions always run high and act with violence) and to eſtabliſh his own power upon the ruins of the royal authority. HENRY II. A. D. 1170.

SUCH was the cauſe, and ſuch the man, that Pope *Alexander*, for the intereſts of the papacy, and to encourage others to the like exceſſes [1], thought fit to conſecrate and canonize, about two years and as many months after his death; without the uſual proceſs in ſuch caſes, or any formal examination of witneſſes to his pretended miracles. This reſolution taken on an *Aſh-Wedneſday*, upon common report and the credit given to the relations of the cardinals *Albert* and *Theoduin*, then in *Normandie*, and nearer the ſcene of thoſe ſenſeleſs ſtories, and pretended viſions, was notified on the twelfth of *March* following, by the Pope in a bull dated at *Segni*, directed to all the clergy and people of *England*, and appointing *December* 29, to be kept annually as a feſtival, in commemoration of *Becket's* martyrdom. This did not hinder it from being diſputed [2] forty-eight years after his death, in the univerſity of *Paris*, whether he was damned or ſaved; the former opinion being maintained by one *Roger*, a *Norman*, who thought he deſerved death, for being a rebel and traitor to the king his maſter; whilſt others, on account of his labouring to advance the eccleſiaſtical liberties, looked upon him as a martyr. His corpſe was at firſt laid in an ordinary tomb: but in conſequence of an order of Pope *Honorius* II [3], on *January* 25, *A. D.* 1219, was, on the ſeventh of *July* following, taken up with great ſolemnity, and laid in a ſumptuous ſhrine at the expence of archbiſhop *Langton*.

THE aſſaſſins, after the fact reflecting on the nature and conſequences of their action, retired to the caſtle [4] of *Knareſborough* in *Yorkſhire*, belonging to *Hugh de Moreville*; where they ſtaid near a year by themſelves, without any converſation with others: but tired at laſt with ſolitude, ſtruck with remorſe, or rather enjoined by the king to ſubmit to the Pope's judgment, they went to *Rome*, and were ordered to make a pilgrimage to *Jeruſalem*. *Becket's* biographers pretend, that they all died within three years, particularly *William de Tracy*, in a moſt miſerable manner: and yet to ſhew how little credit is due to their relations, it is not improper to obſerve, that this nobleman [5] lived above fifty years longer, and having probably expiated his crime in the eye of the monks of *Chriſt-Church* in *Canterbury*, by making them a grant of his manor of *Doccombe*, was ſeneſchal or juſticiary of *Normandie* in the years 1175 and 1176, joined with the barons againſt king *John*, ſerved in the expedition into *Wales*, *A. D.* 1222, and had ſcutage from all his military tenants for that ſervice. It is likewiſe certain from records [6], that *Hugh de Moreville* was living in king *John's* time, and had ſeveral privileges granted him for the manors

[1] *Bar. Ann.* t. xii. p. 815. *Ep. S. Tho.* l. v. ep. 92, 93. [2] *Du Moulin, Hiſt. de Norm.* p. 382. [3] *Ep. S. Tho.* l. v. ep. 97. [4] *M. Paris. Bened. Abb.* p. 12. *Dicet.* col. 557. *Vita præf. Ep. S. Tho.* p. 155, 156. *Gul. Neubrig.* l. ii. c. 25. [5] *Monaſt. Anglic.* t. i. p. 22. *Brompt.* col. 1105, 1116. *Dugdale's Baronage*, t. i. 623. [6] *Oblata* 1 *John. M.* 6. *Linc. & Cart.* 2 *John. M.* 9. See *Dugdale's Baron.* t. i. p. 612.

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of *Kirk Oſwald* and *Leſingby* in *Cumberland*, which he enjoyed in right of his wife *Heloiſe d'Eſtouteville*, with liberty to fortify his manor houſe.

The king's conduct after *Becket's* death.

XXIV. This murder broke all the king's meaſures, reduced his affairs into a very unhappy ſituation, and forced him to compliances; which *Becket*, if living, could never have extorted from him by all his ſpiritual artillery. The news of it was received by all the world with horror: and in that ſituation of mind, the *Engliſh* were in all ages naturally diſpoſed to advance the murdered perſon to the dignity of a ſaint, and to believe all the ridiculous ſtories of apparitions, viſions, cures, and miracles, related of him by melancholy or deſigning people. *Becket's* partiſans did not fail to fill the kingdom with relations of that kind; which the *Engliſh*, ever fond of whatever appears marvellous, ever credulous in deſpight of common ſenſe, and on certain occaſions ready to believe the greateſt abſurdities in nature, ſwallowed without examination. *Henry* was before maſter of his kingdom, but the ſcene was now changed: excommunications and interdicts were terrible things at all times, but vaſtly more ſo, when denounced on ſo juſt an occaſion, as affected all mankind. It was now a queſtion, whether he could raiſe an army, if he were excommunicated himſelf; ſince all his attendants and followers would be involved in the ſame ſentence. To make his advantage of theſe circumſtances[1], the king of *France*, as ſoon as he heard of *Becket's* death, wrote to the Pope; preſſing him to unſheath St. *Peter's* ſword to revenge it: *Theobald* count[2] of *Blois* wrote to the ſame effect; and the archbiſhop of *Sens*[3], not content with uſing the like inſtances, exerted the legatine powers which he had in *France*, and, without waiting the Pope's anſwer to his letters[4], laid all *Henry's* dominions in the continent under an interdict, which the *Pope*[5] thought fit to confirm.

The king was at *Argentan*, when he received advice of that tragical event; he ſaw at once all the conſequences thereof; broke out into the moſt moving lamentations: and laid it ſo extremely to heart, that he ſhut himſelf up three days in his bed-chamber, neither eating[6] any thing all the time, nor admitting any comforter. The prelates and nobles about his court, in pain for his life, which ſeemed endangered by his grief and abſtinence, got at laſt admittance, and preſſing him to take ſome care for preventing the miſchiefs which elſe might follow *Becket's* murder, the archbiſhop[7] of *Roüen*, the biſhops of *Evreux* and *Worceſter*, the abbot of *Valaſſe*, in the dioceſe of *Roüen*, the archdeacons of *Sarum* and *Liſieux*, *Richard Barre* and *Henry Pichim* were ſent embaſſadors to the court of *Rome*. The firſt of theſe being too old and infirm to bear the fatigue of the journey, returned ſoon: but the reſt, proceeding to *Sienna* in *Tuſcany*, found all the roads between that place and *Fraſcati*, where the Pope then reſided, ſo beſet with the troops of count *Macario*, that they durſt not for ſome time advance further. There was no getting thither, but over mountains, and through by-ways, ſcarce paſſable: *Richard Barre* however, zealous for his maſter's ſervice, firſt ran the dangers of the paſſage; and all the reſt (except the biſhops) following ſoon after, got ſafe to *Fraſcati* on *Saturday*, *March* 20, being the eve of *Palm Sunday*. It was an uſual cuſtom for Popes, on the *Thurſday* before *Eaſter*, to denounce a publick abſolution and excommunication of all perſons in general, who, on account of certain crimes, or of their repentance for them, were either entitled to a relaxation, or deſerved to be puniſhed by a denunciation of that ſentence: and the embaſſadors were extremely ſollicitous to arrive time enough, to prevent that cenſure being inflicted on *Henry*, and an interdict being laid on his dominions; both which, according to the general opinion, were really deſigned. This was the reaſon, why, leaving the biſhops behind, they

[1] *Epiſt. S. Thomæ*, l. v. ep. 78. [2] *Ib.* ep. 81. [3] *Ib.* ep. 80. [4] *Ib.* ep. 82. [5] *Ib.* ep. 84. [6] *Ib.* ep. 79. [7] *Ib.* ep. 83, 84.

made ſuch haſte to *Fraſcati*; where they found *Alexander*, a *Welſhman*, and *Gunter*, a *Fleming*, two of *Becket's* clergy, ſolliciting againſt them, and the Pope ſo exceedingly irritated, that they met with difficulties, which ſeemed at firſt inſuperable, in the way of their obtaining an audience. The abbot of *Valaſſe*, and the archdeacon of *Liſieux* were at laſt, after great ſollicitations, admitted: and fell upon a very extraordinary method to avert the impending evil, which they ſubmitted to by reaſon of the urgent neceſſity; though it doth not ſeem to be particularly warranted by their inſtructions. All the agents ſwore, at nine in the morning, on *Maundy Thurſday*, before a full conſiſtory, that the king ſhould ſtand to the Pope's judgment in this affair, and that the king ſhould oblige himſelf to ſuch a ſubmiſſion in the ſame manner. Thus they prevented the ſolemn denunciation of that day: and the Pope only excommunicated all that were actors, aiders, abettors, adviſers, or approvers of *Becket's* death, and all that harboured or received the murderers. The biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Evreux* came to *Fraſcati* after *Eaſter*: but all that they could do, in conjunction with their collegues, did not hinder the Pope's confirming the archbiſhop of *Sens's* interdict on the king's dominions on the continent. All the benefit, accruing from this negotiation, amounted to no more, than the preventing of an interdict upon *England*, and a ſuſpenſion of any further proceedings, till the Pope had ſent two legates into *Normandie*, to examine into *Becket's* death, and the king's humiliation. This too coſt a vaſt ſum of money, not leſs (as Dr. *Brady* ſays [1]) than forty thouſand marks of ſilver, and five thouſand of gold; an expence in that juncture abſolutely neceſſary, conſidering the general diſpoſition of the minds of people upon the archbiſhop's murder, and the aſcendant which, the *French* [2] hiſtorians ſay, *Louis* king of *France* got on that occaſion over *Henry*, whom he had ever dreaded before. But now being in ſtrict alliance, and acting in concert with the Pope, he became enabled to diſtreſs him whenever he pleaſed: and threatened him on every ſlight pretence with a war; which the king of *England* endeavoured by all means to avoid, and was forced to exert all his addreſs and arts of policy for that purpoſe.

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The two legates that the Pope propoſed to ſend into *Normandie*, were the cardinals *Albert* and *Theodin*: and it was generally thought that they would ſoon arrive in that country. *Henry*, apprehenſive that in the preſent temper of the court of *Rome*, they might inſiſt on very unreaſonable conditions; and conſidering the horror of the late fact would wear off daily, thought it very neceſſary in his circumſtances to gain time; and by the luſtre of ſome great action, or important conqueſt, to raiſe his own reputation, and ſhew his enemies that they had ſtill reaſon not to deſpiſe his power, or to imagine he might be inſulted without danger of revenge. He had in his view an enterprize, wherein he could ſcarce fail of ſucceſs: this was the conqueſt of *Ireland*, which he had propoſed in the ſecond year of his reign, having then got a grant of it from Pope *Adrian* IV, an *Engliſhman*, under pretence of propagating the *Chriſtian* faith in that country, and correcting the vices of the inhabitants; but was diſſuaded from it by his mother *Maude* the empreſs. Every day's experience ſince, particularly the late ſucceſſes of ſome private adventurers, had conſpired to ſhew the facility of the conqueſt, and the certainty of the attempt's ſucceeding: and *Henry* reſolved to defer it no longer. With this view, he ſent for the young king over into *Normandie* [3]; where, by an inquiſition into the crown lands uſurped ſince the death of *Henry* I, he had doubled the rents of the dutchy: and having ſettled his affairs there, he paſſed into *England*; landing, on *Auguſt* 3, at *Portſmouth*. To prevent any diſturbance being raiſed in either country during his abſence, he renewed the orders [4], for the ports of both to be ſtrictly

[1] *Hiſt. of England*, vol. ii. p. 408. [2] *P. Daniel's Hiſt. de France* in 4to, *Amſterdam*, vol. ii. p. 556, 557. [3] *Rob. de Monte. Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1419. [4] *Benedict. Abbas*, p. 26, 27.

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guarded, and for hindering as well the bringing over of any letters of interdict, as the paſſage of any clergymen, without ſwearing that they would neither do nor attempt any thing to the prejudice of the king or kingdom. This done, he marched with a great army to *Pembroke:* and embarking his forces on board [1] a fleet of four hundred ſail in the evening of *October* 16, landed the next day about eight miles from *Waterford* in *Ireland*.

And expedition to *Ireland*.

XXV. The king probably choſe to march through *Wales*, in order to ſettle a firm peace in that country, and prevent the ſending thence any aſſiſtance to the *Iriſh:* and *Reſe* [2], prince of *South-Wales*, making his ſubmiſſion, he treated him with ſo much kindneſs, that he effectually ſecured him for ever after in his intereſts, even at a time, when the rebellion of his own ſons put the fidelity of his ſubjects to an unuſual trial. The ſons [3] of *Owen Guineth*, prince of *North-Wales*, ſubmitted at the ſame time; their father had died two years before, and his eldeſt ſon *Jorwerth* being maimed ſo in the face, that he did not care to appear in publick, a quarrel had happened between his other ſons about the government; which *David ap Owen*, having ſlain his natural brother *Howel* in battle, at laſt obtained, till *Llewellin the Great*, ſon of *Jorwerth*, came of age to aſſert his right of inheritance. This quarrel cauſed ſuch a ſlaughter and deſtruction in the country, that *Madoc* [4], another of *Owen's* ſons, was glad to quit it in queſt of ſome other ſettlement: and furniſhing ſome ſhips with men and proviſions, ſailed to the north of *Ireland*; and then ſteering weſtward, came to a land unknown, probably the coaſt of *Florida*, or ſome more northen part of *America*. Leaving moſt of his people there, he came back with the reſt: and gave ſuch an advantageous account of that country, that he prevailed upon a large number of men and women, deſirous of a quiet life, to go along with him; and filling ten ſhips with his new colony, returned thither again to compleat the ſettlement he had begun. This account is given by the famous *Gyttyn Owen*, the laſt eminent poet and antiquary among the *Welſh* bards, who being well verſed in the hiſtory of his country, is no bad authority to vouch the truth of this relation. This others think not a little confirmed by a tradition of the *Mexicans*, mentioned by *Montezuma* in a ſpeech to them, that their rulers deſcended from a ſtrange nation, which came thither from a far diſtant country: and by the multitude of *Britiſh* words retained, as well in the language of the inhabitants of thoſe parts, as in the names of places, ſuch as the iſland of *Corroeſo*, cape *Breton*, the river of *Gwyn-dor*, and the white rock of *Pengwyn*. Whoever likewiſe reads the late account given of the manners of the ſavages of *North-America*, cannot but obſerve abundance of their cuſtoms to be the ſame as thoſe of the *Old Britains*; by what channel ſoever they came to be conveyed immediately to thoſe people.

It hath been already obſerved, that *Ireland* was firſt planted by the *Britains*, and, a little before the invaſion of *Britain* by *Julius Cæſar*, had received a colony of *Belgic Britains* from *Devon* and *Cornwall:* who, for the ſake of commerce, ſeated themſelves along the ſouth-eaſtern coaſt of that iſland; the old inhabitants retiring to the more inland parts of the country, where they had more conveniencies for hunting, their chief delight and employment. Both theſe people were known in the world by the common name of *Hiberni*, ſo low as the time of *Conſtantine the Great*, as appears from the inſcription on the altar erected by *Magiſs* [5], an *Iriſhman*, on the banks of the *Rhine:* but at the latter end of that emperor's reign, great numbers of *Scythians*, or *Scoti*, perhaps deſcended of the *Hermiones* in the north of *Germany*, mentioned by *Tacitus*, being tranſported from *Gallicia*, took poſſeſſion of the weſtern and north-weſt parts of the iſland, till then over-run with

[1] *Benedict. Abbas*, p. 26, 27. *Rob. de Monte.* [2] *Powel' Hiſt. of Wales*, p. 221, 233. [3] *Rob. de Monte.* [4] *Powel*, p. 228, 229. [5] See before, p. 14.

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bogs and woods, and probably very little, if at all, inhabited. Theſe *Scoti*, a warlike and reſtleſs people, uſed to rapine, ſoon enlarged their ſettlements, and communicated their name to the whole *iſland*; living in ſepts, under chieftains, that were lords of the particular countries denominated from them, but ſtill owed a kind of ſubjection to a ſuperior; who, with the title of king, exerciſed a ſovereignty over ſeveral of thoſe countries. There were five of theſe royal ſuperiors, which occaſioned an ancient diviſion of the country into the five kingdoms of *Ulſter*, *Meath*, *Leinſter*, *Munſter*, and *Connaght*: and out of theſe, there was generally one, diſtinguiſhed by his valour, wiſdom, and power, who was either choſen by the others, or got, by force, to be acknowledged as monarch of all *Ireland*; a title which, however honourable, and attended with a right of preſiding in all general aſſemblies of the whole nation, brought with it no acceſſion of property or territory; the ſons of each monarch ſucceeding only to the patrimonial inheritance of their anceſtors. The eminency of thoſe five kings did not hinder ſeveral leſſer potentates or chieftains from aſſuming and bearing the title of king, the *Iriſh* term for it being equally applicable to a lord either of a ſmall territory, or of ſeveral countries: but this title cauſed no jealouſy in the greater princes; whereas that of Monarch was a continual ſource of civil wars, and few, that either were candidates for it, or actually enjoyed it, eſcaped being killed either by treachery or in battle.

It doth not appear, that *Ireland* was ever ſubdued, or even attacked, by the *Romans*: and what is ſaid in the panegyric on *Conſtantius Chlorus* of its ſubjection to this emperor, could be only meant of the tribute or cuſtoms paid him by the *Iriſh* merchants of *Belgic* race; who having no vent for their commodities, but in the *Roman* empire, afforded by thoſe payments handle enough for the flouriſhes of a panegyriſt. Nor was it invaded by any other enemy, except for one year by *Egfrid* king of the *Northumbrians*, till about [1] *A. D.* 795, when the *Danes* firſt landed in the country: but theſe people met with little ſucceſs; till the famous *Turges* came over about twenty years after with a potent army, and ſubdued the greateſt part of *Connaght*, *Ulſter*, *Meath*, and *Leinſter*. This prince made terrible ravages in the country for the ſpace of thirty years: but was in *A. D.* 845 ſlain by *Melachlin* king of *Meath*, in the iſle of *Lochvair*; and moſt of his forces, diſperſed in different parts, were cut off by the *Iriſh*. The *Danes* however ſtill kept a footing in the iſland: and about eight years after, *Amlave* coming from *Norway* with his two brothers, and a numerous body of forces, built and fortified the cities of *Dublin*, *Waterford*, and *Limeric*; making them the capitals of ſo many diſtinct kingdoms which continued in their deſcendants till the times whereof we are ſpeaking. Theſe kingdoms contained little more than a ſmall tract of territory lying about thoſe cities: nor could they have ſubſiſted without the ſupplies, that from time to time were ſent from the *Weſtern iſles* and *Norway*; which enabled them to extend their poſſeſſions along the maritime parts, and to ſecure them by erecting new cities and fortreſſes. The *Iriſh* kings [2] abovementioned were poſſeſſed only of the open country; woods and bogs being the onely forts they had for their defence on occaſion: and their people lived in a wild manner, diſperſed, half-naked, ſubſiſting chiefly by roots, milk, and cattle, which they drove from place to place for paſture; nor caring for the trouble of agriculture; whilſt the *Danes*, under the name of *Eaſterlings*, carried on all the commerce of the nation. When theſe laſt people firſt landed, the *Iriſh* were in great vogue for learning, and in a fair way of being civilized by the influence of the *Chriſtian* religion: but the rage of the *Danes* falling particularly upon the clergy and monaſteries, all learning was ſoon deſtroyed, and the natives relapſed into their original ignorance and barbarity [3]. They had no kind of manufacture among them, nor any knowledge of mechanic arts: they

[1] *Ware's Antiq. Hibern.* l. xxiv. [2] *Topogr. Hibern. Diſt.* 3. c. 10. [3] *Ib.* c. 19, 20, 21, 23, 26, 29.

placed

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placed all their pride and happineſs in idleneſs, the ſource of all manner of vices and of the groſſeſt iniquities; which ſo overſpread the nation, that *Chriſtianity* was almoſt extinguiſhed in many places, and had in others little power over the conduct of its profeſſors; whilſt the biſhops, generally taken out of monaſteries, lived like monks, ſollicitous for themſelves, and took little or no care of their dioceſes.

Such was the condition of *Ireland*, when [1] in *A. D.* 1167 *Dermot Mac Morrogh*, king of *Leinſter*, having carried off *Dervorgill*, the daughter of *O Melachlin* prince of *Meath* and the wife of *Tigernac O Rourke*, king or lord of *Breany* [2], was attacked by the united forces of the injured huſband, and of *Roderic O Connor Dun*, king of *Connaght*, and lately created monarch of *Ireland:* and being routed in battle, fled with a few of his followers into *England*. The king being at that time in *Guienne*, *Dermot* waited upon him in that country: and offering to hold his kingdom of the crown of *England*, if he could recover it by his ſuccour, *Henry* accepted the propoſal, and granted him letters patent, allowing any of his *Engliſh* ſubjects to afford him their aſſiſtance. *Dermot* returning to *Briſtol*, where he could get the beſt intelligence of affairs in *Ireland*, made an agreement with *Richard*, ſurnamed *Strongbow*, lord of *Strigul* and earl of *Pembroke*; engaging to give him his only daughter *Eva* in marriage, with the ſucceſſion of the kingdom, in caſe the earl ſupplied him, in the ſpring following, with a body of forces to reſtore him to his dominions. The *Iriſh* prince, going thence into *Pembrokeſhire*, made a like contract with *Robert Fitz Stephens* and *Maurice Fitz Gerald*, for ſuccours; promiſing them the city of *Wexford* and the two adjoining cantreds, which did not belong to him, but were in the hands of the *Eaſterlings:* and then paſſing into *Ireland*, lurked all the winter in the monaſtery of *Ferns*, which he had founded. *Robert*, in the beginning of *May A. D.* 1169, with his nephew *Meyler Fitz Henry*, *Milo Fitz David*, *Hervey de Montmoreney*, ſixty knights, and three hundred archers, landed in *Bannogh Bay*, near *Fethard*, in the county of *Wexford:* and being joined the next day by *Maurice de Prendergaſt* with ten knights and ſixty archers, as he was ſoon after by *Dermot*, advanced to beſiege the town of *Wexford*. It was ſoon ſurrendered, and *Dermot* not only made it over immediately, with the two cantreds he had promiſed, to *Robert* and *Maurice:* but diſtributed money among their followers, and gave two other cantreds near the ſea, between *Wexford* and *Waterford*, to *Hervey de Montmoreney*; from whom they were inherited by the houſe of *Ormonda*. *Dermot* had now got together three thouſand of his *Iriſh:* and prevailing with his new friends to march againſt *Donald* king of *Oſſory*, who had ever been his greateſt enemy, ſeveral actions enſued; in which *Robert Barry* and *Meyler Fitz Henry* diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their valour, and *Donald* being routed, was forced to a ſubmiſſion. *Roderic*, monarch of *Ireland*, alarmed at theſe ſucceſſes, ſollicited all the petty kings of the iſland to join their forces and ſtop the progreſs of the *Engliſh:* but thinking it ſafer to carry his point by a negotiation, recommended to them to quit the country; and not ſucceeding in that point, offered *Dermot* to reſtore him to all *Leinſter*, provided all the foreigners were expelled. To inſure the performance of this treaty, *Dermot* gave his ſon *Cnuth* in hoſtage to *Roderic*; whoſe daughter he was to marry, purſuant to one of the articles: but he was ſoon after ſo elated by the arrival of *Maurice Fitz Gerald* with ten knights, thirty horſe, and three hundred archers, that he reſolved to carry on the war, and to beſiege *Dublin*; which ſoon ſurrendered, but upon the delivery of hoſtages, was left in the poſſeſſion of *Aſculf*, prince of the *Danes*, to whom it belonged. *Roderic* in the mean time had fallen upon the territories of *Donald O Brien*, king of *Thomond*, ſon-in-law to *Dermot:* but *Fitz Stephens*

[1] *Hibern. expugn.* l. i. c. 1. 2. 3. [2] Now the county of *Letrim*, and formerly containing that of *Cavan*.

marching againſt him, worſted him in ſeveral engagements, and forced him to fly into *Conaght*. HENRY II. A. D. 1171.

DERMOT had now got poſſeſſion of all his lands in *Leinſter*[1]; and ſeeing the great advantages which the *Engliſh* had over the undiſciplined, ill-armed *Iriſh*, made little doubt of reducing *Conaght* alſo into ſubjection: but conſulting *Robert* and *Maurice* on the ſubject, they thought it adviſeable to wait for the arrival of further ſuccours. Application was hereupon made to *Richard Strongbow* for the performance of his promiſe[2]: who, either ſlighting *Henry's* prohibition in hopes of making his fortune, or having an ambiguous leave from him, ſent over *Remond le Gros*, with ten cavaliers and ſeventy archers; intending to follow ſoon with greater forces. *Remond* landed in the beginning of *May A. D.* 1170, at *Dundevil*, four miles from *Waterford*; the *Danes* of which place, hoping to deſtroy him before his ſtrength increaſed, and joining with the *Iriſh* of the neighbourhood, attacked him with a body of three thouſand horſe and foot: but were, after a ſharp diſpute, entirely defeated with the loſs of a thouſand men, by *Hervey de Montmoreney*; who had come accidentally with a party of his followers to make a viſit to *Remond*. *Richard* himſelf landed on *Sunday Auguſt* 23, with two hundred knights and a hundred archers, near *Waterford*: and carrying the place by ſtorm on the *Tueſday* following, took in it *Reynald*, prince of the *Danes* of the city, and *Malachias O Phelan* lord of *Decies*. There his marriage with *Eva* was ſolemnized: and they were both publickly declared heirs of *Dermot's* territories; though the ſon of this laſt, in hoſtage with *Roderic*, was not put to death, till a month or two after this declaration. From thence the earl, with his father-in-law, leaving a garriſon in *Waterford*, marched to *Dublin*: and on *Sept.* 21, took the place by force; *Aſculf* with many of the citizens making their eſcape in boats to the *Orcades*. They made in the next month an incurſion into *Meath*; waſting the country with fire and ſword: but winter coming on, *Dermot* returned to *Feras*, and *Strongbow* to *Waterford*; *Miles Cogan* being left governor of *Dublin*. This eagerneſs of extending their conqueſts was not pleaſing to the king of *England*: it was not his intereſt, that the petty princes of *Ireland*, ſhould be deſtroyed and the whole iſland brought into ſubjection under one head; and he very powerful already by his poſſeſſions in *Wales*, and the ſupport he might have from the great family of *Clare* (of which he was a branch) and from his other relations or alliances in *England*. To prevent ſuch an inconvenience, *Henry*, by a proclamation[3], ordered all his ſubjects to return out of *Ireland* by the *Euſter* following, and forbade the ſending of any more ſupplies thither; which obliged the earl to ſend *Remond* into *Normandie*, with letters full of duty and ſubmiſſion to the king; profeſſing himſelf ready to reſign into his hands all that he had acquired in *Ireland*.

DERMOT dying[4] at *Ferns* on *May* 4, *A. D.* 1171, earl *Richard* became by that event lord of all *Leinſter*; and had not long after, upon the return of *Remond*[5], aſſurances of his being reinſtated in the king's good graces: who had ordered his lands as well in *England* as *Normandie*, which had been ſeized into the hands of the crown, to be reſtored, and created him likewiſe conſtable or ſeneſchal of *Ireland*. In the mean time, *Aſculf* had got[6] a conſiderable body of forces from *Norway*, the *Orcades* and *Hebrides*; and coming about *Whitſonday*, in a fleet of ſixty ſhips, to the month of the *Liffy*, made an attempt upon *Dublin*: but being defeated by *Miles Cogan*, was taken and put to death for his imprudent and menacing language. This unſucceſsful expedition was a prelude to a much greater enterprize, formed by *Roderic* for driving the *Engliſh* out of *Ireland*; in which, beſides the great levies he made in his own territories and in other provinces, he was

[1] *Hibern. expugn.* l. i. c. 12, 13, 16, 17. [2] *Gul. Neubrig.* l. ii. c. 26. [3] *Ib.* c. 19. [4] *Ib.* c. 20.
[5] *Rob. de Monte.* [6] *Hibern. expugn.* l. i. c. 21, 22. 24.

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assisted by *Godred*, king of *Man* and the western islands. The first attempt was upon *Dublin*; which they invested with an army of thirty thousand men: and continued the siege for two months; in hopes that the place would be obliged to surrender for want of provisions. Earl *Richard* had thrown himself into the town with a small supply of forces: and seeing no resource but in his sword, made a sally very early in a morning, with about ninety knights and their followers or esquires, and attacked the enemy so unexpectedly, that they soon fell in disorder and fled after a very slight resistance; many of them being killed in the pursuit, and *Roderic* himself escaping with great difficulty. He marched the next day, with what could be spared of his troops, in order to relieve [1] *Robert Fitz Stephens*: who was besieged in *Carreg* near *Wexford*, by the *Danes* of those parts, and *Donald* a bastard son of king *Dermot*; and reduced to such an extremity, that he could not hold out three days longer. But this gallant man having been deluded, by the perjury of the prelates of *Kildare* and *Wexford* (who swore that *Dublin* and all the *English* in it, were taken) into a surrender, upon condition of being transported to *Wales*, the earl upon this advice, went to *Waterford*. There he found *Hervey de Montmorency* returned from the king; with orders for him to go to *England*, and meet *Henry*, as he was on his march with a great army towards *Ireland*. The earl obeying without the least delay, took *Hervey* over with him: and finding the king at *Newenham* in *Gloucestershire*, conveyed to him by deed all that he either enjoyed by his wife, or had conquered by his sword, in *Ireland*; receiving from him in return, to be held of the crown in vassalage, the whole province of *Leinster*, except the city of *Dublin*, with the cantreds adjacent, and some maritime towns and castles. *Strongbow's* absence tempted *Tigernack O Rourke* to invest that city again; but with the like ill success as had attended *Roderic* in the last siege; his army being defeated by *Miles Cogan*, and his son, a young prince of great hopes, slain in the action. Thus ended all the attempts made either by the *Danes* or the *Irish*, to preserve their power in the kingdom: the chief town of the former were already taken, and the rest, upon the king of *England's* landing with five hundred knights and four hundred men of armes, readily submitted; the same party being also taken by the latter, who had no fortresses, besides their bogs, that could serve for defence.

Henry had little to do after his landing, but to make a progress through the kingdom, and receive the homages of the princes and toparchs in all parts wherever he went: nor is there any thing wonderful in this general submission; if (as *Gervase* [2] says) they had invited him over, choosing rather to live under his dominion than the earl of *Pembroke's*. He was received at *Waterford* with great joy by *Robert Fitz Bernard*, whom he had sent before, and now made governor of the city, upon its being delivered to him by earl *Richard*; who there did homage for his territory of *Leinster*. Thither *Robert Fitz Stephens* was brought by the citizens of *Wexford*: and *Dermot Maccarty* king of *Corke* came to swear fealty, and deliver hostages, for the payment of an annual tribute. From thence, after a fortnight's stay, the king [3] marched with his army to *Lismore* and *Cashel*; receiving the submissions of *Donald* king of *Ossory*, *Malachias* or *Melachlin O Phelan*, king of *Decies*, *Reynald* prince of *Waterford*, and *Donald O Bryen* king of *Thomond* or *Limeric*. He treated them all with great kindness, and made them rich presents; but took care to secure *Corke* and *Limeric* with good garrisons; a precaution which he thought so necessary with regard to fortified towns, that he retained *Wexford* in his own hands, with the territory adjoining, when he set *Fitz Stephens* at liberty. Having thus provided for the security of *Munster*, he marched with his army through *Ossory* to *Dublin*; where he arrived on *Nov.* 21; and received soon after the homages of *Mur-*

[1] *Hibern. expugn.* c. 25. 28. [2] *Chron. Gervas.* col. 1419. [3] *Hibern. expugn.* l. i. c. 31, 32.

chard O Carol, king of *Uriel* or *Ergall*[1], *Tigernac O Rourke*, and other princes in the neighbourhood of that metropolis of *Ireland*. Nor did the monarch *Roderic O Connor* decline following their example; meeting *Hugh de Lacey* and *William Fitz Aldelm*, *Henry's* embaſſadors, on the banks of the *Shannon*; taking an oath of fealty; and obliging himſelf to pay an annual tribute. Thus did all the kings and princes of *Leinſter*, *Munſter*, *Conaght*, and the eaſt and ſouth parts of *Ulſter*, ſubmit without a drop of blood ſhed: and moſt of them attended at his court, which he kept at *Dublin*, during the *Chriſtmas* holidays, with great magnificence. HENRY II. A. D. 1171.

THE biſhops of *Ireland* had been ſtill readier than the princes and nobility to acknowledge the king of *England* for their lord: and had all repaired to him at *Waterford*, immediately after his landing, except *Gelaſius* archbiſhop of *Armagh*; whoſe great age and infirmities incapacitating him for a journey, forced him to defer that compliment, till *Henry's* arrival at *Dublin*. They[2] expected, from his piety, wiſdom, and juſtice, a ſpeedy redreſs of an infinite number of diſorders, immoralities, and evil cuſtoms, which had got too ſtrong a footing in the nation, to be eradicated only by their own power and influence: and they had, upon *Richard Strongbow's* taking *Dublin*, exerted their authority to aboliſh an impious kind of commerce, that had been carried on for ſeveral ages between their own country and *Great Britain*. The *Iriſh* had been uſed in the *Saxon* times, to buy, either from merchants or from robbers and pirates, abundance of *Engliſh*, to be employed in ſervile works: and in the flouriſhing ſtate of the monarchy of *England* before the *Norman* conqueſt, the common people in general had got a ſtrange ſort of cuſtom of ſelling their own children and neareſt relations for ſlaves to the *Iriſh*. Slavery indeed was not then ſo terrible, as the inhuman treatment of ſlaves in ſome countries hath ſince rendered it: yet the practiſe was certainly very unnatural in parents; though their motive for it, was, either to provide a ſubſiſtence for the children ſo ſold, or to ſave themſelves from being reduced, by the charges of maintaining them, to a ſtate of want and poverty. This practiſe had continued after the *Conqueſt*; though it was condemned by the eccleſiaſtical canons, and looked upon as an enormous iniquity, derogatory from *Chriſtian* liberty: and it was the more ſcandalous, becauſe of the hazard which the children, thus ſent to market, ran, of being corrupted in their principles of religion and morality, by the ignorance, vices, and barbariſm that reigned in *Ireland*. The *Iriſh* biſhops imagined, that this traffick had, by a juſt judgment of God Almighty, drawn upon the *Engliſh* all the evils of their ſubjection to the *Normans*, and was now drawing upon the *Iriſh* thoſe of being enſlaved to the *Engliſh*: and either for this reaſon or perhaps to make court to their new maſters, they met in a ſynod at *Armagh*; and with the general conſent of the nobility, ordered all the *Engliſh* ſlaves throughout the iſland to be ſet at liberty.

To encourage the expectation which the biſhops had of the good effects of his government, *Henry*[3] ſummoned a general council of all the clergy of *Ireland*, to meet about *March* 25, at *Caſhel*. It was a very full one; and *Chriſtian*, biſhop of *Liſmore*, preſided in it as the Pope's legate for that kingdom; having in the ſame capacity preſided *A. D.* 1152[4], in the great council of the prelates, kings and nobility of *Ireland*, held at *Mellefont*, in which the four ſees of *Armagh*, *Dublin*, *Caſhel*, and *Tuam* were raiſed to the dignity of metropolitans. *Ralf* abbot of *Buldewas*, the archdeacon of *Landaff*, and ſome of the king's chaplains were ſent to this council; in order to promote his deſign of bringing the church of *Ireland* to a perfect conformity, in point of diſcipline and conſtitution, with that of *England*. A. D. 1172.

[1] *Ergal* or *Uriel* comprehended all that country, which was afterwards divided into the counties of *Louth*, *Monaghan*, and *Armagh*. *Antiq. Hibern.* c. 27. [2] *Hibern. expugn.* l. i. c. 18. [3] *Ib.* c. 33, 34. *Hoveden.* [4] *Concil. M. Brit.* t. i. p. 425. 471. 473.

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With this view ſeveral canons were made, as well to prevent the promiſcuous concubinages and poligamy of the *Iriſh*, forbidding marriages within the prohibited degrees of conſanguinity, and enjoining them to be ſolemnized according to the cuſtom of the church; as to provide for the due catechiſing of children, and the baptizing them in churches with the trine immerſion in water, for the rites of burial, and performing all divine offices according to the form of the church of *England*. The clergy found their particular benefit in ſome other regulations there eſtabliſhed, for the payment of all manner of tythes to the pariſh churches; for exempting the clergy from contributing to the compoſitions for murder laid upon the relations of the murderer, and their lands and poſſeſſions from all ſecular impoſitions; particularly *Coſherings*[1], *Coine*, and *Livery*, uſually exacted by the great lords and potentates of the kingdom. Theſe conſtitutions were confirmed[2] by the royal authority: and being ſent to the court of *Rome*, with an inſtrument ſigned by all the prelates of *Ireland*, and expreſſing their recognition of *Henry* and his heirs for their lords and kings for ever, Pope *Alexander* thereupon made him a grant of that realm, in the ſame terms as his predeceſſor *Adrian's*. There was in the ſame council a regulation made for empowering perſons to make wills, and for the diſtribution of their perſonal eſtate between their wives and children, if they had any: and the king deſigned to eſtabliſh many others, as well for the ſecurity of property, as for the peace of the country. This the *Iriſh* in general[3] expected from him; conſidering his great reputation, and the happineſs which the *Engliſh* enjoyed under his wiſe and juſt government; and it is aſſigned as one of the reaſons, why they ſubmitted to him ſo readily: but he was hindered from executing that deſign, by advices which he received from *England*.

CONTINUAL ſtorms[4] had reigned all the winter, with ſo unuſual a violence, that the ſea retiring from the ſandy ſhore of *South-Wales*, left large tracts of ground, which had been for ages concealed under its waves, expoſed to ſight; covered with trees ſo thick, that they appeared like groves, the marks of axes, in ſuch as were cut down, being freſh, as if the ſtrokes had been juſt given, and their trunks as well as the earth about them, black as ebony. This weather had entirely cut off all correſpondence between *England* and *Ireland*; ſcarce a ſhip daring to attempt a paſſage; till the king, after three months ſtay in *Dublin*, came on *Aſh-Wedneſday* to *Wexford*: where he received advice that the cardinals *Albert* and *Theodin* had arrived the year before in *Normandie*, and having waited for him there, till their patience was quite exhauſted, threatened to excommunicate him, if he did not come over immediately, to clear himſelf of being acceſſary to *Becket's* murder. He had at the ſame time intelligence, that endeavours had been uſed to alienate the minds of his ſons from him; and that a dangerous conſpiracy was formed among the nobility, as well of *England* as of his foreign dominions, for ſupporting them in their rebellious meaſures. The king had propoſed to paſs the ſummer in *Ireland*, and make an expedition into *Conaght* in that ſeaſon, when the roads of the country were paſſable: but upon theſe advices, he ordered his forces, with the officers of his houſhold, to embark about *Midlent* on board his fleet, which lay at *Waterford*, and ſail for *England*, keeping only three ſhips to carry over himſelf and his attendants.

THREE weeks, which he ſtaid longer in *Ireland*, he employed in taking meaſures for the ſecurity of the kingdom, as well againſt any attempts of the *Iriſh* princes, as the ambitious deſigns of *Richard Strongbow*; of whoſe power and haughty ſpirit he was ſtill jealous. Thus he made it his buſineſs to draw off *Remond le Gros*,

[1] *Coſherings* were viſitations and progreſſes made by the lord and his followers, among his tenants, living upon them for the time: *Coine* and *Livery* conſiſted in the taking of mans meat, horſe meat, and money at will, from all the inhabitants of a country for the entertainment of ſoldiers. Sir *J. Davis's Cauſes of Ireland's not being ſooner reduced, &c.* [2] *Hoveden. Benedict. Abb.* p. 30. [3] *Dicето*, col. 559. [4] *Hib. expugn.* l. i. c 35, 36, 37.

2

Miles

Miles Cogan, *William Makarel*, and others, from the earl's intereſts, and engage them in his own: and though he was very bountiful to all the firſt adventurers, concerned in the reducing of any part of the realm, he ſtill took care to keep the fortified cities in his own hands, and commit the government thereof to truſty perſons. He had taken from *Robert Fitz Stephens* the town of *Wexford* with the territory about it, which he enjoyed by the bad title of *Dermot Mac Morrogh's* gift; but he made him amends by granting him [1] the hundred of *Offaly*, which lay neareſt *Dublin*. The cuſtody of *Waterford* was entruſted to *Robert Poer*; that of *Wexford* to *William Fitz Aldelm*; and that of *Dublin* to *Hugh de Lacy*, with ſufficient garriſons; lands in the neighbourhood of each place being aſſigned for the ſervice of the knights, and the entertainment of the other ſoldiers; and directions given to erect, as well a caſtle in *Dublin*, as fortreſſes in other convenient places. There was no fortified town in *Meath*: and for that reaſon no exception of any place is found in the grant [2] made to *Hugh de Lacy* of all the territory of *Meath*, to be held by the ſervice of an hundred knights in as full a manner, as it had been enjoyed by *Murchard-Hu-Melachlin*.

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IT was probably on occaſion of this grant, that *Hugh* became engaged ſoon after in a diſpute [3], which had like to have coſt him his life, with *Tigernac O Rourke*; who ſeems to have had ſome pretenſions to the whole, or part, of that territory, in right of his wife, who was daughter to *O Melachlin*. To make ſome accommodation in the matter, a conference was appointed at a place, called *O Rourke's hill* from the event which then happened; both parties being to come thither attended only by a friend or two, unarmed, unleſs with the ordinary weapons of a ſword on one ſide, and a ſhort axe on the other; their followers being to keep aloof at a certain diſtance, and oaths taken for their mutual ſecurity. They met accordingly in the manner agreed: but after a long and warm debate, which, inſtead of accommodating, widened the difference, according to *O Rourke's* deſign, who propoſed to gain his point by treachery, this prince retiring, under the pretence of a neceſſary occaſion, to a ſmall diſtance from the reſt of the company, made a ſignal to a body of his men, planted in a valley below, to advance and fall upon his adverſaries. *Maurice Fitz Gerald* was preſent at this conference: and his nephew *Griffin* having, in a dream the night before, ſeen a multitude of wild boars ruſhing upon his uncle and *Hugh de Lacy*, and one larger and fiercer than the reſt, ready to pierce them through with his tuſhes, if he had not come in with a force and killed the boar, had, by relating it to him, poſſeſſed his mind with ſuſpicions of *O Rourke's* treachery. To guard againſt it, *Griffin* had picked out ſeven other knights, in whoſe reſolution he moſt confided; and kept with theſe, armed at all points, exerciſing themſelves in the *French* diverſion of a turnament, on a part of the hill, at ſuch a diſtance as to give no occaſion for jealouſy, and yet near enough to arrive in time, if his aſſiſtance was wanted. *Maurice*, thus warned, had kept his hand on the hilt of his ſword all the time of the conference: and when he obſerved *O Rourke* returning to them with his axe erect, a pale look, and haſty ſtrides, drew it in order to be more ready againſt any attack: but *Hugh de Lacy* had been killed by the blow which the *Iriſh* prince aimed at him, if his interpreter had not, by a rare fidelity, interpoſed his arm to receive the mortal ſtroke, which ſevered it from his body. *Maurice*, having by a ſhout, given his nephew notice of the treachery, encountered *O Rourke* with his ſword: and had the glory of defending *Hugh*, when he fell down twice, as they were fighting and retiring backwards to get nearer their friends, who flew immediately to their aſſiſtance. *O Rourke*, ſeeing them approach, ran to an horſe, which three of his followers had brought him: but in the very act of mounting, both himſelf and his ſteed were pierced through by the lance of

[1] *Hibern. expugn.* l. ii. c. 5. [2] *Benedict. Abb.* p. 32. [3] *Hibern. expugn.* c. 40.

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Griffin. His three attendants were ſlain: and the reſt of the *Iriſh*, who came running with their weapons to execute their prince's orders, were diſperſed immediately, and cut down in great numbers, before they could ſhelter themſelves in woods, which lay at a conſiderable diſtance. *Hugh* afterwards ſubdued a great part of *Weſtmeath*[1], and waſted *Longford*; killing in battle *Daniel O Farrel*, king of this laſt country, then called *Annalie*: but at laſt (*viz. A. D.* 1186) whilſt he was building a caſtle at *Derwarth*, and holding his head down to ſhew a carpenter what he would have done, had it chopped off by the villain's axe; having eſcaped one treachery only to fall by another.

His abſolution with regard to *Becket's* death.

XXVI. The grants made by *Henry* of large countries to the moſt enterprizing of his nobility, were agreeable to the method taken by *William the Conqueror*, for extending his territories on the marches of *England*: it was undoubtedly a very proper one for making conqueſts in thoſe parts without any expence to the crown, though not for keeping a country in peace and order, after it was once ſubdued. The king had received ſo much benefit from the exploits and ſucceſs of private adventurers, that he eaſily granted *John de Curcy* the leave he aſked to attempt the conqueſt of the north of *Ulſter*, the onely part of *Ireland* which had not yet ſubmitted to his government: and having thus ſettled the kingdom as well as he could in ſo ſhort a time, embarked[2] on *Eaſter Monday* (*April* 17) early in the morning, at the outward extremity of the harbour of *Wexford*, and landed the ſame day about noon at *Port Finan*, near *S. David's* in *Pembrokeſhire*. It was ſo neceſſary for him to ſatisfy the legates, who were waiting for him[3] (and had ſent him comminatory, as well as commonitory, letters, though his orders had prevented their being delivered) and to prevent the ill effects of their impatience, that he made but a ſhort ſtay in *England*: and paſſing through it with a traveller's expedition to *Portſmouth*, carried the young king his ſon over with him into *Normandie*. His firſt[4] meeting with *Albert* and *Theodin* was at *Gorham*, on *Tueſday*, *May* 9; when nothing paſſed beſides ceremony: but the next day at *Savigny*, where the archbiſhop of *Roüen* was preſent, with a great number of prelates and noblemen, they entered into a treaty; in which the cardinals inſiſted on ſuch unreaſonable terms, that the king went away in a fury, declaring "he would return to *Ireland*, where he had a great "deal of work to finiſh, and they might do what they pleaſed in the execution of "their legatine commiſſion." The legates, ſeeing his firmneſs, were obliged to ſink[5] in their demands: and ſending for the biſhop of *Liſieux*, with the archdeacons of *Poitiers* and *Saliſbury*, got another conference appointed on the *Friday* following at *Avranches*; which terminated in an agreement. The terms of it were, 1. That the king ſhould pay the knights templars a ſum of money ſufficient (at the rate of three hundred crowns a man) for the ſubſiſtence of two hundred knights to be employed in the defence of the *Holy Land*, for a year, beginning at the approaching feaſt of *Pentecoſt*. 2. That he ſhould take the croſs at the *Chriſtmas* following for three years, and go in perſon the next ſummer to ſerve againſt the infidels, either there or in *Spain*, if the Pope inſiſted on his going. 3. That he ſhould not hinder himſelf, nor ſuffer others to hinder, the free courſe of appeals to the court of *Rome* in eccleſiaſtical cauſes: but if he ſuſpected any perſons, he might oblige them to give ſecurity, that they would not, during their ſtay abroad, attempt any thing to the prejudice of the king or kingdom. 4. That he ſhould not inſiſt on the evil cuſtoms introduced in his own time, nor require the biſhops to obſerve them: and, 5. That if any lands had been taken away from the ſee of *Canterbury*, he ſhould reſtore them in the condition they were in the year before *Becket's* going

[1] *Camden's Britan. in Ireland, Weſtmeath.* [2] *Hoveden. Hibern. expugn.* c. 37. [3] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1421. [4] *Epiſt. S. Thomæ*, l. v. ep. 88, 89. [5] *Ib. Hoveden.*

out

out of *England*, and put all who had ſuffered on this prelate's account, whether clergy or laity, in full poſſeſſion of their eſtates real and perſonal. HENRY II. A. D. 1172.

THESE were as good terms as the king in his circumſtances could poſſibly expect; being left by them at full liberty to aſſert all the ancient cuſtoms of his predeceſſors, which were all that he had ever contended for; except perhaps in the ſingle article of appeals: and theſe too having been practiſed in their times by connivance, he had ſtill a power of reſtraining, whenever he thought fit to ſuſpect the deſigns of the litigants. The young king was not preſent at this tranſaction: and being to ſwear, as well as his father, to the articles, the next *Sunday* (being that immediately preceding the feaſt of *Aſcenſion*) was appointed for this ſolemnity, which was accordingly performed in the cathedral of *Avranches*. It was opened by an oath, which *Henry*, without any injunction, and purely of his own motion, freely took, that he had neither deſired nor ordered *Becket* to be killed, and that the news of it had given him a great deal of concern: but as the uneaſineſs appearing in his looks, and the complaints he had made of the archbiſhop's proceedings, had given occaſion to the aſſaſſins to form and execute that reſolution, he was ready to perform the penance enjoined him for that offence. This was contained in the articles abovementioned, which he took an oath to obſerve: and being then led out of the church by the legates, was, after falling on his knees, and receiving abſolution, led back into it again, without undergoing the diſcipline, ſhifting his cloaths, or any other ceremony uſual in the reconciliation of penitents. The young king took the like oath, and, in caſe his father was by death, or any other cauſe, hindered from compleating the penance enjoined, obliged himſelf to ſupply the defect. There was ſtill another oath taken by them both, which, not being mentioned in the articles, ſeems to be entirely voluntary on their part: they ſwore, that ſo long as the Pope owned them for *Chriſtian* and catholick kings, they would adhere to *Alexander* and his ſucceſſors. When all the ceremony was over, the legates ſigned, and put their ſeals to, a writing, certifying what had paſſed to all the world: but it being deemed proper to notify it in a more particular manner to the kingdom of *France*, they ſummoned the archbiſhop of *Tours* with his ſuffragans to attend them on *May* 23, the *Tueſday* next after the *Aſcenſion*, in order to apprize them of the whole proceeding.

THE legates, after adjuſting this reconciliation with the Pope, ſeem to have been deſirous of effecting another between *Henry* and the king of *France*, *Alexander's* ally: and preſſed the former to give *Louis* the ſatisfaction he had formerly promiſed, for the affront put upon his daughter, by cauſing her to be crowned together with her huſband. With this view the young king and *Margaret* were ſent[1] over to *England*; and on *Sunday*, *Auguſt* 27, ſhe was anointed, and both were crowned in the church of *S. Swithun* at *Wincheſter*, by the archbiſhop of *Roüen*, aſſiſted by the biſhops of *Evreux* and *Worceſter*. It was, in the vacancy of the ſee of *Canterbury*, the right of the biſhop of *London* to officiate[2] at the coronation; and that prelate, having had his ſuſpenſion taken off on *May* 1, was undoubtedly qualified to perform the office: but the king of *France* inſiſting, that neither he, nor the archbiſhop of *York*, nor the biſhop of *Sarum*, the chief actors in the young king's former coronation, ſhould bear any part in this, *Henry* complied with his requeſt; perhaps the more readily, becauſe it would afford another precedent to enervate the claim of the church of *Canterbury*. The two *Norman* prelates returned ſoon after the ſolemnity was over: but young *Henry*[3], with his queen, ſtaid in *England* till the beginning of *November*; and then paſſing into *Normandie*, they went about *Martin-*

[1] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1421. *Brompton*, col. 1080. *Hoveden.* [2] *Dicето*, col. 560. [3] *Rob. de Monte. Trivet.*

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mas to the court of *France*, where nothing was omitted to make their abode agreeable.

The rebellion of his sons.

XXVI. This visit was made at the earnest request of *Louis*, who was extremely fond of his daughter, and had not seen her for several years: and there was no denying a request that appeared so natural and reasonable; though there was good reason to suspect it was made with a political view, rather than out of a paternal affection. *Louis* was not a little uneasy at the prosperous condition of *Henry*'s affairs; who was now better obeyed in *Normandie*, than any prince ever had been since the time of the *Conqueror*, and enjoyed a larger revenue in that country. He had added the kingdom of *Ireland* to the crown of *England*: and by the death of *Conan le Petit*, the year before, was become master of all *Bretagne*; which united, and contributed much to secure, all his dominions on the continent. He had lately made an alliance with *Alfonso* king of *Castile*, by giving him his daughter *Eleanor* in marriage: and he was actually engaged in a treaty for marrying his youngest son *John*, just entered on the seventh year of his age, to *Adelais* daughter of *Humbert*, count of *Maurienne* and *Savoie*, on very advantageous conditions. He was on the point of adjusting all differences with the count of *S. Gilles* in relation to *Toulouse*, upon the count's submitting to do homage for it to *Henry*'s[1] second son *Richard* as duke of *Guienne*; to pay every *Lent* a tribute of an hundred marks of silver, or ten managed horses of that value; and to come upon summons to serve in his army, with an hundred men, for forty days, at his own expence. The late reconciliation with the Pope had put an end to all the difficulties, which had hitherto traversed the felicity of *Henry*; his subjects in all his territories enjoyed a profound quiet, and obeyed him with pleasure: and he was now grown[2] so formidable to *France*, that *Louis* thought it necessary to lessen his power by dividing it, and by raising him up enemies within his own family, in order to create disturbances in his dominions.

He could not have found a fitter instrument for this purpose than his son-in-law young *Henry*; who having been crowned king, might, under the colour of that title, take off the odious name of rebels from his adherents, and by the certainty of his succession, secure their estates from being, by a forfeiture, lost to their families. This prince[3] was of a stature somewhat above the middle size; handsome in his person; gentle, mild, and merciful in his temper; affable in his behaviour; liberal and good-natured to such an excess, that he never denied any request, nor suffered any one to go from him disobliged: but his bounty was exercised without judgment or distinction of persons; considering less the merit, than the indigence of the object, and treating good and bad with the same kindness. These qualities made him generally beloved, and procured him abundance of followers; but of such chiefly as sought to make their fortunes by abusing his goodness, and to put the too easy prince upon measures more conducive to their own selfish views, than agreeable to his duty, interest, or glory. In a time of war, he seemed to forget the sweetness of his nature; being fierce in battle; eager for bloodshed; daring, intrepid, desirous of nothing so much, as of occasions to shew his valour: though when none offered, he seemed equally fond of displaying his address in the sham-encounters of a turnament. Vanity, with a desire of pleasing, and lust of praise, seem to have been the fundamental qualities of his nature, and the source as well of his undistinguishing liberality and affectation of popularity, as of the universal clemency, he exercised, in contempt of justice, and to the encouragement of iniquities. But the strongest of his passions, was an ambition, too boundless (as *Giraldus*[4] says) for the whole

[1] *Hoveden.* [2] *Gul. Neubrig.* l. ii. c. 27. [3] *Topogr. Hib. Dist.* 3. c. 49, 50. [4] *Ib.*

world to satisfy; and which stifling in him all the sentiments of nature, all the obligations of duty, all reverence for the wisest of princes and the best of fathers, hurried him on, with an irresistible violence, into the shocking crimes of ingratitude, rebellion, and parricide. At his coronation dinner, when the king, moved by a father's fondness, carried up the first dish, and observed to him, *that no monarch was ever more honourably served*, instead of making a becoming reply, he said in a whisper to the archbishop of *York*, who sate on his right hand at table, "that it "was no condescension in the son of a count of *Anjou*, to serve the son of a king of "*England*;" so impossible is it to oblige a proud and haughty spirit by any act of favour or condescension, whilst he looks upon every thing as due to his fancied merit and dignity. When that solemnity was [1] over, the king ordered a *new* great seal to be made for his son; and returning to *Normandie*, left him the government of the realm, with powers to dispose of offices, and administer justice to all persons: but the young king being to act by the advice of a wise council, appointed to assist him in the administration, this restraint, not improper for a youth of fifteen, and to which the most experienced monarchs submit out of prudence, dashed all the pleasures he would else have tasted in royalty. He wanted to govern of his *own* head, and to be left intirely to himself; aspired to the whole power of a king, now he had got the title: and could not endure to be where the old king was; thinking his own dignity eclipsed by his presence, and feeling then, more sensibly than at other times, his authority to be only subordinate to that of his father. What offended him still more was [2], that the king having provided for the splendor of his court, did not allow him money enough to glut the avarice of his worthless favourites, the corrupters of his youth; and to supply the extravagance of a prince, who lavished it away upon all the world, and would have spent the wealth of the *Indies* in the single article of turnaments.

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These seeds of discontent were diligently cultivated by those about the young king's person [3]; particularly by *Hugh de S. Maure*, and *Ralf de Faye*, queen *Eleanor's* uncle: and the fruits thereof began to appear, whilst his father was in *Ireland*; who from that time took care to keep him as much as possible under his eye, though the prince was industrious in seeking all occasions of absence. It was probably in concert with the king of *France*, that pretences were found out for drawing him to that court; where every thing was done, that could enflame his discontents and irritate him against his father. There it was suggested [4], among other things, that *Henry* had, by the coronation of his son, resigned to him all his right to the crown, and that the young king ought to reign alone; a suggestion the most improper to be advanced in a country, where the kings had for many generations crowned their sons in their life-time, without quitting any part of their own power; but which, notwithstanding the constant practice of his ancestors and of his own, *Louis* VII was not ashamed to urge, in the answer he gave soon after to the *English* embassadors sent him upon the quarrel that ensued. The king, uneasy at his son's stay, too long for a simple visit, in a court where he had good reason to suspect designs were forming to his prejudice, sent for him back: and the prince returned, fully instructed in the measures he was to take for beginning a rupture with his father. *Louis* advised him to propose [5], as soon as he returned to the old king, that he would resign to him either all *England*, or all *Normandie*; and in case of a denial, to retire with his queen into *France*, where he should find a sure refuge, and be assisted with forces to support his pretensions. The young king [6], making the demand

[1] *Benedict. Abb.* p. 5. [2] *Gul. Neubrig.* l. ii. c. 27. *Brompton*, col. 1083. [3] *M. Paris.*
[4] *Gul. Neubrig. ib.* [5] *Benedict. Abb.* p. 37, 46. *Hoveden*, p. 531. *Chr. Gervas.* col. 1424.
[6] *Ib. Rob. de Monte.*

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pursuant to this advice, was refused: and passed the *Christmas* at *Bonneville* in *Normandie*, full of resentment.

Henry, with his queen *Eleanor*, having kept the same festival at *Chinon* in *Touraine*, sent for his son thither in order to proceed to *Limoges*; where their presence was necessary on *Feb.* 2, for the dispatch of several important affairs. They were there met by *Raimond* count of *St. Gilles*, who came to do homage to them both, and to prince *Richard*, as duke of *Guienne*, for the county of *Toulouse*; and by *Humbert* count of *Maurienne* and *Savoie*; whose business was to finish the treaty of marriage agreed to between prince *John* and his daughter *Adelais*. The lands, which *Humbert* had consented to give with *Adelais* and to settle on her husband, contained the most considerable part of his demesnes in *la Bresse*, *Dauphiné*, *Savoie*, and *Piedmont*, with the fealty and homage of all his vassals in those parts, and the succession of all his dominions, in case he died without issue male: and the king, besides the payment of five thousand marks of silver at different times, was to make his son a grant of the castles of *Loudun*, *Mirebeau*, and *Chinon*. This alliance, had it not been prevented by the young lady's death, would have been very advantageous to the king of *England*, and full as dangerous to *France*; the territories whereof lay much exposed on the side of those provinces: and *Louis* apprehending terrible inconveniences from being as it were invested by enemies in so many quarters, did his utmost to prevent its taking place; and was seconded in that design by his son-in-law, who absolutely refused to join in the grant of those castles to his brother. The young king[2], after this open declaration of his animosity, kept no measures with his father; never spoke to him with temper; and observed a conduct so expressive of a settled aversion to him, that *Henry* imputing it to the evil advice of those about him, and being confirmed in his notion by some information he received from the count of *Toulouse*, removed *Asculf de St. Hilaire*, and some other young knights, from about his person. This only hastened the execution of the resolution, which young *Henry* had formed, of getting away from his father: and upon the court's return to *Chinon*, a little before *Mid-lent*, he stole away privately in the night[3], and passing through *Alençon* and *Argentan* with great expedition, arrived on *Thursday*, *March* 8, in the *French* territories. The king followed him to the first of those places: but finding it impracticable to overtake him, and apprehending his flight to be a prelude to some attempts of the *French* upon the garrisons of *Normandie*, went to *Gisors* and visited all his castles in that country; putting them all in the best posture he could, for defence, and dispatching orders for the same care to be taken on the frontiers of *Guienne*, and all his other transmarine dominions. Upon the young king's departure, *Richard de Barre*, his chancellor, returned to *Henry*, and delivered the seal in his custody: the officers and servants of his son's household took the same party, bringing with them his carriages and furniture; but[4] these the old king was so far from detaining, that he ordered them to carry every thing, with rich presents of horses, plate, and apparel from himself, to his son, and to serve him faithfully. They went upon these orders to the young prince: but were not permitted to continue in his service, unless they would swear fealty to him *against his father*, a condition to which they all, except three, submitted.

The king, desirous to prevent a war, which could not be carried on with any satisfaction, or end with any advantage to him, sent embassadors to the court of *France*, to represent the iniquity of supporting a rebellious son in his unnatural measures against his father, and to make *Louis* the offer of submitting all the young prince's pretensions to his arbitration. It was the interest of that court to enflame

[1] *Benedict. Abb.* p. 38. *Hoveden*, p. 532, 533. [2] *Rob. de Monte. Chron. Vosciense.*
[3] *Benedict.* p. 47. [4] *Ib.* p. 49. *Brompton*, col. 1084.

the difference between the father and son, and by pushing the latter on to the greatest extremities, to render the breach irreconcileable. The offer was accordingly rejected with disdain; *Henry's* right to the title of king was denied in a taunting manner: and by pretending that he had resigned all his right to the crown of *England* upon the coronation of his son, *Louis* in effect demanded, that he should resign to him all his dominions. Such a resignation would not have been disagreeable to abundance of the *Norman* nobility: who upon the late inquisition into the demesnes of the dutchy, alienated since the decease of *Henry* I, had been turned out of considerable estates; which they were found to possess by defective titles, and to have usurped during the troubles and confusion of the country under *Stephen's* government; and were now in hopes of recovering, by the good nature, bounty, or profuseness of the son, what they had lost by the father's justice and œconomy[2]. Interest is a quick and strong principle of action; and no sooner had the young prince retired to the court of *France*, than he was followed thither by many of the gentry of *Normandie*: whilst the more considerable barons, who had castles on their lands, as the counts of *Eu*, *Meulant*, and *Ponthieu*, *Bernard de la Ferté*, *Galerand d'Ivry*, *Jocelin Crispin*, *Gilbert de Tillieres*, *William Patric* the elder, with his three sons, *Hugh de S. Maure*, *Robert de Montfort*, *William*, chamberlain of *Tancarville*, and others declared for him, and gave him possession of their fortresses. *Guy* and *Geffry de Lezignan*, with a great number of the lords of *Anjou* and *Guienne*, followed their example: and in *Bretagne*, it was always in the power of the king of *France* to raise an insurrection whenever there was any prospect of its being attended with success, by the means of two noblemen whom he had always supported, *Ralf de Fougeres*, and *Eudo* viscount *Porhoet*, father-in-law to the late duke *Conan*; who having for former rebellions been deprived of all his estate, but the country of *Guingamp*, was in hopes of recovering it on this favourable occasion.

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These insurrections became the more dangerous, and spread the wider, through the encouragement given to them by queen *Eleanor*, the natural sovereign of *Guienne*; who being left behind in those parts, with the princes *Richard* and *Geffrey*, when the king went from *Limoges* into *Normandie*, took part against her husband, and embarked her sons in this unnatural rebellion. A conduct so undutiful and extraordinary wanted certainly some pretence to gloss it over: yet our old historians, assigning no manner of reason for it, have left it utterly unaccountable. Some moderns indeed, perhaps upon the credit of an old ballad, or out of the abundance of their imagination, have imputed it to the queen's resentment of *Henry's* amour with the fair *Rosamund*, daughter of *Walter de Clifford*, an *Herefordshire* baron: but this was too stale an affair to serve for an apology, or to be any of her motives in the present case; and she had the less reason to complain of it, because she could not but know it before her marriage with *Henry*. If the queen's charms were faded by a wedlock of thirty six years, those of *Rosamund* could not but be impaired after twenty four years acquaintance with *Henry*; who was not above sixteen, when he first fell in love with this beautiful young lady: which seems to have been in *A. D.* 1149, whilst he was in[3] *England*. He had by her two sons, *William Longue Espé* earl of *Salisbury*, and *Geffrey*, elected in *May* this year to the see of *Lincoln*; who by his constant affection, fidelity, and adherence to his father, and zeal in his service, deserved from him the encomium, *that he had proved himself to be his true and legitimate offspring, whilst his other sons had acted, as if they were really bastards.* *Geffrey* was the younger of *Rosamund's* sons, and at this time (as *Giraldus Cambrensis*[4] says in his life) above twenty years old: and as it is certain that the king never

[1] *Diceto*, col. 570. [2] *Triveti Annal. Benedict. Abb.* p. 51, *& seq.* [3] He was not in *England* from that year, till *A. D.* 1153, the year after his marriage with *Eleanor*. [4] *Angl. Sacr.* t. ii. p. 380. 388. 378.

had

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had any more children by her, it is very probable that their commerce broke off upon his marriage with *Eleanor*, and that the young lady, by a natural effect of grief and resentment at the defection of her lover, entered upon that occasion into the nunnery of *Godstowe*: where she died probably before this rebellion; there being several [1] benefactions made by her relations to that monastery, and confirmed by this king, in which she is mentioned as a deceased person. If to this be added, that illustrious testimony [2] given to *Henry's* conjugal chastity by the *English* bishops and clergy, assembled in a convocation of the province of *Canterbury*, in their letter to Pope *Alexander*, in the heat of the dispute with *Becket*, when every idle story or calumny was catched at and spread, to blacken, if possible, this prince's character, there is very little reason to imagine, that any jealousy of that nature was the motive of *Eleanor's* conduct. This seems rather owing to her [3] high spirit, turbulent temper, and a certain perverseness in nature, the source of the uneasy life she led with her first husband, and which seldom lessens in a lady with an advance in years, and a decay of beauty, too apt of themselves to put the once young and fair out of humour. *Henry* enjoyed in her right a vast tract of country, running from the *Loire* to the *Pyrenees*: but allowed her so small a share in the government of her own dominions, that she seemed little more than a cypher, and made but an inconsiderable figure; a circumstance that could not fail of exasperating a woman of her haughty spirit: and this seems to have been the common, though unreasonable, cause of the rebellion.

If the king had any failing, it was an excess of affection to his children, whose good he consulted, rather than their inclinations: he had associated the eldest in the kingdom of *England*, and had made the nobility of that country, of *Normandie*, and of *Anjou*, swear fealty to him, to ensure him the succession of his own hereditary dominions. He had taken the like precaution, to secure as well to his second son, the succession of *Guienne*, his mother's inheritance, as to the third, the enjoyment of *Bretagne*, which was his own acquisition; and had conquered *Ireland*, to be a portion for his youngest: but their father not being above forty years old, the three first were too impatient to get into possession of the territories designed them respectively, to wait for it till his decease. *Henry*, the best and wisest monarch of the age, was to be turned out, to make way for his eldest son of the same name, and eighteen years old; who, told by his flatterers, and encouraged to think so by his father-in-law, the enemy of his father and family, fancied himself capable of conducting the affairs of two such difficult countries to govern, as *England* and *Normandie*, in so early a youth as would, in the judgment, and by the laws of the wisest nations of *Europe*, have rendered him, for his own sake, unfit to be trusted with the management of a private fortune. *Richard* was but fifteen, and *Geffrey* but fourteen years old; yet, boys as they were, they still thought themselves fit for empire: and were persuaded by their mother [4] to fly with their elder brother, who came privately to fetch them, to the court of *France*, and join with him in the common cause of dethroning their father. *Eleanor* herself, laying aside her female dress, attempted to follow them: but was taken in her disguise, and kept in close custody for many years, as having been the principal author of all this conspiracy. She seems to have declared herself so, before her person was put under an arrest [5]; as appears from the letter of

[1] *Monastic. Anglic.* t. ii. p. 88. One of these was by *Osbert Fitz Hugh*, whose younger brother *Hugh de Baye* seems to have at this time succeeded to his estate. See *Dugdale's Baronage*, t. i. p. 453, 454. [2] *Ep. S. Tho.* l. i. ep. 128. Among other of *Henry's* virtues, which cannot be denied him, he is said to be, in *copula castimoniæ conjugalis honestissimus*. See *Hoveden*, 511.

[3] *Chron. Gervas.* col. 1424.

[4] *Gul. Neubr.* l. ii. c. 27. *Benedict. Abb.* p. 48. *Chron. Gervas.* ib. [5] *Petr. Blesens.* ep. 154. *Baron. Annal.* t. xii. p. 820.

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Rotrou, archbiſhop of *Rouen*, wrote in vain to admoniſh her of her conjugal duty, and to threaten her with excommunication, if ſhe did not return to her huſband[1]. There never was a letter wrote with greater decorum and affection, in more perſuaſive and moving language, or more fully repreſenting the folly, the ingratitude, and the iniquity of theſe unnatural meaſures of the king's ſons, than another which the ſame prelate wrote to young *Henry*: but with the ſame ill ſucceſs as the other. This prince was ſo hardened in his unnatural courſes, and breathed ſo mortal an hatred againſt his father, that this archbiſhop and *Arnulf* biſhop of *Liſieux*, after they had diſcharged their embaſſy at the court of *France*, and found it obſtinately reſolved there, not to hearken to any accommodation, thought it neceſſary in their letter[2], giving an account of their negotiation, to recommend to the king to take care, that his fortreſſes were well provided, but above all things to guard againſt poiſon and an aſſaſſination; "there being not only a reſolution taken to deſtroy his "his territories with fire and ſword, but an execrable deſign formed againſt his "perſon."

THESE prelates, after a fruitleſs embaſſy at *Paris*, were ſent on another to the Pope, with letters from the king[3]; which it may not be improper to mention, becauſe the miſconſtruction of a paſſage therein hath afforded ſome perſons an handle to throw an undeſerved reproach upon his memory. When princes had for ſome time received oaths of fealty and homage from thoſe lay-perſons, to whom they granted benefices, fiefs, and offices, the ſame method came to be uſed in the caſe of pay, penſions, and ſtipends: and the church, in imitation of the ſtate, ſoon adopted it into her practice. Hence aroſe the oath of canonical obedience, taken by the inferior clergy to their ſuperiors, by biſhops to their metropolitans, and by theſe to the Pope; a practice ſcandalous enough in its original, and much abuſed to the oppreſſion and enſlaving of all ſubordinate orders in the hierarchy; whilſt an obedience to all the commands of their ſuperiors was exacted from them, though they had ſworn only to obey ſuch as were authoriſed by the canons. All eccleſiaſticks, that took theſe oaths, were deemed to ſtand in the ſame relation to their ſuperiors, that lay-feudataries were in to their lords: and the king having, at his reconciliation after *Becket's* murder, taken a voluntary oath that he would always adhere to the communion and obedience of Pope *Alexander* and his ſucceſſors, conſiders himſelf in this letter to be on that account a ſort of feudatary, and his realm of *England* as under his juriſdiction, *i. e.* in ſpiritual matters; and deſires him to make uſe of his ſpiritual authority for the reclaiming of his rebellious ſons, ſince he could not himſelf throw off the father ſo, as to puniſh them with material arms according to their demerits. The Pope accordingly excommunicated[4] all in general that oppoſed the king: but as the court of *Rome* is ſlow in its proceedings, where its own intereſt is not immediately concerned, this cenſure was not publiſhed till the year following, when it appeared what turn things were taking; about the time that the new archbiſhop of *Canterbury* denounced at *Caen* the like ſentence againſt all the king's enemies, without excepting any body, not even the young king[5], to whom he had previouſly ſent a comminatory letter in his own name, and in that of his ſuffragan biſhops in *England*, notifying to him, that they ſhould iſſue it, if he did not repent within a fortnight.

IT was of the greateſt conſequence to *Henry's* affairs, to have that ſee filled with a perſon of a quiet diſpoſition, that would not raiſe diſputes and troubles in the realm, and was very affectionate to his perſon and ſervice: but no ſtep was taken for that purpoſe, till after his purgation of the death of *Becket*. The king then being at full liberty to act and make uſe of his prerogative, the council[6] that

[1] *Baron. Annal.* t. xii. p. 820. *Petr. Bleſ.* ep. 33. [2] *Ib.* ep. 153. [3] *Ib.* ep. 136. [4] *Ib.* ep. 69. [5] *Ib.* ep. 47. [6] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1422, 1423, 1425. *Diceto*, col. 560.

Henry II. A.D. 1173. directed his son's measures, as soon as the joint coronation of this prince and his wife was over, sent for *Odo* the prior, and the monks of the church of *Canterbury*, to come immediately to court, and proceed to an election. They came on *September* 1, and insisted on what they termed a free one, that is, an election, not by deputation, or in the way of compromise (which was the usual practice) but made by all the monks assembled in chapter[1], without the concurrence of any other body; though the suffragans of the province were as much interested in the choice of their metropolitan, as the chapter of the see could be in that of their particular bishop. They were sent back to consult their convent, and ordered to return in three weeks, with a more agreeable resolution: but when they attended again at court about *Michaelmas*, they thinking it a favourable juncture for carrying a point they had much at heart, persisted in the same demand, and were ordered to go to *Normandie*, to know the king's pleasure. *Odo* went thither: and *Henry* representing the mischiefs that would attend the choice of a person of *Becket's* temper, besought him to use his credit with the monks for the election of *Henry* bishop of *Bayeux*, a prelate of great temper, prudence, and merit. Upon the prior's[2] return to *England*, delegates were sent from the convent to an assembly of the bishops and clergy convened at *London*: but nothing was done by reason of the refractoriness of the monks; who still insisted on having the sole (so they called a free) election, exclusive of the bishops of the province. This was so contrary to the practice of the whole *Christian* church in the first ages of the gospel, and to the custom of the church of *England* in particular, that the monks, reflecting more coolly on their proceedings, began to be apprehensive of falling into some inconveniences by their obstinacy: and meeting in the beginning of this year in chapter, pitched upon three unexceptionable persons, whom they recommended to *Richard de Lucy*, guardian of the realm, in order to the admission of some one of them by the bishops and king's approbation. *Richard*, delighted that the affair had taken this turn, convened the *English* bishops at *London*, and the prior attending with some of the monks, *Roger*[3] abbot of *Bec* was chosen on *March* 2, with the approbation of the bishops, and confirmed by the royal assent. *Odo* went over to *Normandie* to fetch the elected prelate: but notwithstanding all the instances, which he, or the king, or the Pope's legates could use, *Roger* absolutely refused to agree to the choice made of his person: and on *April* 5, the *Thursday* before *Easter*, his election was set aside. *Henry* was the more uneasy on this occasion, because the rebellion of his sons was now declared: and thought it proper to gratify *Odo* and his monks by some concessions; by making *Mary*, *Becket's* sister, abbess of *Berking*, at the request of the former, and by giving up to the latter a disputed manor, with an additional grant of others in *Shepey*, amounting to thrice the value of what they claimed. He found now by experience, that there is no obliging a body of men, when they have an opportunity for exerting privileges, flattering their wishes of an independency: for a convocation meeting in the latter end of *April* at *London*, the monks would not retract their demands of a free election, though they insisted more peremptorily on the choice of one of their own body. The bishops[4], thinking it most advisable to begin with business that admitted no dispute, advised *Richard de Lucy* to give the royal assent to the elections made by the chapters of the six vacant sees of *Winchester*, *Ely*, *Hereford*, *Bath*, *Lincoln*, and *Chichester*, which were all filled with persons agreeable to the king's wishes: and then proceeded to the affair of *Canterbury*. As the suffragans of the province, and the monks of *Christ-Church*,

[1] What they meant by a *free election*, contained likewise a restriction against chusing any but one of their own body. See *Monastic. Angl.* t. i. p. 464. lin. 57. c. 48. [2] *Hist. du Diocese de Bayeux*, p. 1. [3] *Dicето*, col. 561. [4] *Ib.* col. 568.

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were both to concur in the election, there was no adjusting the order and circumstances of it between them: and they were obliged at last to refer the matter to the king; proposing two persons, both bred in the convent of *Canterbury* (viz.) *Odo* abovementioned, and *Richard* prior of *Dover*, that he might choose which of them he best liked. *Henry* declared openly for neither; but sent private instructions to *Lucy* and *Reginald* earl of *Cornwall*, in favour of *Richard*, a man of great modesty, sweetness of temper, and affability; who was accordingly elected by the bishops in St. *Catharine's* chappel at *Westminster*, and approved by the justiciary there present on *June* 3, being *Trinity Sunday*. Henry II. A. D. 1173.

This prelate made his entry into *Canterbury* on the *Saturday* following, attended by a great number of the bishops and clergy of the kingdom, in order to be consecrated the next day: but when every thing was prepared for the solemnity, the bishops of *London*, *Exeter*, and *Worcester*, were served with writs from young king *Henry*; forbidding the consecration, as well of the new primate, as of the other bishops, as not instituted by his assent, and denouncing an appeal, which he had made to the Pope, and lodged with the legates in *Normandie*. This occasioning a dispute among the bishops, it was at last agreed to defer the consecration; and that, agents being sent to the Pope with the letters of all the bishops and the convent of *Canterbury*, the archbishop elect should follow soon after in person. When he came to *Anagni*, where *Alexander* resided, he found the like variation of opinions in the conclave; the *French* faction maintaining, with all their might, the authority of the young king; though condemned by the laws and maxims of their own country, where the practice of crowning sons in their father's life-time first began, and contrary to the rules of the court of *Rome*; according to whose doctrine, the unction of the young king was not valid, for want of a competent administrator[1]. This controversy serving for a pretence to delays, always affected till events shew which of the litigants is like to have the advantage, the affair was drawn on till the next year; when upon a current report, that the two kings were agreed, and *Richard's* pretending to go away immediately, if the matter was disputed longer, his election was confirmed on[2] *April* 2: and the Pope consecrated him the *Sunday* following, being the second after *Easter*; gave him the pall; and soon after the primacy; and at length constituted him his legate in the province of *Canterbury*. In his return from *Anagni*, he met the king just landed from *England*, near *Caen*: and arriving at *Canterbury* on *October* 5, he consecrated the next day four of the bishops elect, having on the road done the same office at *S. Jean de Maurienne* to *Reginald* of *Bath*; *Geffrey*, the king's natural son, declining sacerdotal orders, in order to serve his father in civil and military employments.

It was indeed a very difficult matter for the king to know whom to trust in the present situation of his affairs[3]; when those whom he had most obliged by his favours, who were nearest his person, and had the most of his confidence, either openly deserted him, or acted coolly in his service. In this distress, he found a resource in the treasure, which his good œconomy had preserved, and took into his pay twenty thousand *Brabantins*, a sort of *freebooters*, or *banditti*, so called, because some of their chief leaders were natives of *Brabant*. But the main body of them consisted of the refuse and most abandoned persons of *France*, *Germany*, and the *Low Countries*; who roved about for plunder in all those regions, doing infinite mischief; and were always ready to fight under the banner of any prince that would pay them well, and had occasion for their service. They were hardy, enterprizing, and experienced warriors, fitter for action, than any other troops he could have levied; and when duely paid, more to be depended on, in a time of so general a

[1] *Dicето*, col. 580. *Nubrig.* l. ii. c. 27. [2] *Chron. Gervas.* col. 1426. *Benedict. Abb.* p. 80. [3] *Petr. Bles.* ep. 136.

defection,

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defection, that no part of his dominions was free from the contagion of disloyalty; and some of the most considerable of his subjects, particularly the earls of *Chester* and *Leicester*, had taken part in the rebellion. The love of their country, the sense of duty, the obligations of honour, giving way to the general disposition in people of courting the rising sun, and to the selfish views of those who proposed to themselves vast advantages from the vain and unthinking prodigality of the young prince, the king soon found himself betrayed by the persons, to whose fidelity he had entrusted several of the strongest castles in *Normandie*. This obliged him to throw a good number of these *Brabantins*, called also *Routiers* and *Cotereaux*[1], into the fortresses which lay most exposed: and he kept the rest about him in a body, ready to march wherever the enemy should offer to invade his territories.

The league formed against him soon appeared to be very formidable. The king[2] of *France*, who was at the head of it, summoning all the prelates and nobility of his realm to *Paris* at *Easter*, took an oath in their presence, that he would assist young *Henry* and his brothers with all his power against their father, and carry on the war, till he was driven out of the kingdom of *England*. The young princes had before taken a like oath, that they would never quit *Louis*, nor make any peace with their father, without the consent of the *French* king and his barons; who all, following their lord's example, swore to assist them to the utmost of their power. The nobility of *France* in general were at that time able to bring considerable forces of their own into the field, independent on the authority of the crown: but the most eminent among them were *Robert* count of *Dreux*, brother to *Louis*, *Henry* count of *Troyes*, and *Theobald* of *Blois*; to which may be added, *Philip* count of *Flanders*, and his brother *Matthew* of *Boulogne*. The cause being too infamous for any body to espouse, without a prospect of great advantages to themselves, it was necessary for young *Henry* to purchase their assistance: and the king of *France* had caused a new great seal to be made for him, that he might do it in due form, and alienate whatever he pleased of the demesnes of the crown of *England*; in the diminution whereof *France* was sure to find her advantage. Thus the young prince made the count of *Flanders* a grant of rents to the amount of a thousand pounds a year in *England*; besides all *Kent*, with the castles of *Dover* and *Rochester*, reputed in those days the keys of the kingdom, and affording *Philip* an easy entrance into the realm, and safe passage to the very gates of the metropolis, whenever he should find a proper opportunity for making an invasion. The whole soke of *Kirketon* in *Lindsey*, and the county of *Mortain* in *Normandie*, were given to the count of *Boulogne*: and *Theobald* of *Blois* had the grant of an annuity of five hundred pounds *Angevin* money, with the castle of *Amboise*, and all *Henry's* possessions in *Touraine*; besides a release of all the right, which either himself or his father claimed in *Chateau-Renaud*. All these princes did homage to young *Henry* for their grants: and the same condition was stipulated in the name of *William* king of *Scotland*; who entered also into the league, and in consideration of his service, had a grant for himself of all *Northumberland*[3] and *Cumberland*, and for his brother *David*, of the county of *Cambridge*, to be annexed to that of *Huntingdon*. The young prince, besides an infinite number of promises which he lavishly made, without giving the same security for their performance, passed abundance of other grants under the same seal; particularly of all the honour of *Eye*, and the castle of *Norwich*, to *Hugh Bigot* and his heirs for ever. The rest are omitted by cotemporary writers, as too numerous and tedious to be specified; though

[1] Perhaps from their infesting the roads, and ravaging the country in bands, or because they were chiefly composed of peasants and cottagers, who, in times of war, quitting their rustic business, took to arms, and subsisted by pillage.

[2] *Benedict. Abb.* p. 49, 50, 51. [3] *Fordun.* vol. iii. p. 695. *Chron. Gervas.* col. 1424.

they indicate plainly, how much the crown-revenue was to be impaired, to bribe people to join in this unnatural rebellion. HENRY II. A. D. 1173.

It broke out[1] immediately after the holidays in various places at once, in *Normandie*, *Guienne*, *Anjou*, and *Bretagne*; all those countries being made a scene of blood and desolation, by the ravages of an infinite number of parties, that over-ran all the quarters thereof; whilst *Henry* lay still with his main army, waiting to see, what was the chief intent of this general commotion; who continued faithful to him; and where his enemies would make their greatest efforts. This appeared in *June*, the usual time for princes to take the field[2]; *Philip* count of *Flanders*, with his brother *Matthew* count of *Boulogne*, marching with a numerous army through *Picardie*; and on the twenty-ninth of that month investing *Aumale*, a place provided with a strong garrison, and all things necessary for a long defence. But count *William*, lord of the town, being secretly in the interests of young *Henry*, soon made a collusive treaty with the enemy; and surrendering it on the dishonourable condition of being, with all the defendants, made prisoners of war, derived from thence a pretence for delivering up all his other castles for his ransom. *Philip*, encouraged by this success, laid siege, on *July* 6, to *Neufchatel*, and notwithstanding the gallant defence made by lord *Bardulfe*, took it in about a fortnight, after several attacks: but having reduced the country of *Eu*, his brother, and presumptive heir, the count of *Boulogne*, was mortally wounded in their march to *Arques*, by a *Brabantin*, with an arrow. This accident, which was observed to happen on St. *James's* day, on which, five years before, *Matthew* had sworn fealty to *Henry*, put a stop to the count's farther enterprizes; and he retired with his forces into his own country. This is generally imputed to a remorse, at being concerned in this unnatural war, occasioned by *Matthew's* wound; though it seems only done to take care of his brother's cure, who was carried thither, and to provide for his own affairs. This last he did by prevailing with his brother *Peter*, just chosen to the see of *Arras*, to renounce that election, in hopes of succeeding to his dominions, and to receive knighthood; thus engaging him in a military life, which after a few years proved fatal to him, being slain in an encounter with the enemy.

The king of *France* at the same time[3], with a mighty army, in which were seven thousand knights with their followers, and an infinite number of foot (his whole realm, without respect of persons, having been taxed excessively to furnish out so vast an armament, and the neighbourhood horribly oppressed to supply them with provisions) fell on the side of the *Pais Chatrain* into *Normandie*, and invested *Vernueil*; which was bravely defended by *Hugh de Beauchamp*, constable of the castle, and *Hugh de Lacy*, who was come to the king's assistance, with *Richard Strongbow*, and a choice party of knights, out of *Ireland*. The town was exceeding populous, and consisted of three burghs, each separated from the other by strong walls, and ditches full of water, besides the castle: but the attack was made only on the *Great*, called also the *Queen's*, *burgh*; which was battered for a month together with military engines, and stood several assaults, in which the townsmen distinguished themselves by their bravery. But their numbers causing a great scarcity of provisions, they were forced to make a truce for three days, with leave to send the king of *England* notice of their distress, and to give hostages for surrendering the town at the end of that term, if they were not relieved. *Louis* himself, with his brother *Robert*, the counts of *Troyes* and *Blois*, and the archbishop of *Sens*, promised upon oath, to suffer no harm to be done to the inhabitants, and to restore their hostages, upon the performance of that stipulation. *Henry* was at this time, with above ten thousand of his *Brabantins*, and a good army of *Normans*, encamped

[1] *Chron. Gerv.* col. 1426. *Benedict. Abb.* p. 53. [2] *Newbrig.* l. ii. c. 28. *Bened. Abb.* p. 54. & seq. *Chron. Gervas.* col. 1426. *Rob. de Monte.* *Dicto*, col. 573. [3] *Ibid.*

Henry II. A.D. 1173. at *Conches*: and upon advice of this treaty, waited there a day longer, to be joined with another body of his forces, which the earls of *Arundel* and *Essex*, the count of *Vendome*, *Richard du Humet* constable of *Normandie*, *Richard Fitz Comte*, *Jordan de Tesson*, *Richard de Vernon*, *Henry de Neubourg*, and other barons were bringing to his assistance. His numbers were still inferior to the enemy; but his soldiers being more experienced, as consisting of marchers and *Brabantins*, he resolved to venture an engagement: and advanced the next day to the castle of *Breteuil*, which he had seized, upon the earl of *Leicester's* defection. His troops were drawn up in order of battle, and eager for action, when he was met by the archbishop of *Sens*, and the counts of *Dreux* and *Blois*[1]; who always pretending great regard to *Henry*, were the fittest instruments that could be employed to trick him: and were sent by the king of *France* to propose a treaty of peace between him and his sons, and to agree on a truce for the next day; when the terms of it were to be settled in a conference between the two kings, and the young *English* princes. *Henry*, upon this agreement, retired with his army towards *Conches*: and advancing with it the next morning, being *Thursday*, *August* 9, to the place appointed for the conference, was strangely surprized at first to find no body there on the part of the king of *France*, and afterwards to see a black smoke, and presently after flames of fire, ascending from *Vernueil*. It was the peremptory day for the surrender of the *Great burgh* if not relieved; and at the hour fixed, it had been delivered up pursuant to the articles: which were ill observed by the *French*; the town being plundered and burnt, and the burghers with their goods and hostages carried away prisoners. *Louis*, after a trick too mean for a king to use, and a scandalous breach of faith which a man of honour would disdain, took care to compleat his ignominy by a shameful flight; not daring in so bad a cause, which those measures exactly suited, to run the hazard of an engagement with the enemy. This flight was so precipitate, that the *French* left their camp full of provisions and baggage: and was made in such disorder, that *Henry* pursuing and falling upon the rear of their army, cut off abundance of men, and entering *Vernueil* at the close of the evening, ordered the walls of the *Great burgh* to be repaired. The next day he took *Danville*, a castle belonging to *Gilbert de Tillieres*, with many knights and gentlemen in it: but not caring, out of respect to his lord (so he always termed the king of *France*) to make an irruption into his territories, and having, upon the dispersion of the *French noblesse*, after their forty days of service were expired, no further apprehensions of danger in that quarter, he marched back to *Roüen*.

From thence he sent a large detachment of his *Brabantins* towards *Bretagne*; where *Ralf de Fougeres*[2] was re-edifying his castle: and being joined by the earl of *Chester*, *Asculf de S. Hilaire*, *William Patric* with his sons, had taken *Dol*, and some other places; not so much by force of arms, as by corrupting the garrisons. *Eudes* viscount *Porhoet*, passing from thence into his own county, took the castle of *Ploesmel*, and fortified that of *Jocelin*: whilst *Ralf* infested the borders of *Normandie*, cut off a party of victuallers, coming without a convoy to bring provisions to the forces of the *Avranchin*, which had taken the field to oppose him; and burnt *St. James* and *Villeul*. In the midst of this success, the *Brabantins*, used to long and expeditious marches, came upon him so suddenly, that he was very near being surprized: and was forced to fly in haste from *Fougeres*; leaving behind him all the horses, goods, and cattle of his vassals and followers; which were taken in the adjoining forest, and afforded the greatest booty that ever was known to the enemy. Nor had he, and the rest of the rebels, better fortune in a pitched battle; which, uniting all their forces, they fought with the *Brabantins* on *Monday*[3], *August* 20; their army being defeated with the loss of one thousand five hundred *Bretons* slain

[1] *Benedict. Abb.* p. 61. [2] *Ib.* p. 63, 64. *Rob. de Monte.* [3] *Hoveden.*

on the ſpot, *Aſculf de S. Hilaire* and *William Patric*, with ſixteen others of the moſt conſiderable barons of the country taken priſoners, and the reſt flying for refuge to the caſtle of *Dol*, where they were immediately inveſted by the *Brabantins*. Upon advice of this action, *Henry* hoping to terminate the war in *Bretagne* at once by taking all the heads of the rebellion, ſet out from *Rollen* on *Wedneſday*, and arriving the next morning at *Dol*, found the town taken. Nor did the caſtle long hold out againſt the military machines that battered it; *Hugh* earl of *Cheſter*, *Rolf de Fougeres*, with near a hundred other knights and barons[1] ſurrendering on the *Sunday* following, *Aug.* 26; as ſome ſay, on condition of having their limbs and lives ſaved, or (as[2] others, probably meaning the ſame thing, ſay) at diſcretion. They were all committed to ſafe cuſtody for a time, except two of the chiefs, who engaging to be more faithful for the future and giving hoſtages for aſſurance of their promiſe, were ſet at liberty; ſuch was the clemency and generoſity which this great king exerciſed on this occaſion upon perſons that deſerved to be treated with more ſeverity. This was a terrible blow to the rebellious princes: their party was utterly ruined in *Bretagne*, and all that had taken armes ſubmitting to *Henry's* mercy, that province was entirely quieted. The reputation of it extended farther[3]: and re-eſtabliſhed the king's affairs in other parts of his foreign dominions: where ſeeing the vaſt efforts made by *France* and the number of princes confederated againſt him, abundance of thoſe that were tied to him by the ſtrongeſt obligations, were either deſerting him daily, or were wavering in his ſervice, as thinking him loſt irrecoverably. This great ſucceſs confirmed all that had ſtaid with him in their duty; and as it happened contrary to all expectation, made them think his cauſe under the particular protection of providence. HENRY II. A. D. 1173.

HENRY was not ſo much elated with his ſucceſs, as weary of a war, in which the blood of his ſubjects was daily ſpilt by their own ſwords, to the ruine of their country, and he ſaw himſelf obliged to exerciſe continual hoſtilities againſt his own ſons; the impiety of whoſe conduct could not remove the fears he had of their falling into ſome fatal diſaſter. In this temper of mind, he readily hearkened to the propoſal of a treaty for an accommodation[4], which ſome about the young princes, ſeeing themſelves not likely to reap the advantages they hoped, but rather in danger of being ruined by their revolt, put them upon making: and a conference was appointed for that purpoſe. It was opened between *Giſors* and *Trie*, and held for two days between the kings of *France* and *England*; the three ſons of the latter being preſent, with a great number of the prelates and nobility of both kingdoms. It was not decent in the court of *France*, to oppoſe openly a motion made for reconciling a father and his children: but as ſhe found her intereſt in their variance, ſhe was naturally diſpoſed to obſtruct an accommodation, and could eaſily, by ſtarting difficulties, find means to render the negotiation fruitleſs. *Henry* offered to give his eldeſt ſon half the revenue of the crown of *England*, with four places of ſtrength for his abode in that kingdom: or if he choſe rather to reſide in *Normandie*, half the revenue of this dutchy and three fortreſſes in it, together with the whole revenue of *Anjou* and three caſtles, one in the laſt named province, another in *Le Maine*, and the third in *Touraine*. To *Richard* he offered half the revenue of *Guienne*, with four caſtles in that dutchy; and to *Geffrey*, all the territories of *Conan* late duke of *Bretagne*, if the Pope would grant a diſpenſation for his marriage with the heireſs. *Henry* declared further, that if the archbiſhop of *Tarentaiſe* and the Pope's legates did not think this proviſion ſufficient for his ſons, he was ready to make ſuch an addition to their revenue, as thoſe arbitrators ſhould deem reaſonable; reſerving ſtill in all his ceſſions the admi-

[1] *Neubr.* l. ii. c. 29. [2] *Trivet.* [3] *Diceto*, p. 571. [4] *Hoveden*, p. 536. *Bened. Abb.* 67.

niſtration

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niſtration of juſtice, with all other branches of the regal power and dignity. It was no difficult matter to raiſe diſtruſts in the minds of young unexperienced princes, conſcious of their own iniquities: and *Louis*, whoſe view was to diſmember the *Engliſh* monarchy and reduce the formidable power of the father, not finding his account in leaving *Henry* ſtill maſter of all his dominions, prevailed, as well by the ſuſpicions which he ſuggeſted, as by the ſtrong aſſurances he gave of ſupporting them with all the power of *France*, upon the ſons to reject theſe propoſals. Some of their own followers, either gained by the *French*, or animated by their own reſentments and intereſted views, joined them in perſuading them to this undutiful ſtep; particularly *Robert Blanches-mains* earl of *Leiceſter*, who ſeems to have been one of the firſt promoters of this rebellion, and to have proſecuted it with as much fury, as he entered into it with deliberation[1]. He was in *England*, when the deſign was formed: and having raiſed all the money he could upon his eſtate or credit, went over a little before it broke out, with *William de Tancarville*, into *Normandie*, having both at the ſame time of their paſſage, in order to obtain a licenſe for it, taken a new oath of fidelity to *Henry*; which neither of them deſigned to keep, or at leaſt took the firſt occaſion to violate. This nobleman, abandoning himſelf to the fury of his paſſions, broke out into the moſt opprobious language againſt the king; who had done him no injury, nor given him any provocation but a ſtrict adherence to juſtice: and proceeded ſo far as to lay his hand on his ſword, which could not fail to raiſe a tumult, and put an end to the conference, Both ſides parted with more animoſity than they met: and the next day an engagement happened between two parties of their troops, to the diſadvantage of the *French*, *Engelran de Trie* being taken priſoner by *W. de Mandeville* earl of *Eſſex*. The young princes, depending entirely on the friendſhip of *France*, became more attached than ever to *Louis*: and *Richard* being now full ſixteen years old, received from him the order of knighthood, as a mark of adoption on one ſide, and of filial duty on the other.

England invaded, and the king of *Scotland* taken priſoner.

XXVIII. What prompted the earl of *Leiceſter* to the inſolence here related, was probably the confidence he had in the ſtrength of the party formed in *England* againſt the king, and the treatment which his town of *Leiceſter* had lately received. When the earl had followed the young prince to *Paris*, orders were ſent to the earl of *Cornwall* and *Richard de Lucy*, to ſecure a place that was the head of a county filled with his vaſſals[2]: and the inhabitants ſhutting their gates againſt the king's forces, the town was on *July* 3 beſieged in form; and the greateſt part of it being burnt by accident, they were forced, on the 28th of that month, to capitulate, and to pay three hundred marks for the liberty of removing with their effects to other places, till the troubles were over. Upon their departure the gates were pulled down and the walls demoliſhed: but no attempt was made at that time upon the caſtle; the garriſon being allowed a truce till *Michaelmas*. What procured them this indulgence was, an invaſion made at this time by *William* king of *Scotland* into the northern borders of *England*, which he waſted with fire and ſword; his *Galloway* forces committing barbarities on perſons of all ages, ſcarce ever heard of in a *Chriſtian* country. *Cumberland* ſuffered firſt from his rage: but being forced to raiſe the ſiege of *Carliſle*, he fell into *Northumberland*; and *Hugh Puſey* biſhop of *Durham*, allowing him a ſafe paſſage through his palatinate into the north of *Yorkſhire*, he made horrible depredations in thoſe parts, and carried off a prodigious number of captives. *Richard de Lucy* marching with the army under his command from *Leiceſter* to oppoſe him, *William* thought fit to retire into *Scotland*, with his light

[1] *Diceto*, col. 571. [2] *Ib.* col. 577. *Benedict. Abb.* p. 66. *Neubr.* l. ii. c. 30.

armed

armed troops, fitter for plunder than an engagement[1]; and was purſued thither by *Lucy* and *Humphry de Bohun* conſtable of *England*, who burnt *Berwick* and overran all *Lothian*. They were interrupted in their work, by advice of the earl of *Leiceſter's*[2] landing on *Sept.* 29, with a mighty army of *Flemings* at *Walton* near the mouth of the *Orwell* in *Suffolk*: and thought it prudent, before the news reached the enemy, to clap up a truce; which was to laſt till *St. Hilary*, and was afterwards, for the ſum of three hundred marks raiſed by the *Northumbrians*, prolonged, by the biſhop of *Durham's* mediation with *William*, till the end of *Eaſter* holidays. Henry II. A. D. 1173.

Robert earl of *Leiceſter* was joined at his landing by *Hugh Bigot*[3]: and their firſt attempt was upon the caſtle of *Walton*; which they battered with great fury for ſeveral days, but without ſucceſs. Raiſing the ſiege, and paſſing by *Ipſwich* without daring to attack the place, they advanced to the caſtle of *Hageneth*: which they took on *Oct.* 13, with about thirty knights, that were forced to pay conſiderable ſums for their ranſom. From thence they bent their march to *Bigot's* caſtle of *Framingham*: and conſidering in a council of war, about their further operations, the earl propoſed to advance into the heart of the kingdom; where his eſtate lay, and he expected to be joined by great numbers of his vaſſals. *Hugh* encouraged this deſign, to rid himſelf of the expence of ſupplying the *Flemings* with proviſions: and preſſed its execution; though *Lucy* and *Bohun* were now come with their forces out of the north, and being re-inforced by the earls of *Cornwall*, *Arundel*, and *Glouceſter*, lay at *St. Edmundſbury* to intercept his paſſage. *Robert's* forces, both horſe and foot, were much more numerous than the king's; but they were generally raw men, undiſciplined, juſt taken from their looms, perhaps in hopes of ſettling in *Kent*, which their prince was to acquire by their ſucceſs. The chief ſtrength of the royaliſts lay in the number of their knights, being four times more than thoſe of the rebel army: and this was ſuch an advantage, that attacking *Robert* on *Oct.* 17, as he was marching over a marſhy ground near *Fernham St. Generieve*, chuſing that road to avoid *Bury*, they broke his forces in a moment[4], and took him with his wife, a woman of maſculine courage, *Hugh de Neufchatel*, a *French* nobleman, and *Walter de Wabull*, a *Bedfordſhire* baron, priſoners. There fell in this battle above ten thouſand *Flemings*, and all the reſt in a manner were taken; ſcarce a man of them eſcaping in a country, to which they were utter ſtrangers, and whence they had ſmall hopes of getting off; ſince *Robert*, who had ſpent all his money in this expedition, had as ſoon as he landed ſent back the ſhips that tranſported them, either[5] to ſave further charges, or to tranſport more forces. It ſeems very probable, that they returned with freſh ſupplies; for after this great defeat *Hugh Bigot* had ſtill a vaſt body of *Flemings* with him: and troops were aſſembled from all parts at *Bury*, *Colcheſter*, and *Ipſwich*, in order to attack him and put an end to the rebellion. He had probably as many friends among the great men of *England*, as *Robert*; who had on that account flattered himſelf that he ſhould not be attacked in his march to *Leiceſter*: but he was more politick, crafty, and conſiderate. He knew his men to be unfit for a pitched battle, and if he retired with them to his fortreſs of *Framingham*, their very numbers would haſten their deſtruction, for want of proviſions: thus ſeeing no poſſibility of ſaving himſelf from ruine by open force, he reſolved to try what could be done by corrupting ſome of the miniſtry. As the *Engliſh* nobility were not in thoſe days fond of cruſhing any of their number, thoſe who took his money eaſily prevailed with the reſt, to grant him a truce till *Trinity Sunday*; to allow fourteen thouſand armed *Flemings*, that he had with him, a ſafe paſſage through *Eſſex*, *Kent*, and *Dover*; and to find

[1] *Benedict. ib.* p. 68, 69, 70. [2] *Diceto*, col. 573. *Benedict.* p. 72. [3] *Ib. M. Paris. Hoveden.*
[4] *Rob. de Monte.* [5] *Diceto*, col. 574.

HENRY II. A. D. 1173.

ſhipping for their tranſportation to their own country. Whether *Henry* had any information of this bribery, or ſuſpected that the earl of *Leiceſter* might, by his relations and friends in *England*, carry on ſome intrigue there to the prejudice of his affairs, he ſent for him over to *Normandie:* and impriſoned him, with the earl of *Cheſter*, in the caſtle of *Falaiſe*.

ALL *Normandie*, ſouth of the *Seine*, was now free from any incurſions, but what were made by perſons; who, having no caſtles for their defence, lurked in the woods, and from thence infeſted the country. There were however ſome fortreſſes in the borders of *Le Maine* and *Anjou* in the hands of rebels; which *Henry*, to make advantage of their conſternation at his late ſucceſs in *England*, reſolved to reduce. With this view [1] he marched at the head of his *Brabantins*, about *Martinmas*, into *Anjou:* and about *November* 18, *Geffrey de la Haye* ſubmitted to him, delivering up his town and caſtle; which example was immediately followed by the garriſon of the fortreſs of *Pruillé*. The caſtle of *Champigny*, held againſt him by *Robert de Blé*, was taken with a great number of knights in it: and *Vendome* ſoon after undergoing the ſame fate, the king returned at the end of the month into *Normandie*. The feſtival of *Chriſtmas*, which he kept at *Caen*, was always attended with a ceſſation of hoſtilities: and was now cloſed with a truce between the two crowns, till the end of *Eaſter* holidays.

A. D. 1174.

THIS ſhort interval of war was employed in preparations for carrying it on with greater vigour [2]; the king of *France*, levying a great army in order to invade *Normandie*, and the count of *Flanders*, cured of his late remorſe by his paſſionate deſire of being maſter of *Kent*, made a mighty armament by ſea and land, in order to a deſcent in *England*. Young *Henry* and his friends were infinitely induſtrious in ſoliciting, by agents and letters, with promiſes and threats, all the nobility of that country to eſpouſe their intereſts: and, notwithſtanding the iniquity of their cauſe, their inſtances were not ineffectual; abundance that ſeemed to adhere to the king wavering in their duty, and many reſolving to declare in his ſon's favour, as ſoon as an opportunity offered. Of this laſt ſort [3] were *Robert* earl of *Ferrers*, who fortified his caſtles of *Tutbury* and *Duffeld*; and *Roger de Mowbray*, who took the ſame meaſures with reſpect to his fortreſſes of *Thriſke*, *Maleſſart*, and *Kinard-ferry*. The caſtle of *Huntingdon* belonged to *David*, brother to the king of *Scotland*; thoſe of *Mont Sorel*, *Groby*, and *Leiceſter*, to the earl of the place laſt named; and thoſe of *Framingham* and *Bungay* were ſtill in the hands of *Hugh Bigot*. The earl of *Cheſter*, *Hamo de Maſcie*, and *Geffrey de Coſtentin* held the caſtles of *Cheſter*, *Dunham*, and *Stockport* in *Cheſhire*: *Richard de Morville*, uncle of *Hugh*, concerned in *Becket's* murder, and ſeveral other barons in the north, provided themſelves and their forts againſt the time of the general riſing; a reſolution in which moſt of the nobility, from *Suffolk* to the borders of *Scotland*, ſeem to have agreed. The reſt of the kingdom indeed did not appear diſaffected to *Henry:* but it was of much more conſequence to his affairs, that all the biſhops of *England* (except *Hugh* of *Durham*) as well as thoſe of *Normandie*, were entirely in his intereſts, and exerted themſelves zealouſly in his ſervice; and whilſt their power was more than a balance to that of the diſaffected lay-nobility, their influence kept the body of the people, who had no grievance of their own, in their duty; ſo that the others had ſcarce any to follow them, beſides their own vaſſals.

THE time of riſing was agreed to be at the expiration of the truce with *Scotland* [4]; which ending on *March* 31, *William*, king of that country, with an army of *Scots* and *Galloway Britains*, reinforced by a body of horſe and foot from *Flanders*, fell ſoon after into *Northumberland*; committing horrible cruelties on all ſorts of

[1] *Benedict.* p. 71. [2] *Neubrig.* l. ii. c. 30, 31. [3] *Benedict. Abb.* p. 54, 55. [4] *Neubrig.* l. ii. c. 32. *Benedict. Abb.* p. 73.

perſons,

persons, young and old, male and female, clergy and laity, without respect of places, murdering them even at the altars in churches. From [1] thence he detached his brother *David* earl of *Huntingdon* with a party, to join *Anchetil de Malory*, governor of the castle of *Leicester*, and give encouragement to their friends in those two counties to rise, and form a considerable body in the middle of the kingdom; whilst himself marched to besiege *Carlisle*. *Robert de Vaux*, baron of *Gilsland*, was governor of the place; and defended it too well to leave him any hopes of taking it by force; so that *William* seeing no way of reducing it but by famine, left part of his army to block it up, and advancing with the rest further into the country, took the castles of *Lidel*, *Burgh* under *Stanmore* (the *Verteræ* of *Antoninus*) and *Apulby*. Being master of these fortresses in *Cumberland* and *Westmoreland*, he returned into *Northumberland*; where he took the castles of *Warkworth* and *Harbotle*: and having thus secured all the neighbouring parts of the countries, whence supplies might be easiest sent to *Carlisle*, he came again before the place, and lay before it so long, that provisions beginning to fail, *Robert de Vaux* thought it his best way to capitulate for his surrender of the town and castle on *Michaelmas* day, if they were not relieved before that time, by the king of *England*, and to give hostages for the performance of his promise. *William* thereupon marched back into *Northumberland* with all his army: and investing the castle of *Prudhow* on the *Tyne*, belonging to *Odonell de Umfreville*, lost a great deal of time in the siege of a place, which baffled all his efforts. HENRY II. A. D. 1174.

WHILST the *Scotch* army was thus employed in the north, the conspirators had taken up arms in other parts of the kingdom; and *Roger de Mowbray* [2], lord of the *Isle of Axeholme*, had from his castle of *Kinard-ferry* made excursions over all *Lincolnshire*: but his progress was soon stopped by the king's natural son *Geffrey*, formerly archdeacon, and now bishop elect of *Lincoln*. This prelate, seeing a storm gathering, and conceiving it necessary to be well provided with money to guard against it, had, by the advice of *Richard Nigel* chancellor of *Ely*, caused a collection to be made through all his diocese: and the contributions of the people were so liberal, that a vast sum was raised for the king's service. He was a man of great magnanimity and noble sentiments, and though the money was raised by way of loan or benevolence, yet when he reflected coolly on the matter, he thought it had more the air of an exaction; being supported by his own authority, and collected at a time when every body, that did not care to contribute, would have been marked out as disaffected to the government: and considering that his father, in the dangerous situation of his affairs, had more need of the good-will of his subjects, than their money, he caused every farthing of it to be paid back to the contributors. This act of generosity did no prejudice to the king's service, whilst it raised his own character, and, by rendering him exceeding popular, caused him to be well followed; when, resolving to venture his life for his father, his king, and his country, he summoned the knights that held of his see, and with a numerous body of other soldiers, that flocked to him from all parts, took the field to oppose the rebels. His first attempt was upon the strong castle [3] of *Kinard-ferry*; which he attacked so suddenly, that the garrison not having time to lay in a stock of provisions, *Robert de Mowbray*, the governor, was, on *May* 5, forced to a surrender. *Geffrey*, having demolished that nest of plunderers, and driven *Robert* out of *Axeholme* (who flying thence towards *Leicester*, was taken by the country people, near *Retford* in *Nottinghamshire*) returned in triumph to *Lincoln*. He was [4] soon called thence by *Ralf de Glanville*, justiciary of *Yorkshire*, sent by archbishop *Roger* to desire his assistance against the *Scots*, who had entered that country: this put him on raising a fresh body of troops, with which he advanced to *York*, and by the

[1] *Neubrig.* l. ii. c. 31, 32. [2] *Girald. Cambr. in Vita Gelfridi. Angl. Sacr.* t. ii. p. 378, 379, 380. [3] *Diceto*, col. 574. [4] *Benedict.* p. 78.

bare

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bare report of his approach, obliged the enemy to quit the country. *Mowbray's* caſtle of *Maleſſart* lay about twenty miles diſtant from that capital of the province, and the garriſon made terrible depredations all over the neighbourhood: it had been lately ſtrengthened by an outward work, ſecured by ſtrong walls and deep ditches; yet *Geffrey*, by battering and undermining it, took the place in a few days, making thirty knights, with ſixty archers, priſoners. *Hugh de Puſey*, biſhop of *Durham*, had, by the intereſt of his uncles, the late uſurper *Stephen* and *Henry* biſhop of *Wincheſter*, been promoted to that ſee, a little before the death of the former; and perhaps retaining ſtill ſome of his ancient animoſity, was violently ſuſpected of being diſaffected to *Henry*, and ſecretly engaged in the conſpiracy. It was a matter of conſequence to prevent that prelate's open declaration: and *Geffrey* ſending for him, forced him to come, ſore againſt his will, to *York*, and take a new oath of allegiance. He had ſcarce taken this ſecurity from *Hugh*; when he was, upon a rumour that the king of *Scotland* had inveſted the caſtle of *Bowes*, about twelve miles from *Richmond*, called away into that part of the country: but the *Scotch* army retiring in haſte, upon the news of his march, he erected a fort at *Topcliff*[1], for a further ſecurity to the country; entruſting the cuſtody thereof to *William d'Eſtouteville*.

Whist theſe actions paſſed in *Yorkſhire*, *Robert* earl of *Ferrers* had ſurprized the town of *Nottingham*, of which *Reginald de Lucy* was governor; had taken a great booty there, and then burnt it; carrying away captive all the inhabitants he could lay his hands on: and *Anchetil Malory*, conſtable of *Leiceſter*, had, in the week after *Whitſontide*, defeated the royaliſts in an action near *Northampton*, and taken two hundred of the townſmen priſoners. *David* earl of *Huntingdon* was at the head of the rebels in the counties of *Leiceſter*, *Northampton*, and *Huntingdon:* and the truce with *Hugh Bigot* expiring on *Trinity Sunday*[2], *May* 19, this nobleman, re-inforced by a freſh body of *Flemings*, among which were three hundred and eighteen knights of approved valour, who had landed four days before at *Orewell*, renewed hoſtilities in the country of the *Eaſt-Angles*. His attempt upon *Dunwich* was defeated by the reſolution of the inhabitants: but *Norwich* being an open town, and in a defenceleſs condition, through the want of a garriſon, was taken on *June* 18; and he got there a prodigious booty, as well by the ſpoils, as the ranſom of the inhabitants. It was a difficult matter for *Richard de Lucy*, guardian of the realm, when he found the minds of the nobility wavering, to know whom to truſt and employ againſt ſo many enemies, and which of theſe he ſhould firſt attack: but as his maſter had on former occaſions expreſſed an entire confidence in the affection and fidelity of *Reſe*, prince of *South-Wales*, he required his aſſiſtance in this critical juncture. *Reſe* marched immediately with a body of his *Welſh* againſt the earl of *Ferrers*, and inveſted his caſtle of *Tutbury* in *Staffordſhire:* whilſt[3] *Richard* himſelf took the field a little before *Midſummer* with a great army, and laid ſiege to *Huntingdon*. This was a place of great conſequence to the rebels, as being neceſſary for preſerving a communication between *Hugh Bigot*, and thoſe that had taken armes in the counties of *Leiceſter*, *Derby*, and *Stafford:* but the town not appearing tenable againſt ſo great a force, the garriſon, upon the approach of the royal army, burnt it, and retired into the caſtle. *Richard* did not think it adviſable to loſe his time before a place too well provided to be taken eaſily: and contenting himſelf with erecting a fort before the gate of the caſtle, left the care of the blockade to *Simon de Senlis* earl of *Northampton*, whoſe intereſt obliged him to do his utmoſt for reducing it; as being the rightful heir of the county of *Huntington*, and having a grant thereof from the king, if he could recover it out of the hands of earl *David*. *Richard* then drew off the greateſt part of his forces, to be in a readineſs to oppoſe

[1] *Benedict.* p. 78. [2] *Neubr.* l. ii. c. 30. *Diceto*, col. 575, 576. [3] *Benedict.* p. 91.

the young king and *Philip* count of *Flanders*; who had, in concert with the *Engliſh* nobility, drawn down a vaſt army to *Gravelines*, and came thither themſelves at *Midſummer*, in order to embark for *England*. HENRY II. *A. D.* 1174.

HENRY continued abroad all this time, unattacked in *Normandie*, except by an unſucceſsful attempt [1] which his eldeſt ſon and *Theobald* count of *Blois* made upon *Seez*; and employed chiefly in viſiting his fortreſſes, to ſee that they were in a good condition, and in making a progreſs through *Le Maine* and *Anjou*, to try and confirm the affections of his ſubjects in thoſe provinces: with which he had reaſon to be entirely ſatisfied. He had reduced ſeveral caſtles in *Poitou*, and was keeping *Whitſontide* [2] at *Poitiers*; when he had advice that his ſon *Richard's* troops had ſurprized *Saintes:* and marching thither with more expedition than they thought practicable, recovered the place by force, taking about ſixty knights and four hundred archers priſoners. As he knew of the mighty armament preparing in *Flanders*, he left the care of *Guienne* to ſix of the nobility in whom he had the greateſt confidence: and returning towards *Anjou*, erected, on the borders of that country and the *Païs Nantois*, a magnificent caſtle at *Ancenis*; which, with the government of *Le Maine* and *Anjou*, he entruſted to *Maurice de Creon*. The onely buſineſs that now remained for him to diſpatch before he ſet out for *England* (where *Philip* had, in the *Eaſter* aſſembly of the eſtates of *France* at *Paris*, ſwore that he would make a deſcent within a fortnight after *Midſummer*) was to give his laſt orders about the defence of the frontiers, and to ſettle proper meaſures for oppoſing the king of *France* in his intended invaſion of *Normandie*. He had for this purpoſe ſummoned all the nobility of the province and the governors of fortreſſes to meet him at *Bonneville* on *Midſummer day*; when *Richard*, elect of *Wincheſter*, arrived from *England* to preſs his immediate repair thither, as abſolutely neceſſary for the defence of the kingdom. Several meſſengers had been ſent before on the ſame errand, but they had not brought back any certain account of the king's return: and the lords juſtices being in great doubt [3] of the ſentiments of ſome of the principal nobility, particularly of the earls of *Glouceſter* and *Clare*, and under terrible apprehenſions, that no body would venture to oppoſe the young king, whoſe royal authority they had all acknowledged, and to whom they had ſworn allegiance, when he came over in perſon, unleſs his father was preſent, and appeared at the head of his councils and armies, they ſent this prelate as the likelieſt perſon to prevail with him to come over. It was what *Henry* had always propoſed; but knowing his enemies meaſures and motions, he knew likewiſe when his preſence was neceſſary in *England:* and now taking with him his own and his ſon's queens, the earl of *Cheſter*, the earl and counteſs of *Leiceſter*, and ſome other of his priſoners, with a good body of *Brabantins*, he embarked at *Barfleur*; and ſetting ſail on *Monday*, *July* 8, very early in the morning, landed the ſame evening at *Southampton*.

WISE princes will always ſubmit to the neceſſity they are under of complying in certain exigencies with the humours [4], and conforming to the notions, of their ſubjects. *Thomas Becket* had been lately canoniſed, and was now in all the odour of ſanctity; the ridiculous ſtories of his pretended miracles had got poſſeſſion of the people of *England:* and he was become the great object of their devotions, and their chief interceſſor with heaven. The king had lain under ſome ſuſpicions of being acceſſary

[1] *Diceto*, col. 574, 575. [2] *Benedict.* p. 81, 82. [3] *Diceto*, col. 578. [4] That the king had no other view in what he did on this occaſion, ſeems pretty clear from a relation of *Giraldus Cambrenſis* (*Angl. Sacr.* ii. 430.) *John* biſhop of *Norwich* had a ſuit with *W.* earl of *Arundel* about ſome lands at *Lynne*, and had excommunicated him. The earl came to complain of it to the king, then attended with his prelates and nobility; and *Henry*, in the hearing of them all, turned to the prelates, and ſaid, "I would adviſe you, biſhops, to be more cautious "how you meddle with my barons, and not to ex- "communicate them ſo precipitately; for if one of "you has ſucceeded in doing ſo, you will not all, if "you come to be killed for ſuch inſolent attempts, "arrive at the honour of being reputed martyrs."

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WILLIAM king of *Scotland* had carried on the ſiege of *Prudhow-caſtle*; till *Ralf de Glanville*, with *Robert d'Eſtouteville*, *William de Veſci*, *Bernard de Baliol*, *Odonel de Umfreville*, and other *Yorkſhire* barons, advanced at the head of the forces of that country, aſſiſted by the archbiſhop's knights under *Ralf de Tilly*, his conſtable, and the troops of *Geffrey* elect of *Lincoln*, to relieve the place: and then raiſing the ſiege, retired thirty miles backward towards *Scotland*, and encamped near *Alnewick*. There probably thinking himſelf ſafe from any attack or purſuit (it not being uſual for the militia of one county to go out of its bounds to defend another) he ſent away *Duncan* earl of *Fife*, the earl of *Angus*, and *Richard de Moreville*, conſtable of *Scotland*, with almoſt all his army, to ravage the adjoining countries; retaining ſcarce any troops about his perſon, but thoſe of his houſhold. *William's* orders were fully executed in the point of plundering; his vaſt army[1] of eighty thouſand men being chiefly compoſed of people more uſed to rapine than diſcipline: and to ſpread the devaſtation wider, *Duncan*, who commanded in chief, divided his forces into three bodies; which roving to a great diſtance, left the king too much expoſed. The havock they made, and the barbarities they committed, filled all the *Engliſh* with indignation and horrour: but the *Yorkſhire* forces were now diſperſed or employed in the ſiege of *Thirſke*. *Ralf de Glanville* however, upon advice of theſe proceeding of the *Scots*, and of the ſituation their king was in, thought it feaſible to ſurprize him: and convening *Robert d'Eſtouteville*, *Bernard de Baliol*, *William de Veſci*, *Geffrey of Lincoln*, and a few others, propoſed the enterprize. Doubts were at firſt ſtarted, whether, after having done enough in forcing the *Scots* to retire, it was either ſafe, or would be for the king's ſervice, to follow them in their retreat, and to march to ſo great a diſtance on ſo hazardous an undertaking, with a party ſo vaſtly diſproportioned to the force of the enemy; their followers making only four hundred horſe. But the fair proſpect of ſucceeding in it; the prodigious advantages that might be expected from their ſucceſs; and the glory they could not fail of acquiring by an attempt, daring and important enough to render it truly heroical, determined them at laſt, to engage in the enterprize. The execution of it depended entirely on ſecrecy and expedition; it was neceſſary to conduct it ſo, that the *Scots* might have no notice either of their march or deſign: and they took their meaſures very well for that purpoſe. Arriving on *Friday*, *July* 12, in the evening, after a very long and fatiguing march, at *Newcaſtle*, they allowed themſelves a ſhort refreſhment: and ſetting out at the dawn of day, advanced with ſo much ſwiftneſs, that before five in the morning, they had marched four and twenty long miles, and came up with the enemy; notwithſtanding the interruption they

[1] *Neubrig.* l. ii. c. 33, 35.

received

received from a fog, ſo thick that they ſcarce knew which way they were going. This made ſome that affected more caution than the reſt, think it adviſeable to return immediately: but *Baliol* declaring that rather than lie under an eternal infamy for ſo timorous a retreat, he was reſolved if no body followed him, to make the attempt alone, they proceeded in their expedition; and when the day cleared up, found themſelves in ſight of *Alnewick*. The fog had covered their march ſo well, that the *Scots* had no notice of it, till they appeared in ſight, and diſcovered *William* with about an hundred horſe juſt before them in an open plain, ſecure, and ſo far from any apprehenſions of an enemy, that he took them at firſt for ſome of his own cavalry, returned from plundering the country. The banner, which they diſplayed, ſoon convinced him of his error, though it did not ſink his courage; he ſtill imagined himſelf in the midſt of his troops that filled the ambient country, and thinking he could eaſily diſperſe ſuch an handful of *Engliſh*, charged them fiercely: but being unhorſed, was taken with almoſt all his company; few caring to leave their lord in ſuch a diſaſter, and others that came in upon the noiſe of the engagement, thinking a flight more diſhonourable, than by ſurrendering themſelves priſoners, to ſhare his fortune. *Roger de Mowbray* did not conceive himſelf under the ſame obligations of honour; he had come to the king of *Scotland* to ſollicite him to march for the relief of *Thirſke*, the laſt of his caſtles untaken, yet beſieged; and was preſent in the action: but ſeeing *William* taken, fled and made his eſcape into *Scotland*. The *Engliſh*, ſatisfied with ſo glorious an atchievement of their enterprize, returned the ſame evening with their royal captive to *Newcaſtle*: from whence *Ralf de Glanville* removed him to the caſtle of *Richmond*, as a place of greater ſecurity, till he received the king's orders about his treatment and diſpoſal. HENRY II. *A. D.* 1174.

THERE ſcarce ever was a victory of greater importance, or happier in its conſequences, gained with ſo little bloodſhed, or in a more ſeaſonable conjuncture. *Hugh* biſhop of *Durham*, a prelate vaſtly rich, having doubled the revenue of that ſee by his management, was, notwithſtanding his late oath, on the point of declaring for the rebels: and the very day on which it was obtained [1], his nephew *Hugh de Bar ſur Seine*, with forty *French* knights and five hundred *Flemings* which he had ſent for, landed at *Hartle-pole*. But the advice, which the biſhop received at the ſame time, of the king of *Scots* being taken, broke all his meaſures: and retaining only *Hugh de Bar* with his knights, to guard the caſtle of *North-Allerton*, which he had fortified with a view of engaging in the rebellion, ſent liveries and forty days pay to the *Flemings*, with orders to ſail back immediately. *David* [2] earl of *Huntingdon* was at *Leiceſter* when the news came of his brother's captivity: and quitting the place with his followers, made the beſt of his way, as well as he could, to *Scotland*. *William's* numerous army was upon the ſame advice reduced to nothing; for being compoſed of three different nations, the *Engliſh* that inhabited the *Eaſtern* lowlands, the natural *Scots*, and the inhabitants of *Galloway*, deſcended of the old *Britains*, theſe two laſt, having an old antipathy to the others, ſeized this occaſion to ſhew it: and put all of them that came in their way to the ſword, not only during their retreat, but even after they got back to their own country. *Gilbert* and *Uchtred*, ſons of *Fergus* king of *Galloway*, were at the head of the forces of that country: and had upon his retiring into *Holyrood* convent at *Edenburgh*, after being reduced by the late king *Malcom*, divided his inheritance between them, according to the award of the king of *Scotland*, ſuperior lord of the country. They now thought it a favourable opportunity for recovering their independency: and joined in expel-

[1] *Benedict.* p. 76. *Hoveden.* [2] *Chron. Mailroſ. Fordun. Scotichron.* vol. iii. p. 709. *Neubrig.* l. ii. c. 37.

ling

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ling all the king's officers, and in taking and demoliſhing all the fortreſſes that had been erected for keeping them in ſubjection; putting the garriſons to the ſword, and killing all the *Scots*, *Engliſh*, and *Normans* they could get into their power. But having [1] got rid of their common adverſaries, they quarrelled with one another: and *Gilbert*, thinking his younger brother had too great a ſhare allotted him of their father's territories, ſeized *Uchtred*; and put him to death in a cruel manner. This occaſioned a bloody war in *Galloway*; *Rolland* [2], *Uchtred's* ſon by *Guynolda*, daughter of *Waltheof*, ſon of *Goſpatric* earl of *Dunbar*, a brave and active young nobleman, taking up armes, and with the aſſiſtance of his friends, diſputing the poſſeſſion of his father's territories. Theſe civil broils laſted till after *William's* releaſe, when *Galloway* was recovered and the whole kingdom was again pacified: but in the mean time the *Scots* were too much diſtracted by their own troubles to give any attention to the affairs of *England*; and the rebels of this laſt country, ſeeing no hopes of any aſſiſtance from that quarter, were thrown into deſpair, and had no way of preventing their utter ruine, but by a timely ſubmiſſion to the king's mercy.

HENRY, to improve [3] this victory, which was celebrated with ringing of bells all over the kingdom, and to make his advantage of the conſternation with which it ſtruck his enemies, marched without loſs of time to *Huntingdon:* and on *Sunday July* 21, the garriſon of the caſtle ſurrendered at diſcretion, their lives and limbs being ſaved. He advanced thence with his army againſt *Hugh Bigot*; who had five hundred knights with him, and had juſt received a large re-inforcement [4] of *Flemings*, which young *Henry*, upon his arrival at *Witſand* on *July* 13, had ſent over, under *Ralf de la Haie*, to his aſſiſtance: but his followers deſerting daily, and not finding himſelf in a condition to oppoſe the king, who intended to beſiege both his caſtles of *Framingham* and *Bungay* at the ſame time, he choſe rather to ſubmit to his mercy [5], and waiting upon him at *Seleham* on *St. James's* day, delivered up his caſtles. It coſt him a thouſand marks to procure his pardon: but it was granted him on his giving hoſtages, and taking a new oath of fealty. There was more difficulty in obtaining leave for the *Flemings* to return home, after having abuſed the licenſe granted them the year before for that purpoſe: but this too was at laſt granted, upon [6] their taking an oath, that they would never attempt to come again to *England* in an hoſtile manner. The king having provided for their departure, marched the next day with his army to *Northampton*; where *Hugh* biſhop of *Durham* came to make his ſubmiſſion: and delivering up his caſtles of *Norham*, *Durham*, and *North Allerton*, prevailed at laſt that his nephew *Hugh de Bar* might return with his knights to *France*, without any trouble or impediment. Thither likewiſe came the ſame day [7], *July* 31, *Roger de Mowbray*, to throw himſelf at the king's feet, with the offer of his caſtle of *Thirſke*; and the earl of *Ferrers*, to make the like ſubmiſſion, giving up his caſtles of *Tutbury* and *Duffield*. *Anchetil de Malory* and *William de Dive*, the earl of *Leiceſter's* conſtables or commanders of his vaſſals, repaired thither likewiſe to ſtipulate for their lord's liberty by the ſurrender of his fortreſſes: but the king refuſing to enter into any treaty with them, and telling them that their abſolute ſubmiſſion was the onely way to procure him a mild treatment, they ſurrendered his caſtles of *Groby*, *Montſorel*, and *Leiceſter*. The leſſer rebels every where, following the example of the greater, gave up their caſtles: and thus in leſs than a month after the king's landing, all *England*, juſt before on the point of being loſt, was entirely recovered, and eſtabliſhed in a ſtate of quiet and obedience.

[1] *Hoveden. Benedict.* p. 92. *Fordun.* p. 713. *Neubrig.* l. ii. c. 34. [2] *Monaſt. Anglic.* t. i. p. 400. [3] *Benedict. Abb.* p. 83, 84, *& ſeq.* [4] *Diceto*, col. 575. 578. [5] *M. Paris.* [6] *Hoveden.* [7] *Neubr.* l. ii. c. 37.

XXIX. During theſe tranſactions, young *Henry* and the count of *Flanders*, with a numerous army, lay waiting at *Gravelines*; where a large fleet was aſſembled for tranſporting them into *England*. The weſterly winds[1], which chanced to blow at that time, leſs favourably for a paſſage from thence than to one from *Barfleur*, and which ſeemed to veer a point expreſly to waft the king of *England* over with the greateſt expedition, detained them for ſome time[2]: and when the fleet put to ſea on the unlucky day, which bereaved the *Scottiſh* king of his liberty, and them of his aſſiſtance, it was diſperſed by ill weather. This delay allowed them to receive, not only advice of the king's landing, which made them firſt doubt of their reception in *England*, but likewiſe of the diſaſter of their ally: and this being followed by a rapidity of ſucceſs on the king's part, and the univerſal ſubmiſſion of their friends, they ſaw all their meaſures broke; and laying aſide all further thoughts of their enterprize on that kingdom, reſolved to march to the king of *France's* aſſiſtance. This prince, having obliged his nobility upon oath to join him with all their followers, had invaded *Normandie* with all the power of *France*: and not thinking it neceſſary in *Henry's* abſence to take the uſual precaution of reducing the leſſer fortreſſes that ſtood in his way, had ſat down before *Roüen*, the capital of the province. He met with more difficulties in the ſiege than he at firſt apprehended; ſeveral of the *Norman* nobility having, in zeal for their lord's ſervice, thrown themſelves into the place, and the inhabitants appearing very reſolute in its defence. The city too was very large, guarded on the ſouth by the river *Seine*, and on the three other ſides ſurrounded by high mountains; taking up ſuch a compaſs of ground, that all his army, numerous as it was, could not beleaguer it, nor prevent the entry of proviſions and other ſupplies. To remedy this inconvenience[3], he ſent for young *Henry* and the count of *Flanders* to come to join him with their forces: but though theſe two bodies united made a greater army than had been ſeen for many years in *Europe*, it was not ſufficient to encompaſs half the city, by reaſon of the difficulty of its approaches; and the paſſage of the bridge being entirely open, all kinds of neceſſaries were daily brought into it in ſight of the enemy. The walls however were battered continually; and to leave the inhabitants no reſt, the *French* army, being divided into three parts, relieved each other every eight hours: but this only ſerved for an example to the defendants; who making a like partition among themſelves, provided very well by that regulation againſt being exhauſted by continual fatigues. Scarce any hour of the day or night paſſed without ſome alarm or aſſault: but the ardour and bravery of the *Normans* baffling all attempts made upon them in the way of force, the beſiegers found it neceſſary to have recourſe to an artifice.

The ſiege of *Roüen*, and the ſubmiſſion of *Henry* ſons.

Louis paſſed for a devotee, and was very preciſe in the practice of certain exterior rites of devotion or ſuperſtition, commonly termed abroad *la petite religion*; upon which weak minds are apt to lay a mighty ſtreſs, to the prejudice or neglect of the more ſubſtantial duties of religion. But there may be obſerved on many occaſions in his, and generally indeed in the conduct of that ſet of men, many actions unworthy of a man of honour, and inconſiſtent with the magnanimity planted by providence in mankind, as a guard againſt acts of meanneſs; which if they once get over, they are capable of any baſeneſs, and, having broke through the ſtrongeſt reſtraint in human nature, ſink afterwards in the abyſs of corruption. It was agreeable to his general character, and the particular veneration he uſed to expreſs for St. *Laurence*, to make proclamation on the eve of that martyr's anniverſary, that there ſhould be a ceſſation of hoſtilities for the next day, being that of his feſtival. The citizens of *Roüen* obſerved it as ſuch: and, glad of a little reſt, employed

[1] *Dicето*, col. 576. [2] *Ib.* 577. *M. Paris.* [3] *Neubr.* l. ii. c. 36.

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it generally in mirth, jollity, dancing, and other recreations: great numbers of them likewiſe croſſed the bridge to the ſouth-ſide of the river, to ſee the turnaments and other military exerciſes, with which their cavaliers diverted themſelves there in great ſecurity, though in ſight of the enemy. This anſwered exactly to the hopes of the *French* generals; who propoſed to carry the town by *ſcalado*, before the inhabitants could take the alarm, and be prepared for defence: and when they found the bait had taken, gave orders, not by the ſound of trumpet, or in any other publick manner, but by officers particularly deputed to go round all the quarters of the camp, for all their forces to be ready to ſcale the walls on a ſignal given. The attempt would in all probability have ſucceeded; had it not been for a mere accident, or rather a particular interpoſition of providence, and by the means of ſome clergymen; who, not mixing in the entertainment of the day, mounted, by a ſecret impulſe or undeſigning curioſity, to the top of the high tower, where the alarm bell hung, and from whence a conſiderable part of the *French* camp was viſible. The firſt thing that ſtruck them, was the unuſual ſilence that reigned in it; they ſoon after perceived other grounds of ſuſpicion: and at laſt plainly diſcovering ladders carrying, and other preparations making for an aſſault, they rang the bell to give notice to the citizens; who ſnatching up their arms, ran immediately in the greateſt hurry to their ſeveral ſtations. Thoſe too, who were exerciſing beyond the river, repaired to their poſts with wonderful diligence, but ſcarce in time: the enemy, whoſe attack was haſtened by the ringing of the bell, having already clapped their ladders to the walls, and ſome of them being mounted to the top, before the defendants got thither, and with great reſolution cleared the bulwarks of ſuch as had entered, throwing them down headlong, and repelling the aſſailants with great ſlaughter in every quarter. This diſhonourable ſtratagem is, by writers willing to make an apology for the conduct of *Louis*, aſcribed to the occaſional ſuggeſtions of the count of *Flanders*, and the inſtances of his own officers: but whoever was the firſt propoſer thereof, it cannot well appear in any other light than that of a premeditated deſign, to any body who conſiders, that it was made on *Saturday*[1], *Auguſt* 10; and that on the *Thurſday* morning before, the king of *England* had landed at *Barfleur* with his *Brabantins*, and a thouſand *Welſh*; which putting the *French* in deſpair of ſucceeding by open force, made them try this experiment for taking the place by ſurprize.

Henry brought over with him the king of *Scotland*, the earls of *Cheſter* and *Leiceſter*, with other conſiderable captives: and having put them into ſafe cuſtody at *Caen* and *Falaiſe*, advanced with his forces to *Rouen*; which he entered over the bridge in great pomp on *Sunday*, the day after the action above related. On the morrow of his arrival, he cauſed the gates, which had been walled up by the townſmen, to be opened, the ditches and intrenchments between the city and the *French* army to be filled up, and a way to be made broad enough for two hundred men to march abreaſt, that his troops might ſally out with more facility to attack the enemy; with whom they had ſome encounters. He had, early the ſame morning, ſent out his *Welſh* forces, uſed to woods and faſtneſſes, into the foreſt on the north of the town, through which proviſions uſed to be brought to the camp: and they had the good fortune the ſame day to intercept a convoy of victuals going thither[2]. This filled the *French* with ſurprize and terror: they now felt, more than ever, the inconvenience of leaving *Giſors* and other fortreſſes behind them; which rendered it impracticable for them to be ſupplied with neceſſaries, unleſs by the way of *Neufchatel*; or to take any other way in making their retreat, than that by which they had entered the country. Hence aroſe that ſcarcity of proviſions, which had occaſioned

[1] *Benedict. Abb.* p. 85, 86. [2] *Diceto*, col. 519.

occaſioned a deſertion in the army from the time of its ſitting down before [1] *Roüen*, on *July* 22, and which now, being much greater, left them no party to take, but to raiſe the ſiege; for which they prepared by ſtriking their tents, and burning their military engines. They were too far advanced in an enemy's country to make a retreat through woods and narrow paſſes, which embarraſſed the road they were to take, and in the ſight of an army of veteran ſoldiers animated by ſucceſs, without running the danger of loſing the beſt part of their forces: but when a little prevarication and breach of faith will anſwer the purpoſe, it is eaſy for ſome people to extricate themſelves out of difficulties. *Henry* was ever averſe to war, and to the cruelties uſually exerciſed in it; and he deteſted that, wherein he was now engaged, more than any other; ſo that he readily hearkened to the overture of peace, made by the archbiſhop of *Sens* and the count of *Blois*, ſent to him by *Louis* on that pretence. Theſe embaſſadors coming to him on *Wedneſday* morning, *Auguſt* 14, propoſed a conference, for ſettling the conditions of it, to be held the next day at *Malauny*, a place between *Roüen* and *Toſtes*, and a truce to be made for that time; which *Henry* agreeing to, they ſwore to the performance of the conditions on the part of the king of *France*. Under the faith of this agreement, *Louis* retired with his army, unattacked and unmoleſted, through the foreſt [2] to the place appointed: but, inſtead of conferring there the next day with the king of *England*, decamped privately at midnight, and made the beſt of his way towards *France*. When this came to be known, the *Brabantins* purſuing him, cut off a few of his rear, and took a good quantity of arms and baggage: but the *French* army was too far advanced for *Henry* to overtake it with the body of his forces.

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THE two embaſſadors returned in a day [3] or two to *Roüen*, to excuſe this proceeding of *Louis*, who was quite tired of the vaſt expence of the war, and to propoſe another conference on *September* 8, at *Giſors*: where a truce was agreed on till *Michaelmas*; when the terms of peace were to be ſettled in a meeting of all parties at a place between *Tours* and *Amboiſe*. The reaſon why theſe were not adjuſted at *Giſors*, was the abſence of prince *Richard*; who refuſed to come thither, being buſy in attacking his father's caſtles in *Guienne*: and it being provided in the articles of the truce, that *Henry* might attack his ſon, and that neither *Louis* nor young *Henry* ſhould give him any aſſiſtance, the king marched with his army into that province. *Richard*, unable to make head againſt him, fled from place to place, all the fortreſſes he had taken ſubmitting readily: and finding upon his application for ſuccours, that he was excluded from the truce, he reſolved, in his indignation at that treatment, to ſue to his father for pardon, and coming in a ſuppliant manner to *Poictiers*, on *Monday*, *September* 23, was received by him with all the kindneſs imaginable. They went together on the *Monday* following to the conference near *Tours*; where a peace was made on ſuch conditions as the king of *England* thought fit to preſcribe [4].

SUCH

[1] *Diceto*, col. 578. [2] Called *Verte Foreſt*.
[3] *M. Paris. Hoveden. Benedict.* p. 87, 88.
[4] Theſe conditions were: "The king [a] of "*England* had all the caſtles reſtored to him, "which had been taken by the king of *France* "and count of *Flanders* in the beginning of the "war in *Normandie* [b]; and his ſons were to return "to his obedience, freed from all oaths and en- "gagements they had entered into with others; "as his barons and vaſſals, that had joined with "them, were likewiſe, in the ſame free condition, "and in conſequence thereof to be re-inſtated in "their lands and caſtles. All priſoners on both "ſides were to be releaſed, except the king of "*Scotland*, the earls of *Cheſter* and *Leiceſter*, and "*Ralf de Fougeres*, with whom *Henry* either had "made, or reſerved to himſelf the liberty of "making, particular conditions: and with regard "to the reſt, he might, on their releaſe, require "hoſtages from ſuch as he ſaw fit, and were able "to give them, and exact from all others the "ſecurity of an oath of fealty. All caſtles were "(as the king ſaw fit) to be reduced to the con- "dition they were in before the war, and all addi- "tional works and new erected fortreſſes to be "demoliſhed. Young *Henry*, retaining no ran- "cour

[a] *Rymer*, i. 37. *Benedict.* p. 89. *Hoveden. Neubrig.* l. ii. c. 38. [b] The king of *France* and count of *Flanders* had with their forces taken theſe caſtles, but are not mentioned in the treaty, becauſe they pretended only to act as auxiliaries to young *Henry*, and to take them for his benefit and ſervice.

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Such was the concluſion of a war, begun with all the circumſtances that can be imagined unfavourable to *Henry*, and threatening no leſs than his utter ruin by a revolt of his own ſons; one of them aſſociated with him in the throne, and recognized by the oaths or homage of all his ſubjects; accompanied with the open defection of a great part of his nobility, the ſecret favour of others, the infidelity of thoſe who were in his councils, houſhold, and ſervice, and had either received the greateſt favours from him, or were the moſt in his confidence, and a wavering diſpoſition remarkable in ſuch as ſeemed to adhere to him; ſupported by a formidable league of all the neighbouring potentates, who envied or dreaded his greatneſs: yet ending, with a rare event in civil wars, greatly to his advantage, and infinitely to his glory. But it is ſuch difficulties, that diſtinguiſh heroes, and allow princes truly great to diſplay their admirable talents: and certainly none ever ſhewed on any occaſion, more temper, firmneſs, and intrepidity, more preſence of mind, activity, vigour, wiſdom, and judgment, than the king did in all his conduct on this trying one; when his crown was in ſuch imminent danger, that it could not have been ſaved by qualities leſs extraordinary and heroical. What crowned all, and ſerved to compleat his character, for there is a chain of virtues, and great minds, ever conſiſtent, are above revenge and deteſt cruelty [1], was the clemency with which he uſed his victories; putting no one perſon to death, releaſing without fine or ranſom above nine hundred knights, whom he had taken priſoners in this truly unnatural rebellion, and reſtoring them to their eſtates. It is evident from the terms, as well as circumſtances, of this treaty, that the king preſcribed all the conditions of it: and thoſe, which he graciouſly allowed his ſons, were leſs for their advantage, than what he offered at the beginning of the rupture, and they might have had before the war commenced.

Henry, forgetting their undutiful behaviour [2], treated them with the ſame goodneſs as ever: and ſhewed his confidence in them, by committing to *Henry* in *Normandie*, to *Richard* in *Poitou*, and to *Geffrey* in *Bretagne*, the execution of the article relating to the demolition of fortifications made during the late troubles. The count of *Flanders* gave up the charter of conventions between him and young *Henry*, whom he releaſed of his oath for performing them [3]; and received from the king a new grant of the penſion of five hundred marks a year, which he had about eleven years before given to him and his father *Thierry*: and to atone, as well for his own iniquity in ſupporting a rebellion againſt a prince, to whom he had many obligations, and had done homage, as for the blood of his ſubjects ſhed in the

" cour againſt any that had ſtood by his father, and " engaging that he would never do them any harm " as long as he lived, was upon that account to " have two fortified places in *Normandie*, ſuch as " his father ſhould appoint, with fifteen thouſand " pounds a year *Angevin* money: and bound him- " ſelf to obſerve all his father's grants of lands, " either for charible uſes, or to his vaſſals and " ſervants; particularly the ſettlement made on his " brother *John*, being the caſtles of *Notingham* " and *Marleborough* with the earldom of the former, " and ſuch eſcheats as the king ſhould afterwards " grant him; two other caſtles, as his father ſhould " ſee fit, in *Normandie*, and one in each of the " provinces of *Le Maine*, *Anjou*, and *Touraine*, " with three thouſand pounds a year rent, one third " thereof in *England*, and the other two in *Nor-* " *mandie* and *Anjou*, by equal portions, and in *An-* " *gevin* money. The king gave to his ſon *Richard* " two ſeats, ſuch as would enable him to do the " leaſt miſchief, in *Poitou*, with half the revenue " of the province: and to *Geffrey*, a moiety of the " rents of *Bretagne* at preſent, with a promiſe of " the whole, when ever he married the dutcheſs, " according to the articles with her father *Conan*. " The king, out of affection to his ſon, remitted to " his adherents all the moveables they had carried " off with them, and all forfeitures incurred ſince " the rupture, in conſequence of their adherence to " him; but for crimes affecting life or limb, and " for offences before the war, they were to anſwer " according to law; and all pleas or ſuits were to " remain in the ſame condition as they were before. " All the ſons gave their father aſſurance, that they " would not exact more of him againſt his will, " than he had now given them, and that they " would never withdraw their ſervice from him; " the two younger doing homage for what he had " granted, and the eldeſt offering to do the ſame, " but the father declined receiving it from him, " on account of his royal title, and accepted of " his ſecurity."

[1] *Diceto*, col. 583. [2] *Ib.* col. 545. *Benedict.* p. 95. [3] *Ib.* p. 97. *Rymer*, i. 25.

war, croſſed himſelf ſoon after for an expedition to *Jeruſalem*.

BUT the chief advantage which *Henry* gained by the war, lay in the captivity of *William* king of *Scotland*, and the treaty which he made with him on *December* 8, at *Falaiſe*, with the conſent of a great number of prelates, earls, and barons of that kingdom, aſſembled for ſettling the terms of that prince's releaſe. When the princes of *Galloway* had, upon *William's* captivity, ſhaken off the *Scotch* yoke, and aſſerted their original independency, he had thought it juſt to ſupport them in that work: and by all the rules of ſound policy, it behoved a king of *England* to ſupport a power, that would always ſtand in need of his protection, and be a terrible thorn in the ſide of his enemies, inſtead of being made uſe of by them for cruel depredations on the borders of his dominions; for which purpoſe the *Galloway* people had, ever ſince their ſubjection to the *Scots*, been conſtantly employed. With this view, he had, about the middle of *November* [1], ſent *Roger de Hoveden*, the hiſtorian, one of his chaplains, and *Robert de Vaux*, to treat with them, and retain them in his ſervice; a propoſal which *Gilbert*, and the other chieftains of the country, very readily accepted. They offered an annual tribute of two thouſand marks of ſilver, five hundred cows, and as many hogs, for his protection and aſſiſtance in reſcuing them from the dominion of the *Scots:* but when *Henry* heard how barbarouſly *Gilbert* had murdered his brother *Uchtred*, he reſolved to have no dealings with a people capable of ſuch inhumanities, and immediately came to an agreement with the king of *Scotland*. "This prince ſwore fealty, and did homage to *Henry* as his "liege lord [2], acknowledging himſelf his vaſſal againſt all men, for *Scotland* and all "his *other territories:* he did the like homage to young *Henry*, ſaving allegiance to "the king his father; and obliged his heirs to do the ſame to their heirs. The like "fealty and homage were to be done by *David*, *William's* brother, and by all the "nobility and gentry of *Scotland* for themſelves and their heirs; but the prelates "with the clergy and their ſucceſſors were only to ſwear fealty: and all the ſaid "parties agreed, that the church of *Scotland* ſhould pay to the church of *England* "the ſubjection which was due to her, and had been uſually paid in the time of "former kings of *England*. Refugees for felony out of *England*, were not to be "harboured in *Scotland*, but to be delivered up to the king's officers of juſtice, "unleſs they would return voluntarily, and ſtand to judgment in his court: and "the like ſtipulation was made in relation to *Scotch* refugees, if they would not "ſtand to the judgment of either of the king's courts. The vaſſals of each king "were to enjoy the lands which they held under the other; and the caſtles of "*Berwick*, *Roxburgh*, *Jedburgh*, *Edenburgh*, and *Sterling* were to be delivered into "*Henry's* hands, as a ſecurity for the performance of theſe conditions: but the "charge of the garriſons, as rated by him, was to be borne by *William*. The king "of *Scotland* likewiſe delivered his brother *David*, four earls, and ſixteen of his "nobility for hoſtages, till the caſtles were given up: and then the king himſelf, "with his brother, were to be ſet at liberty. The earls and barons might every "one, upon the delivery of his ſon, or next heir reſpectively, be admitted to the "ſame indulgence: and the king reſerved to himſelf a power of demanding the "like hoſtages from ſuch of the nobility as were abſent. The biſhops, earls, "and barons engaged alſo to ſtand by *Henry*, as well againſt the king of *Scotland*, "if he broke this convention, and his oath of fealty, as againſt all other his "enemies: and the firſt of theſe were to put his dominions under an interdict, till "he returned to his allegiance."

IT is with an ill grace that the *Scots* complain of this treaty, and inſiſt upon its nullity, becauſe it was made while their king was a captive, and in dureſs; as if princes in that condition were incapable of making a contract, even with the conſent

[1] *Benedict.* p. 93. [2] *Rymer*, i. 39.

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of the eſtates of their realm; a notion which claſhes with the common ſenſe of mankind, and would, if generally received, render the captivity of kings as perpetual, as war would be, if no treaties could be made between enemies. The reaſon why certain acts of perſons in dureſs are ſet aſide, is a ſuppoſed violence or terror uſed in extorting them, founded either upon the circumſtances of the action, as in the reſignation of *Mary* queen of *Scotland*, or upon the unreaſonableneſs of the act, and the exceſſive hardſhips it would bring upon others, whoſe conſent was requiſite, as well as upon the contractor, as in the caſe of *Francis* I, when, without the aſſent of the eſtates of *France*, he was forced to ſign a ceſſion of *Burgundy*, and other parts of the demeſne of that kingdom. But nothing of that kind appears in this treaty, made by the king of *Scotland*, with the concurrence of a deputation of the eſtates and principal nobility of his realm, as well ſpiritual as temporal, infinitely to the advantage of both, and for putting them in a condition to prevent a diſſolution of the monarchy, the diſmembring of ſome of the beſt provinces of the realm, and the laying of an eternal foundation for war within its bowels, by the erection of ſeveral petty independent principalities; evils flowing upon them, not by the force of the enemy, who had the captive king in his power, but by the inteſtine diviſions of the latter's own ſubjects. The very terms of the treaty do great honour to the moderation of *Henry* in the midſt of his victories: he was rid of his other enemies, and by giving a little aſſiſtance to the *Gallowetans*, he could, with little trouble and expence, have ruined *Scotland*. The war was undeniably juſt on his ſide, and he had conſequently a right to all the acquiſitions he could make in it: yet he inſiſted on no exorbitant ſum of money for *William's* ranſom, to the oppreſſion and impoveriſhment of the nation; he demanded no diſmembring of any province of the realm; terms generally exacted in the like caſes, and to which he had pretenſions that certainly were not unreaſonable.

If I may preſume to interpret the words of this treaty, I conceive that by *Scotland*, is meant the country inhabited by the natural *Scots*; and that, in the *other dominions of William*, are included all the eaſtern lowlands; from the river *Twede*, to the *Frith* of *Forth*, inhabited by the *Engliſh* of the old *Saxon* race, and by others which mixed with *Normans* had retired thither ſince the conqueſt: and likewiſe the kingdom of *Galloway*, or of the *Cumbrian Britains*, containing not only the particular county now called by that name, but all the other counties lying ſouth or weſt of the *Cluyd*, and extending from *Glaſgow* to the borders of *England*. It hath appeared already in the courſe of this hiſtory, that the *Cumbrian Britains* were ſubdued by the *Northumbrian* kings, and their princes held their territories as vaſſals of the latter, long before the *Scots* had any thing to do with that country: which was not quite ſubdued by them, till a few years before this treaty[1]; when *Fergus*, who bore the title of king of *Galloway*, was conquered by *Malcolm*, *William's* brother and predeceſſor. It hath been ſhewn likewiſe, that all the eaſtern lowlands, as far north as the *Forth*, were part of the *Northumbrian* kingdom, from the time of its firſt foundation, till the reign[2] of *Edgar*, who granted it to the kings of *Scotland* to be held in vaſſalage of the crown of *England*, and that the *Picts*, whoſe territories lay north of the *Forth*, paid tribute to the *Northumbrian* kings, till the time of *Egfrid*. Thoſe territories fell afterwards by conqueſt into the hands of the *Scots*, and the whole country aſſumed the name of *Scotland*: but whether our *Norman* princes after the conqueſt revived the claim of tribute from, or required homage for, them, is uncertain, by reaſon of the ſilence of our hiſtorians, or of their looſe indeterminate manner of expreſſion. They all agree in ſaying, that the kings of *Scotland* became the men or vaſſals of the kings of *England*, and did homage to them: but do not ſpecify on what account, and for what country, they did their homage. *Scotland* might poſſi-

[1] *Monaſtic. Anglic.* ii. 551. [2] See before, p. 261, 329, 330.

bly be included in thoſe general expreſſions; for though we do not find it particularly mentioned in any treaty more ancient than this, the reaſon perhaps may be, becauſe there is no inſtrument preſerved on record of any former treaty, and we have no accounts thereof, but what are given by old writers in a very looſe manner. However this be, there is no doubt but *William* was the vaſſal of *Henry* for the lowlands of *Scotland*, as far as the *Forth*; that he had done him homage; and that by engaging in the unnatural rebellion of *Henry's* ſons, and invading the country of his lord, he had juſtly forfeited his claim to the territories he held of him in vaſſalage. *Henry* therefore might have juſtly demanded thoſe territories, and even that of *Galloway*, the *Scots* having no pretenſions thereto, but by a recent conqueſt: and he had not only a prior claim in the right of the *Northumbrian* princes on that account, but a much better title through the offer and voluntary ſubmiſſion of the princes, lords, and chieftains of that country. The king of *England*, ever a friend to peace, ſeems to have had no view in this treaty, but to eſtabliſh one between the two kingdoms on the firmeſt foundation, according to the maxims and notions of thoſe times; when the obligations contracted by homage, and an oath of fealty to a ſuperior lord, were deemed the moſt ſacred of any. He might have reſumed into his own poſſeſſion the countries inhabited by the *Engliſh* and *Britains*; he might have demanded tribute of others, as he was undoubtedly maſter of the terms of this treaty: but he was content with the oaths of fealty and homage, and the acknowledgment of his ſuperiority, not by *William* alone, who, having already violated all obligations of that kind, could not gain any credit by renewing them, but alſo by all the prelates and nobility of *Scotland*, who, after their king was ſet at liberty, ratified it in all appearance with the greateſt alacrity imaginable. It was with the ſame view, and for the better preſerving of an harmony between the two nations, that a ſtipulation was made for the eccleſiaſtical power in *Scotland* being ſubordinate to that of *England*. This was in effect no more than reſtoring to the [1] ſee of *York* that primacy which ſhe had exerciſed for many ages in that kingdom, and which ſhe had only loſt by the uſurped power aſſumed over her by *Lanfranc*, and his aſpiring ſucceſſors, who laboured to bring her into ſubjection to their ſee of *Canterbury*, after the conqueſt of *England*.

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XXX. AFTER the concluſion of theſe treaties, *Henry* prepared for his return into *England*, by ſettling his affairs abroad: and for this purpoſe had, on the feaſt of *S. Matthias* [2], an interview with the king of *France* at *Giſors*. The fortreſſes, erected during the late war, were now demoliſhed: and he took care to viſit *Anjou* and *Poitou*, to ſee that all places of ſtrength in thoſe provinces were well provided with garriſons, and their fortifications in good condition. But the chief thing he had to do was, to reconcile the mind of his eldeſt ſon; who had ſtill the weakneſs to lend an open ear to the ſuggeſtions of *France*, and was perſuaded by his father-in-law, that if *Henry* once got him in *England*, he would confine him in priſon. It was not proper for the king, when he went over thither, to leave the prince behind, with an head full of ſuſpicions, and expoſed to the ſollicitations of thoſe whom his *French* alliance made him conſider as more his friends, than a father whom he had highly offended: but when he ſent for him, the prince at firſt abſolutely refuſed to come; the principal occaſion of his miſtruſt being, that the homage he offered had been rejected. The king probably declined receiving it, as thinking it an act of humiliation, to which an high-ſpirited prince would not care to ſubmit: but as it was frequently paid in thoſe days by crowned heads to one another (though not ordinarily for their realms, yet for other territories held of them, or for annuities granted by them) young *Henry*, either imagining his revenue not ſufficiently ſecured

A. D. 1175. *Henry's* return to *England*, and tranſactions there

[1] *Rob. de Monte.* [2] *Benedict. Abb.* p. 94, 95.

for

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for want of this ceremony, or that, it being a bond of mutual affection and duty between the parties concerned in it, his father's not admitting him to it, proceeded from his being not yet fully reconciled, was very uneasy, that his homage had not been received, as well as that of his brothers. It is not unlikely that this jealousy might arise in some measure from the prince's consciousness of his own ill conduct after the reconciliation, in not dismissing about an hundred of the king's knights taken by his partizans in the war, as freely as the king had done the nine hundred and sixty-nine that were his prisoners, but forcing them to pay ransoms for their liberty; a step, of which his father probably had expressed some dislike, and which may reasonably be supposed to be one of those offences committed after the peace, for which himself begged pardon [1]. This occasioned several messages from the father, with strong assurances of his affection to the son: and the prince was at length so well satisfied, that coming [2], on *April* 1, to the king at *Bures*, he fell on his knees before him; asking pardon for all his offences before, in, and after the war, in the presence of several of the prelates and nobility of *Normandie*; and at his earnest request, was admitted to do homage, and take an oath of allegiance. *Henry* was so well persuaded of his son's repentance, that he allowed him to make a short visit to the court of *France*: and upon his return to pass the *Easter* with him at *Cherbourg*, they set out together for *Barfleur*; from whence they passed into *England*, landing on *Friday*, *May* 9, at *Portsmouth*.

When the two kings came to *London*, they found there *Richard* archbishop of *Canterbury*; who had called a synod of the prelates and clergy of his province to meet on *Sunday*, [3] *May* 18, at *Westminster*: it was held by their consent, and they were present at it with a great number of the nobility. Several canons, taken from the *Decretal epistles of Popes*, and the decrees of foreign councils, were received in it, and established, "as well to enforce the due payment of tythes of all things "growing and renewing annually; and to allow costs in causes between eccles- "asticks; as to put a stop to several practices, which it was thought proper to "condemn. These were, the marriage of the clergy; their frequenting taverns; "going armed, or taking arms; wearing long hair, and a dress in any respect unca- "nonical; being ordained by any but their proper diocesan; concerned in traffick "or farming; judging in cases of blood and corporal punishment; and serving in "the offices of high-sheriff, bailiff, or steward. The sons of clergymen were "incapacitated to succeed their fathers immediately in livings; no pleas affecting "life or limb were to be held in churches or church-yards; no money was to be "paid, either for the administration of any of the sacraments, the dedication of "churches, the presentation to benefices, or for the reception of any religious into "convents. Vicars were forbidden to encroach on the rights of rectors, in con- "tempt of their oath and fealty; and the like prohibitions were made against con- "secrating the eucharist in patens or chalices of tin, or of any material, but gold and "silver; and the dipping of the consecrated bread in the wine, as contrary to the "institution; against private marriages, not solemnized by a priest in the face of "the church; and the marrying of infants not arrived to an age of giving their "consent, without which there could be no marriage; except in certain cases, "where reasons of state, or the publick tranquillity might render it proper to allow "a dispensation. These canons were confirmed by the royal authority, and the "assent of the barons of the kingdom."

It was on *Tuesday* following, and in all appearance before this synodical assembly, as well as before all the lay nobility, that [4] the king's letter, notifying his reconciliation to his eldest son, and the latter's homage and submission, were read in the

[1] *Diceto*, col. 583, 586. [2] *Ib.* col. 585, 586. [3] *Hoveden. Benedict.* p. 98. & seq. *Chron. Gervas.* col. 1395. [4] *Diceto*, col. 586.

presence

presence of young *Henry*; who accordingly took the oaths therein mentioned: and giving the king of *France*, the counts of *Troyes* and *Blois*, his two brothers, and all the prelates and nobles of *England*, *Normandie*, and *Guienne* for his sureties, renounced all assistance from them, if he ever deviated from obedience to his father in his future conduct. Some other things, less agreeable to the king, passed in this convocation; the ancient dispute, about the archbishops of *York* carrying their cross erect in the province of *Canterbury*, being revived on this occasion. *Richard*[1], who now filled the last of those sees, had, with the expence of ten thousand marks of silver at the court of *Rome*, not only got his election to it confirmed, but obtained also a grant from the Pope of the primacy of all *England* and the legation of his own province: and was fond of exercising all his powers. Thus[2] he invaded the rights of the bishop of *Chichester*, by consecrating *Odo*, when he was chosen abbot of *Battle* in that diocese; pretending that he did no injury thereby to that see, because he acted in it by virtue of his legatine authority. He might have acted in virtue of his archiepiscopal authority, when, in the two last months of the past year, he made a general visitation of all the dioceses, chapters, and abbeys in the province, travelling with a prodigious train of men and horses, and putting all the collegiate and conventual bodies that he visited, to an excessive expence in providing for their entertainment: but he chose rather to make use of his legatine powers in it, in order to exercise a jurisdiction over persons and bodies, that were exempt from the ordinary authority of an archbishop of *Canterbury*, and to create a precedent for his successors in that see to continue the like usurped jurisdiction, in times when it would not be easy to distinguish, what acts were to be ascribed to the one, and what to the other, of the capacities united in his person. The introducing of this confusion was one of the political reasons of the court of *Rome*, for granting legatine powers to metropolitans; not only enabling them to do what they could do before by their ordinary authority, but affording them likewise a pretence to enlarge their power illegally, and to usurp on the rights of bishops and ecclesiastical bodies; which, as these would not tamely submit to such usurpations, occasioned, by a necessary consequence, frequent appeals to the *Roman* consistory; as it did particularly on this occasion. There had been an old emulation between the sees of *Canterbury* and *York*; there was one at present between the two prelates that filled them; *Roger* of *York*, being much considered in the court of *Rome* and vested with the character of legate over *Scotland*, as *Richard* of *Canterbury* was, over his own province in *England*. This last, displeased that his legation did not extend to the province of *York*, and that he had no power over *Roger's* person, was resolved to mortify him, by invading his right to churches that lay within his own province: and coming to *Gloucester*, summoned the clergy of *St. Oswald's* chappel, to attend him at his visitation. This chappel had been founded in the *Saxon* times by an archbishop of *York*[3]: and having been ever since a peculiar of that see, subject to no other ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the clergy refused to come to the visitation, and were excommunicated by *Richard* for that contempt. This was not the onely arbitrary act he did in his visitation; it being observed, that he suspended *Guy* dean of *Waltham* from his dignity and sacerdotal order in his absence, and without hearing his defence; and that he put an abbess, taken from another convent, over the nunnery of *Winchester*, against the will of the nuns; who claimed the right of a free election, and that the abbess ought to be of their own body, which afforded several fit for that dignity.

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These were less able to assert their rights, and procure redress of their grievances, than *Roger* archbishop of *York*; who not only appealed to the *Pope*[4] against the cen-

[1] *Chron. Joh. Abb. Petriburg. A. D.* 1174. [2] *Diceto*, col. 588. [3] *Ib.* col. 583. *Benedict.* p. 94. *Ib.* p. 106, 127.

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ſures laid on his clergy, and on account of a claim [1] he advanced to the ſees of *Lincoln*, *Cheſter*, *Worceſter*, and *Hereford*, as members of his province; but notified alſo theſe appeals by his agents to the convocation now ſitting, and claimed the right likewiſe of having his croſs borne before him in the province of *Canterbury*. It was either to put an end to this controverſy [2], or to be abſolved from his vow or engagement to make an expedition againſt the infidels, that the king ſent for a legate [3] from *Rome:* and cardinal *Hugozun* came over at the latter end of *October* following, before whom the matter was at laſt thus adjuſted. The archbiſhop of *Canterbury* quitted claim to the archbiſhop of *York* of all manner of juriſdiction over the chappel of *St. Oſwald*; which was declared entitled to the ſame privileges as the king's free chappels: and abſolved the clergy thereof from their excommunication. But the affairs of the croſs and the dioceſes were referred to the judgment of the archbiſhop of *Roüen* and other foreign biſhops; who were allowed five years time to make their award, and till then neither of the parties were to ſtir in the matter.

After this convocation, in which there paſſed nothing remarkable, beſides *Godfrey* biſhop of *St. Aſaph's* reſigning his ſee, either becauſe of its poverty and being infeſted by the *Welſh*, or in hopes of getting the abbey of *Abingdon*, which had been given him *in commendam* during pleaſure, the king went to paſs the *Whitſontide* at *Reading*. The [5] ſee of *Norwich* and twelve abbeys were now vacant: and he diſpatched *Roger de Hoveden* and *Robert de Hingliſham*, two of his chaplains, to thoſe churches, with writs, requiring the chapter and convents to depute reſpectively their prior and five, or more, of the diſcreeteſt of their number, fully empowered by their letters of procuration, to chooſe in their name proper perſons to fill up the vacancies; and for that purpoſe to be on *Midſummer* day at *Oxford*. The king in the mean time went to viſit the marches of *Wales:* and when he came to *Glouceſter* held a great council of his nobility; in which the earl of *Glouceſter* was called to account for having, in the beginning of the late troubles, driven the king's wardens out of *Briſtol*, and kept it in his own hand ever ſince, till he now delivered it into the king's poſſeſſion. *Reſe ap Griffith* prince [1] of *South-Wales*, came to this council; bringing with him ſeveral *Welſh* lords, that had been guilty of miſdemeanors, to do homage to the king; who received them into favour, and engaged them on *June* 29 to join with the *Engliſh* barons of the marches, in a common oath to aſſiſt one another, in caſe they were attacked by the *Welſh* that did not own his royal authority. Theſe affairs hindered *Henry* from going towards *Oxford* ſo ſoon as he propoſed: but arriving on *July* 1, at *Woodſtoke*, he there held his court; and the delegates of the chapter of *Norwich*, choſe *John de Oxford*, frequently beforementioned, for their biſhop. The vacant abbeys were likewiſe filled up agreeably to the king's mind; and his ſon *Geffrey's* election to the ſee of *Lincoln* was confirmed:

[1] *Roger* ſeems to have thought it the beſt way of ſecuring his right, to claim more than he could expect to obtain; for his pretenſions to theſe ſees were very weak; founded, as to *Lincoln* upon *Lindſey's* being ſubject to *York* for the ſhort time it was under the *Northumbrian* kings; as to *Cheſter*, on Pope *Calixtus* II's deſign of making the biſhop a ſuffragan of *York* (*Stubbs*, *Acta Pont. Ebor.* col. 1718.) as to *Worceſter*, on its being held by his predeceſſors jointly with *York*, for ſome ſucceſſions in the *Saxon* times; and as to *Hereford*, on its being taken out of *Worceſter*.

[2] *Chron. J. Abb. Petriburg. Ann.* 1176.

[3] *Gervaſe* the monk of *Canterbury* (col. 1432) thinks, that the king ſent for him in order to get a divorce from queen *Eleanor:* but he is ſingular in that notion, and ſeems to have taken it from *Eleanor's* being kept in priſon for having excited her ſons to the late rebellion, and to prevent her doing the like miſchief again. It doth not appear that *Henry* ever took any ſtep for that purpoſe, nor would it have anſwered his views if he had ſucceeded in that point; for then he would have had no pretence to keep her in priſon, and he muſt have quitted all *Guienne*, as *Louis* her firſt huſband had done, upon his divorce. It muſt certainly appear very unreaſonable to impute *Hugozun's* coming to a view that never took effect, and doth not appear to have been ſo much as attempted; when the cauſe aſſigned for it by others, did actually take place; this legate having abſolved the king from his vow of going to the *Holy land*.

[4] *Benedict. Abb.* p. 108, 109. [5] *Ib.* p. 110. *Powel's Hiſt. of Wales*, p. 125.

but

but he would not ſuffer him to be conſecrated at that time, becauſe he was too young; and ſent him to *Tours* to proſecute his ſtudies, and to qualify himſelf in point of learning, to be more worthy of his dignity. HENRY II. A. D. 1175.

WHETHER [3] *Henry* had any grounds to ſuſpect thoſe, that had joined in his ſons rebellion, of forming a deſign againſt his perſon, he now iſſued a proclamation forbidding them to come to his court unleſs particularly ſummoned, on pain of being taken into cuſtody, as the king's enemies, if they came without ſummons. This precaution was attended by two others, which ſeem to have been owing to ſome ſuch ſuſpicion; becauſe they were obſerved for a little while, as if they were occaſional ordinances: the one, enjoining all perſons not to ſtay within his court after ſun-ſet, or to come thither before ſun-riſing; the other forbidding all perſons to carry armes, *i. e.* bows, arrows, or pointed daggers, on the *Engliſh* ſide of the *Severne*. Many diſorders had happened during the late troubles, particularly in reſpect of his foreſts; which he propoſed to puniſh or redreſs in the progreſs, he was going to make in the northern parts of the kingdom. Before he left *Woodſtoke*, four knights with their accomplices, concerned in the murder of *Gilbert*, one of his foreſters, and his companions, were brought thither priſoners: and being found guilty were ſentenced to be hanged, and executed accordingly. When he came to *Nottingham* and *York*, he found a terrible havock had been made of his deer in thoſe parts, and all orders of men, barons, knights, country people, and even clergymen, having taken the liberty of deſtroying them, at a time when the laws ſeemed to be ſuſpended, and when the king himſelf, in the height of his diſcontent at the unnatural behaviour of his ſons, had wrote to *Richard de Lucy*, that he did not care, if the veniſon in his foreſts; and the fiſh in his ponds, were all deſtroyed. This *Richard* had publiſhed: and a general liberty had been taken in that reſpect by all ſorts of perſons, who were now amerced at the king's pleaſure, for offences not included in the amneſty, which the king had lately granted [2]. Many of the clergy ſuffered among others; the legate *Hugozun* having conſented that the king ſhould try all eccleſiaſticks in his own court, in ſuits about lay-fees and proſecutions for tranſgreſſions of the foreſt. Whilſt an inquiſition was making into offences of this kind [3], the king took care to have the walls of *Leiceſter* levelled with the ground, and the caſtle of *Groby* demoliſhed. The caſtle of *Huntingdon*, which had been held out againſt him by earl *David*; and thoſe of *Tutbury*, *Walton*, *Dudley*, *Thriſke*, belonging to the earls of *Ferrers*, *Hugh Bigot*, *Gervaſe Paynel* and *Roger de Mowbray*, with many others, underwent the ſame fate: nor [4] could all the biſhop of *Durham's* inſtances ſave his caſtle of *North-Allerton*.

THE king came to *York* on *Aug.* 10: and was there met by *William* king of *Scotland*; who, upon the delivery of the hoſtages and fortreſſes ſtipulated in the convention of *Falaiſe*, had been ſet at liberty in the beginning of this year, and returned into his own country, to prepare matters for the execution of the treaty. He brought with him [5] all the biſhops, abbots, earls, barons, knights, and freeholders holding immediately of the crown, from the greateſt to the leaſt, in his kingdom, in order to do homage and ſwear fealty, with him, to the king of *England* and his ſucceſſors for ever, againſt all men whatſoever. Theſe different orders of perſons

[1] *Benedict. Abb.* p. 111, 112.

[2] As the ſcene of theſe proſecutions is by cotemporary writers laid only in thoſe parts of the realm that had engaged in the late rebellion, I take them to be a method uſed to puniſh ſuch as had been guilty of it, without infringing the articles of reconciliation; nor could rebels, out of the protection of the law at the time, claim any benefit from a licenſe, that could not be meant for them whoſe ravages in the foreſts probably occaſioned it, and was publiſhed by *R. de Lucy*, whoſe expreſs orders in all other points they openly oppoſed.

[3] *Neubr.* l. ii. c. 38. *Diceto*, col. 588. *M. Paris.* [4] *Angl. Sacr.* i. 723. [5] *Benedict.* p. 113. *Hoveden.*

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were in thoſe days all the conſtituent members of the eſtates or parliament of *Scotland*; the royal burghs, which afterwards enjoyed ſo many privileges, not being as yet incorporated, or at leaſt not repreſented in that body: and every individual freeholder (*i. e.* of ſuch as held immediately of the crown by military ſervice, who retain to this day the name of *Lairds*) throughout the nation, being obliged to attend there in his proper perſon, without a lawful cauſe of abſence (in which caſe he was allowed to appear by his proxy) [1] till *March* 1, *A. D.* 1427; "when the ſmall barons and "freeholders were excuſed from coming in perſon to parliaments or general coun-"cils, and authoriſed to chuſe, at the head court of the ſheriffdom, two or more wiſe "men to repreſent them, according to the largeneſs of the ſheriffdom (except in "thoſe of *Clackmannan* and *Kinroſſe*, which were confined to one) who were to be "called commiſſaries of the ſhires, and empowered to elect one wiſe and expert man "to be called the common Speaker of the parliament: and it was enacted at the "ſame time, that all biſhops, abbots, priors, dukes, earls, lords of parliament, "and ban-rents, ſhould be ſummoned to council and parliament, by the king's "ſpecial precept." The cathedral of *York* was the place, where theſe eſtates of *Scotland* appeared before the king of *England:* and the convention of *Falaiſe* being read to them, it received their approbation, and was ratified by *William* and his brother *David*, who put their hands and ſeals to the inſtrument, did homage, and ſwore fealty for all their territories (particularly for *Scotland* and *Galloway*) to *Henry*, againſt all men, and to the young king his ſon, ſaving their allegiance and fealty to his father. The earls and barons of *Scotland* performed the ſame ceremony of homage and fealty: and ſwore further, that in caſe the king of *Scotland* ſhould break the convention, they would aſſiſt the king of *England* againſt him, till he returned to his obedience. The prelates, without doing homage, ſwore fealty in the ſame manner, and bound themſelves likewiſe by oath, in caſe *William* did not obſerve the articles of the treaty, to put him and his realm under an interdict, till he ſubmitted to the king of *England's* pleaſure, and to pay themſelves to the church of *England* the ſame ſubjection, as their predeceſſors uſed, that is, as *Robert de Monte* expounds it, would be ſubject to the archbiſhop of *York*, and go to him, as their primate, for conſecration. The treaty being thus executed, *Henry* reſtored the caſtles of *Jedburgh* and *Sterling*; but kept in his own hands that of *Edenburgh* for a time, and thoſe of *Berwick* [2] and *Roxburgh*, both lying on the *Tweed*, which were now yielded to him and his ſucceſſors for ever [3], as being neceſſary for the ſecurity of the frontiers of *England*. The [4] ſame author ſays, that *Henry*, in conſequence of his acknowledged ſuperiority, diſpoſed of biſhopricks, abbeys, baronies, and other honours in *Scotland*, or at leaſt they were beſtowed by his advice: but however this was, he certainly did [5], at *William's* requeſt, give him leave to invade *Galloway*, and reduce *Gilbert* the ſon of *Fergus* into the ſubjection he had formerly paid him; which in conſequence of this permiſſion, he ſoon after effected, to the great advantage of the crown and nation of *Scotland*.

Affairs of *Ireland*.

XXXI. Henry having eſtabliſhed a firm peace with that kingdom, returned out of the north: and coming to *Windſor* [6] about *Michaelmas*, held there a court of his prelates and nobility; in which he had an opportunity of making ſome proviſion for the affairs of *Ireland*. He had been obliged, upon the rebellion of his ſons, and the defection of his nobility, to call from thence *Richard Strongbow*, *Robert Fitz Stephens*, and others of the firſt adventurers in the conqueſt of that country, with a choice party of their forces. They had obeyed his ſummons with great alacrity, and had

[1] *Acts of Parl. of Jac.* I. c. 52. 102. [2] See *Hoveden*, p. 662. [3] *M. Paris.* [4] *Rob. de Monte.* [5] *Benedict. Abb.* p. 120. *Hoveden.* [6] *Ibid.* p. 112.

done

done him eminent ſervices: *Richard* in *Normandie*, where he was entruſted with the government of *Giſors*; and the reſt in *England*, where they contributed to the victory over the earl of *Leiceſter*. Their abſence, and the continual depredations of the *Engliſh*, had tempted or provoked moſt of the *Iriſh* chieftains to take up arms, to revenge the injuries they had received, and ſhake off the *Engliſh* government. *Hervey de Montmorency*[1], deſcended of the ancient and noble family of that name in *France*, and uncle to *Strongbow*, had been left general, or (as the ſtyle then was) conſtable[2] of the *Engliſh* forces in *Leinſter*, and did all that he could to reſtrain them from plunder: but their hearts were ſo ſet upon it, that all his endeavours only ſerved to incenſe them againſt himſelf, and make them deſirous of another commander, that would indulge them in their ravages of the country. In this confuſion were affairs in *Ireland*; when *Henry*, about *Michaelmas*, *A. D.* 1173, having repulſed the king of *France*, and reduced the rebels in *Bretagne*, thought *Normandie* ſo well ſecured, that he might ſpare earl *Richard*[3]: and ſent him back to *Ireland* with the title of guardian, and a grant of the town of *Wexford*, and caſtle of *Wicklow*, to reward his ſervices. *Richard* would not accept of the government, till *Raymond le Gros* was joined with him in the commiſſion: and as ſoon as he received *Dublin* from *Hugh de Lacy*, the late guardian, he put his collegue at the head of the army[4], to gratify the ſoldiers; whom he durſt the leſs diſoblige, becauſe he could not pay them; being a very bad œconomiſt, and having ſquandered away the treaſure he had received from his maſter. *Raymond*, whoſe exactneſs in dividing the preys of war (after the king's portion had been ſet out) among his ſoldiers, made him their darling, was no ſooner poſſeſſed of his poſt, than he made an incurſion in the country of *O Felain*; ravaging every part of it, and plundering *Liſmore*, from whence he ſent the greateſt part of the booty, his forces had made, by ſea, to *Waterford*; where, after a victory over a fleet of the *Eaſterlings* of *Corke*, it arrived in ſafety. He marched himſelf thither, by land, with the reſt of his plunder, being four thouſand head of cattle; having defeated *Dermot Maccarty*, prince of *Deſmond*, in an engagement near *Liſmore*. Theſe ſucceſſes might probably have been followed by greater, if the death of his father *William Fitz Gerald*[5], which ſerved at leaſt for a pretence, or his paſſion for *Baſilea*, earl *Richard's* ſiſter, had not drawn him over into *Wales*: and by his departure the command of the army devolved again upon *Hervey*.

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This General, either in emulation of *Raymond*, or to curry favour with the ſoldiery, propoſed to *Strongbow* an expedition into the country of *Limeric*; and prevailed with him to come with his followers to *Caſhel*: but not finding their forces ſtrong enough to undertake it, orders were given for the ſending a reinforcement of four hundred *Eaſterlings* from *Dublin*. Theſe recruits, in their march, had their quarters beaten up in *Oſſory* by *Donald O Bryen*, prince of *Thomond*: and were all ſlain with their four leaders; a diſaſter which forced the earl to retire to *Waterford*, where he was in a manner beſieged, not daring to ſtir out of the city. All *Ireland* ran to arms on this occaſion: and *Roderic* king of *Connaght* paſſing the *Shannon* with a great army, conſiſting of his own and the united forces of the princes of *Ulſter*, waſted all *Meath* with fire and ſword; there being no force ſufficient to oppoſe him in the field, and the garriſons of *Trim* and *Duleke* ſo weak and ill ſupplied, that *Hugh Tirrel*, the governor, thought fit to demoliſh the fortifications, and retire to *Dublin*. Earl *Richard*, alarmed at this expedition, ſent to *Raymond*; preſſing his return with what ſuccours he could poſſibly raiſe, and promiſing[6] him his ſiſter in marriage: nor did an offer ſo agreeable fail of bringing him over immediately, with his couſin *Meyler Fitz Henry*, thirty other knights his

[1] *Hiſt. Genealog. de France*, t. iii. p. 567. [2] *Gervaſ.* col. 1419. [3] *Hibern. expugn.* l. i. c. 43.
[4] *Ib.* l. ii. c. 1, 2. [5] *Ib.* c. 3. [6] *Ib.* c. 4.

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relations, an hundred horſe of their followers, and three hundred *Welſh* archers. He arrived at *Waterford* very ſeaſonably; the people of the place having made an inſurrection, and reſolved upon a general deſtruction of the *Engliſh*: but though the ſight of his fleet prevented its execution at that time, yet upon the earl's removal to *Wexford*, and the governor of *Waterford's* being treacherouſly killed in a boat, upon the *Suire*, by the *Eaſterlings*, they ſoon after fell upon the *Engliſh* in the town, killing all they met; though they were forced at laſt, by the garriſon, that retired to *Reynald's* tower, to ſubmit upon conditions. At the time of this laſt attempt, *Raymond* was with the earl, whom he had eſcorted to *Wexford*; reſolving not to ſtir from thence, till his marriage with *Baſilea* was conſummated: but that affair being over, he marched into *Meath*, and repaired the caſtles of *Trim* and *Duleke*; *Roderic* retiring with his army into *Connaght*. *William*, ſon of *Maurice Fitz Gerald*[1], coming over ſoon after from *Wales* with a further recruit, *Strongbow*, to encourage ſuch adventurers, gave him his daughter *Aline* in marriage, with the caſtle of *Wicklow*, and the middle cantred of *Offaly*: and beſtowed the other two cantreds on *Meyler*, and two brothers of the name of *Hereford*.

The king of *Connaght* being, after his retreat, apprehenſive of a viſit from *Raymond*, in revenge of the havock he had made among the *Engliſh* ſettlements in *Meath*, thought it adviſeable to ſend the archbiſhop of *Tuam*, with two other clergymen his embaſſadors to the court of *England*, to ſue for peace, and to renew his ſubmiſſion. The king received them at *Windſor*: and on *October* 6, a treaty[2] was concluded; by which *Henry* receiving *Roderic* for his liegeman, allowed him to retain the title of king, and to enjoy his territories, as fully and quietly as he did before the king's coming into *Ireland*, upon his paying every tenth hide of all cattle in the countries under his dominion: and all his ſubjects, that held lands under him, paying the ſame tribute, were confirmed in their poſſeſſions. The embaſſadors engaged for *Roderic*, that he ſhould bear true allegiance to the king of *England*, ſerve him faithfully, uſe his power for the due payment of the tribute, and deliver hoſtages for the performance of thoſe engagements. This ſubmiſſion of the monarch of *Ireland*, and the terror of *Raymond's* name, kept moſt of the little princes of that country quiet: only *Donald* prince of *Thomond* and *Limeric* ſtill continued to infeſt the *Engliſh*. *Raymond*, to put a ſtop to his incurſions, marched with an hundred and twenty knights[3], three hundred of their followers on horſeback, and a party of four hundred archers, to attack *Limeric*: and paſſing with an amazing intrepidity over one of the branches of the *Shannon*, which encircles the place, at a very dangerous ford, in ſight of all the enemies forces, took the place in the beginning of *October*. He left in it a garriſon[4] of fifty knights, and two hundred horſe, with as many archers: and returned into *Leinſter*; having acquired glory enough by this ſucceſsful expedition to raiſe the envy of *Hervey de Montmorency*; who, though he had lately married his couſin *Neſta*, daughter of *Maurice Fitz Gerald*, was yet his rival in power. This nobleman, whoſe name is found among the ſubſcribers to the conſtitutions of *Clarendon*, is repreſented as a crafty politician, and was certainly in great favour and credit with his maſter the king of *England*: and it is imputed to his ſuggeſtions, as if *Raymond* had a deſign of ſetting up for himſelf in *Ireland*, and conquering the whole kingdom, that *Henry*, who was always jealous on that head, ſent four commiſſioners thither; two of them being to come back with *Raymond* to *England*, and the other two to ſtay with *Strongbow*, and obſerve his conduct.

A. D. 1176.

These commiſſioners arriving at *Waterford*, in the beginning of[5] *A. D.* 1176, *Raymond* made preparations to ſet out for *England*: and was ready to embark, when

[1] *Hibern. expugn.* l. ii. c. 5. [2] *Benedict. Abb.* p. 123. [3] *Hibern. expugn.* l. ii. c. 8. [4] *Ib.* c. 10, 11. [5] *Ib.* c. 12, 13.

advice

advice came, that *David* prince of *Thomond*, with an infinite multitude of people, had inveſted *Limeric*: and the garriſon, having conſumed moſt of their proviſions during the winter, ſtood in need of immediate relief. The earl was eager to march without loſs of time: but the army refuſed to ſtir without *Raymond*; who was willing, if the commiſſioners allowed him, to undertake the ſervice. With their conſent, he ſet out at the head of eighty knights, and two hundred ordinary horſe, and three hundred archers: and was joined on the road by *Murchard* and *Donald*, kings of *Kilkenny* [1] and *Oſſory*, with a body of *Iriſh*. The prince of *Thomond*, upon intelligence of this march, raiſing the ſiege of *Limeric*, advanced with his forces to meet him near *Caſhel*, in a very difficult paſs; which he rendered more ſo, by throwing up ditches, and lining the banks with trees cut down and laid acroſs, plaſhed hedges, and other fortifications of the faſhion of the country. Notwithſtanding theſe precautions, *Raymond*, on *Eaſter-eve*, forced his way through the paſs at the firſt onſet; put the enemy to flight: and on the *Tueſday* following entered triumphant into *Limeric*. He had ſoon after a conference with the princes of *Connaght* and *Thomond*, on the ſame day, but in different, though adjoining, places, near *Killaloe* on the *Shannon*: and both princes ſwearing an inviolable fidelity to the king of *England* and his ſubſtitutes, gave hoſtages for a farther aſſurance of their reſolution. *Raymond* was ſcarce returned to *Limeric*, when he was ſollicited by the promiſe of great preſents to himſelf, and of good pay to his ſoldiers, to march to the aſſiſtance of *Dermot Maccarty*; who was almoſt driven out of his principality of *Deſmond*, by his ſon *Cormac O Lechan*. Tempted by theſe offers, and conſidering that *Dermot* was a vaſſal of the crown of *England*, *Raymond* marched towards *Corke*; expelled the rebel ſon: and having reſtored the father to the poſſeſſion of his territories, returned with his ſmall army, laden with booty and glory, to *Limeric*.

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He had not been long there, when an accident happened; which affected greatly the affairs of *Ireland*, and was likely to involve the kingdom in new troubles; at a time when there was a reaſonable proſpect of its enjoying a long tranquillity. *Richard Strongbow*, earl of [2] *Pembroke*, had been dangerouſly ill for ſome time: and died on *June* 1, at *Dublin*, without any iſſue male; his ſon *Walter* being dead before him, and leaving *Iſabel*, his onely child by *Eva*, daughter of *Dermot Mac Murrough*, heireſs of all his poſſeſſions in *Leinſter*; who, being the king's ward, was by *Richard* I. beſtowed upon *William Mareſchal*, created afterwards earl of *Pembroke* by king *John*, on the day of his coronation, and marſhal of *England*. *Baſilea* took care [3] to conceal her brother's death, till ſhe had ſent advice of it to her huſband, by a letter wrote in myſterious language, to prevent any diſcovery from it, if intercepted, but yet intelligible to *Raymond*; who immediately conſulted his truſty friends about the meaſures proper to be taken on that occaſion. They agreed it to be abſolutely neceſſary for him to repair immediately to *Dublin*, to take care of the government now devolved to him by *Richard's* death; and to do ſo before that event was known to the *Iriſh*: but the great difficulty was, how to leave a ſufficient garriſon, and find a proper governor for *Limeric*. *Raymond* was very loth to quit a conqueſt he had made, and preſerved ſo much to his honour and advantage: but no body cared to undertake the charge of a place ſo remote from all ſuccour, with a weak garriſon; it being neceſſary to draw off the greateſt part of the forces there quartered, as well for his eſcorte, as for the diſperſing them in the maritime towns and forts of *Leinſter*; which would probably be attacked by the *Iriſh*, elated at the death of a perſon, whom they dreaded as the conqueror of their country. Thus having no other party to take, he was forced to pretend a confidence in *Donald* prince of *Thomond*, and to entruſt him as a baron and vaſſal of the crown

[1] i. e. *Kanicicella*. [2] *Monaſt. Angl.* t. i. p. 721. [3] *Hibern. expugn. Ib.* c. 14.

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of *England*, with the cuſtody of *Limeric*; taking however from him new hoſtages and freſh oaths, to preſerve the peace, to defend the place, and reſtore it to the king upon demand. He had the good fortune to have his conduct in this reſpect approved by *Henry*; who ſaid on the occaſion, that the attack of the place was a daring enterprize, and the relief of it ſtill more preſumptuous, but the quitting it was the onely act of prudence. Such were the ſentiments of a wiſe prince, who judged of meaſures by the reaſon of things, rather than by the event; for *Raymond* was ſcarce over one end of the bridge, when the *Iriſh* broke down the other, and not out of ſight of the town, which was well fortified and ſupplied with victuals, before it was fired in four places; ſo little was the regard which that people had to their oaths, and ſo great their averſion to fortified places. The commiſſioners[1], upon the earl's death, making haſte to *England* to acquaint the king with the alteration of affairs, *William Fitz Aldelm* and *John de Courcy* were diſpatched over to *Ireland*, as procurators or lords juſtices of the realm, with an equipage of ten knights for each; the like number being aſſigned to *Robert Fitz Stephens* and *Miles Cogan*, who accompanied them thither. *Fitz Aldelm* was the firſt in the commiſſion: and having likewiſe the charge of ſeneſchal, it was to him, that upon his arrival at *Wexford*, *Raymond* ſurrendered the government, and delivered the cities, forts, and garriſons of *Leinſter*, with the hoſtages of all *Ireland*.

Juſtices itinerant inſtituted.

XXXII. Whilst theſe things paſſed in that kingdom, *Henry* was employed in making uſeful regulations in *England*. Thus in a great council[2] of the prelates and barons held, on *January* 25, at *Northampton*, to conſider the laws and ſtatutes of the realm, ſeveral conſtitutions made in that of *Clarendon*, with regard to laymen and criminal matters, were enforced and amended: and the old *Saxon* rule of not ſuffering a ſtranger to lodge above one night in a place, without a reaſonable excuſe, was revived. A further proviſion was made for the preventing of murder, robbery, falſe coining, and clipping, malicious burning of houſes, and the harbouring of perſons guilty of ſuch atrocious crimes, too common in thoſe days; as well by enhancing the ſeverity of the puniſhment, as by facilitating the conviction of offenders, in not allowing them to retract before the king's juſtices, what they had once confeſſed before the magiſtrate of a town, or the bailiff of an hundred. Criminals in thoſe inſtances were now to be puniſhed with the amputation of the right-hand, as well as of the foot: nor could ruſticks eſcape entirely by being acquitted in the water *Ordeal*; for if in the common opinion of the country, and by the report of the principal gentry, they were deemed guilty, they were in forty days to remove their effects, and quit the kingdom, or even abjure it, if the king pleaſed. Such ſuperſtitious methods of trial were now growing out of faſhion, and to ſave gentlemen from the death, infamy, and other miſchiefs ariſing from the *Norman* cuſtom of duels[3], this king had already inſtituted the *grand aſſize*, and allowed ſuits about freeholds, ſervices, and advowſons of churches, in which civil pleas alone duels could be demanded, to be at the choice of the parties, tried by a jury of twelve knights, or (if ſo many were not to be had) of twelve freeholders, named either by the ſheriff, or by four legal knights of the country returned by that officer, and all acquainted with the fact in queſtion, and liable to the ſame exceptions, as are made in eccleſiaſtical courts to witneſſes. It appears from the fourth ordinance made in this council, for ſecuring to the heirs of freeholders the poſſeſſion of their father's lands and goods (ſaving to relicts their dower, and to legatees their bequeſts) that the inſtitution had taken place before this time; as it doth from ſome of the conſtitutions of *Clarendon*, that it either was obſerved before, or was then eſtabliſhed. As this

[1] *Hibern. expugn. ib.* c. 14. [2] *Benedict. Abb.* p. 131, & ſeq. *Hoveden.* [3] *Glanville*, l. ii. c. 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 17, 15.

council

council of *Northampton* was called expreſsly to confirm, amend, and regulate what had been done in that of *Clarendon*, and probably had not been ſince duely obſerved, by reaſon of the troubles which immediately enſued on *Becket's* oppoſing the eccleſiaſtical cuſtoms there declared, it is not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the inſtitution of itinerant juſtices, generally placed in this year, had commenced from *A. D.* 1164, when the laſt mentioned of theſe councils was held. At leaſt we find in the pipe-rolls frequent mention made of ſuch juſtices in different counties, from that year to this time: and a large liſt may be ſeen of them in *Madox's* [1] *Hiſtory of the Exchequer*. HENRY II. *A. D.* 1176.

THE earl and his deputy were of old the ordinary juſticiaries in counties: but from the time of *Alfred*, when the high ſheriff had the ſame authority veſted in him, independent on the earl, the king uſed to appoint juſticiaries alſo to ſit in the county-courts, perhaps not as conſtant judges, but ſent occaſionally, like the imperial *Miſſi*, or delegates in *France*, and other parts of the empire, from the time of *Charle-Magne*. Juſticiaries of the foreſt ſeem to have been inſtituted by the *Conqueror*, upon the eſtabliſhment of the foreſt laws: but all other matters, as well civil as criminal, reſerved to the cognizance of the king's court, after the conqueſt, ſeem to have been determined by the king himſelf, or the chief juſticiary, either in their ſeveral *iters*, or in the places of their reſidence. This ſeems to have been the ordinary method, till the times of war and confuſion that followed *Stephen's* uſurpation; when it being impracticable, as well for the prince, or his juſticiary, to make a regular progreſs, as for litigant parties to attend them, ſome great men were empowered to adminiſter juſtice in ſuch caſes, within the reſpective counties aſſigned for their juriſdiction. When *Henry* came to the crown, and made various regulations for redreſſing the diſorders introduced in the late times of confuſion, he appointed alſo juſticiaries to take care, that they were duely executed through the kingdom: and he was himſelf extremely vigilant in obſerving their conduct. Theſe might poſſibly be appointed for that particular purpoſe, and not have ſuch a general power to determine pleas of the crown and civil ones, to the value of half a knight's fee, as was given to juſtices itinerant by this council, and perhaps by that of *Clarendon*; from which time they had their circuits aſſigned them, though not fixed to the ſame bounds, nor themſelves limited to the ſame number, as they were by this council of *Northampton*; which dividing the realm into ſix circuits, aſſigned to each three juſtices. In the interval between thoſe two councils, ſome eccleſiaſticks were joined with noblemen in ſuch commiſſions: but the juſtices now appointed ſeem all to be taken out of the lay-nobility, and were charged particularly to put the ſtatutes, made in this council, in execution. Their inſtructions likewiſe obliged them to enquire into all diſſeiſins ſince the king's return, after the peace with his ſons, into *England*; to adminiſter the oath of fealty, within eight days after *Whitſontide* at fartheſt, to all noblemen, knights, freeholdlers, and huſbandmen minded to ſtay in the kingdom, every recuſant being to be reputed the king's enemy; and to fix a time for ſuch as had not done homage, and profeſſed allegiance to the king, to come in, and perform their duty in that reſpect. They were alſo to enquire, who had fled out of the kingdom, and proſecute them to an outlawry, if they did not return by a time appointed, and ſtand to juſtice in the king's court; and to ſee that the caſtles, already diſmantled, were thoroughly demoliſhed, and all others levelled with the ground, that were ordered to be deſtroyed. Two other branches of their enquiry related to the perſons and duties of ſuch as were obliged to caſtle-guard, and to eſcheats, lands, women, and churches that were of the king's donation: but though theſe are all the particulars of their inqueſt mentioned by cotemporary writers [2], many others were added to them before the time of *Bracton*.

[1] P. 99, 100. [2] L. iii. Tract. ii. c. 1. § 3.

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To this council of *Northampton* came the king of *Scotland* with ſeveral biſhops and abbots of that kingdom, in order to profeſs the ſame ſubjection to the church of *England*, as their predeceſſors had done in former times[1]: but when they were required to do ſo, they denied that their predeceſſors had ever paid any, and aſſerted their own independence. *Roger* archbiſhop of *York* produced inſtances of ſuch ſubjection being paid of old to his ſee by the biſhops of *Whitherne* and *Glaſgow*, and the bulls of ſeveral Popes eſtabliſhing or confirming the primacy of *York* over all the ſees of *Scotland:* and, as he was ſupported by facts, might probably have carried his point, if he had not been oppoſed by the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. This prelate would fain have drawn them into a ſubjection to his church; and though he had no evidence to make good his claim, inſiſted ſo warmly on it, that the king allowed the *Scots* to return home without any acknowledgment of ſubjection. The diſpute between thoſe two metropolitans, in the article of precedence, was ſoon after carried to a very great length, in a ſynod of both their provinces, held in the middle of *Lent* by the Pope's legate, cardinal *Huguezun*, at *Weſtminſter*. The queſtion was, who ſhould ſit on the right-hand of the legate, which both claimed as the moſt honourable place; *Richard* aſſerting it to be the right of his church, according to ancient invariable cuſtom[2]; and *Roger* claiming in virtue of the priority of his conſecration, according to a conſtitution of *Gregory the Great*, regulating their precedence in that manner. This laſt, coming firſt into the chappel of *S. Catharine*, where the ſynod was held, got poſſeſſion of the place: but upon *Richard's* coming in, and refuſing to ſit on the left-hand of the legate, warm words enſued, though the king was preſent; and the ſuffragans of *Canterbury* with their followers being the ſtronger party, *Roger* was violently pulled out of his ſeat, thrown down, trampled under foot, and treated with other indignities. *Huguezun* was very angry at this proceeding, which occaſioned the ſynod to break up abruptly: and thinking it done by the archbiſhop of *Canterbury's* inſtigation, ſummoned him to anſwer for it before the *Pope*; to whom *Roger* likewiſe appealed. But *Richard*, with a ſum of money, ſoon prevailed with the legate to drop his appeal; though *Roger* ſtill inſiſted on his, and would agree to no accommodation, but by the Pope's award. The king, about the middle of *Auguſt* following[3], called a council at *Wincheſter*, to make up this difference: but all he could do, was to get them to refer the matter to the archbiſhop of *Roüen*, and other foreign biſhops, and to wait five years for their determination.

Young *Henry's* diſcontent and perverſeneſs.

XXXIII. He was ſcarce more ſucceſsful in reconciling to himſelf the mind of his eldeſt ſon, which was corrupted by the flatterers about him; who were continually plying him with groundleſs jealouſies, and putting him upon wrong meaſures. The king did[4] all he could, by fair and rough means, to reclaim him; paid all the debts he had contracted by his profuſeneſs: yet nothing could engage him to ſtay in *England*; and pretending devotion, he deſired leave to go in pilgrimage to *S. James of Compoſtella*. *Henry* at laſt gave him leave to go into *Normandie*; and he went with his queen to *Portſmouth:* but was detained there by contrary winds, till his brothers *Richard* and *Geffrey* landed on *Good Friday*, at *Southampton*. The occaſion of the former of theſe princes coming over was a war, in which he ſeems to have been engaged by the executing of his father's orders for demoliſhing the caſtles of the rebels in *Guienne*. *Arnaud de Bouville* having refuſed[5] to deliver up his fortreſs of *Chatillon ſur Agen*, *Richard* had beſieged it the laſt year for two months, before he could force the garriſon to a ſurrender: and now he found himſelf oppoſed by a

[1] *Benedict.* p. 136. *Hoveden.* [2] *Ib. Neubrig.* l. iii. c. 1. *Diceto*, col. 588, 589. [3] *Bened.* p. 145. [4] *Diceto*, col. 588. [5] *Benedict.* p. 122, 141.

formidable

formidable confederacy of other barons of that dutchy, particularly *William Taillefer* count of *Engouleſme*, the viſcounts of *Limoges* and *Turenne*, the lords of *Chabannes* and *Maſtac*, and other barons. The king was at *Wincheſter*, when *Richard* arrived: and ſending for *Henry*, perſuaded him to wave his voyage to *Compoſtella* till the war of *Guienne* was over, and to go with his brother to reduce his enemies in that country. The prince agreeing to the propoſal, ſet ſail from *Portſmouth* on *Monday*, *April* 19: but as ſoon as he landed at *Barfleur*, went with his wife to the court of *France*; where he paſſed two months, without any regard to his promiſe of accompanying his brother to *Guienne*. HENRY II. A. D. 1176.

RICHARD, however, being ſupplied with money by his father, raiſed a great army in *Guienne*[1]: and ſoon after *Whitſontide*, routed a body of *Brabantins*, in a battle fought between *S. Megrin* and *Bouteville*. Advancing after this victory into the *Limouſin*, he took the caſtle of *Aixe*, with forty knights in it: and ſoon after inveſting *Limoges*, took it in a few days, and went from thence, after *Midſummer*, to *Poitiers*; where a council was held about the further operations of the campaign. The young king came thither, and it being reſolved to march againſt the count of *Engouleſme*, he attended his brother to the ſiege of *Chateauneuf*: but leaving him about a fortnight after, returned to *Poitiers*; where he gathered to him a parcel of *French* and *Norman* knights, that were enemies to his father, and took them into his ſervice and family. Theſe were inſtigating him to ſuch deteſtable meaſures, that *Adam de Chirchedun*, who was about him in the poſt of chancellor, could not forbear writing the king an account of their proceedings and deſigns, according to his duty and oath of allegiance. This account being intercepted, young *Henry* would have put *Adam* to death, had he not been an eccleſiaſtick: but his privilege being aſſerted by the biſhop of *Poitiers*, he reſolved to torment him as much as he could, without killing him outright. *Adam* was accordingly, with his arms tied behind him, and ſtark naked, whipped through the ſtreets of *Poitiers*, and treated in the ſame manner through every town he paſſed, in the way to *Argenton*; where he was kept in priſon, till the king ſent four knights of his houſhold, to fetch him over into *England*, to the great mortification of young *Henry*, who was vexed that *Adam* got out of his hands alive. Such was the conduct of this young prince, whilſt *Richard* was acquiring glory in *Guienne*; for though he was thus deſerted by his brother, he purſued the war with vigour, and after taking ſome caſtles ſat down before *Engouleſme*.

THE count himſelf and his ſon, *Aimery* viſcount of *Limoges*, the viſcounts of *Ventadour* and *Chabannois*, were in the place: and as the taking of it was likely to put an end to the war, *Richard* puſhed on the ſiege with ſo much application, that in ſix days, they were obliged to capitulate. The articles ſeem to be made, not only for the city, but for *Bouteville*, *Archiac*, and other caſtles belonging to the count, which were likewiſe delivered up: and hoſtages being given for their throwing themſelves at the king his father's feet to ſue for mercy, they were ſent with other rebels to *England*; but remitted thence back again to *Richard*, *Henry* deferring their fate, till he came over himſelf into *Normandie*.

XXXIV. THE king ſeems to have been employed[2] in *England*, chiefly in ſeeing *Framingham*, *Bungey*, *Maleſſart*, and other caſtles of the rebels demoliſhed; and in ſeizing into his own hand for a time, thoſe of other barons, who had not deviated from their duty; committing them to the care of his own warders. This ſtep he ſeems to have taken in *Normandie* as well as *England*, by way of precaution againſt the intrigues of his ſon, whoſe weakneſs, perverſeneſs, and violent diſcontent, rendered him capable of entering into any meaſures that the malevolence of his favourites

The king ſecures the caſtles of private perſons, and regulates matters relating to the clergy.

[1] *Benedict.* p. 148, 149. [2] *Hoveden. Benedict. Abb.* p. 155, 152.

could

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could ſuggeſt: and he took it with ſo little diſtinction of perſons, that the moſt truſty of his miniſters, *Richard de Lucy*, had his caſtle of *Angre*, in *Eſſex*, ſo ſecured; an equality of treatment, proper to keep others from complaining, or imagining that it was done in their caſe becauſe they were ſuſpected. It is evident from an infinite number of records, and many paſſages in hiſtory, that no body could erect a caſtle, or *kernel* a houſe, that is, fortify it with battlements, without a licenſe from the king, in any of his dominions of *England*, *Normandie*, or *Guienne:* and ſuch licenſe implying a proviſion, that it was to be of no prejudice to the ſtate; that thoſe fortifications were not to be uſed againſt the crown; nor ſo weakly guarded as to be eaſily ſeized, and ſerve to harbour an enemy, our kings uſed frequently, when a war was breaking out, or had actually commenced, to take them into their own hands for the greater ſecurity of their dominions, and the common good of the people; a care ſo incident to the royal authority, that no king, retaining his crown, can by any act of his renounce. I conceive it to have always been part of the prerogative of our kings, to take into their own hands, in times of danger, ſuſpicion, and trouble, the caſtles of all particular perſons whatever: and it was [1] maintained to be their prerogative not only in *England*, but in all other countries of *Europe*, by that learned nobleman ſo well ſkilled in our laws, *Aubrey de Vere*, and by *Hugh* III, archbiſhop of *Roüen*, when they pleaded *Stephen's* cauſe in the council, called by *Henry* biſhop of *Winchester* to examine into that prince's ſeizure of the caſtles belonging to *Roger* and *Alexander*, biſhops of *Sarum* and *Lincoln*. But though *Henry* might have done this in virtue of his ſingle authority, I make no queſtion but he acted in it by the advice, and with the conſent, of his prelates and nobility; whom he aſſembled on all important occaſions, and ſo frequently when he was in *England*, that in the year we are ſpeaking of, ſcarce a month paſſed without the holding of a great council. He was the wiſeſt prince of his age, and ſtood certainly in as little need of advice as any one: but he always took his meaſures with mature deliberation, and a well-informed judgment; and thought it prudent to conſult his nobility, even in caſes where his own family was concerned, and where there was very little occaſion, either for their advice or concurrence. Thus he conſulted them with regard to the marriages of his daughters *Eleanor* and *Jane*, which were agreed to this year; though he paid their fortunes out of his own purſe, without aſking any aid of his nobility or people. The firſt [2] was diſpoſed of to *Alfonſo* king of *Caſtille*, and the latter to *William* king of *Sicily*, a prince of *Norman* original; both of them honourable and uſeful alliances, liable to no objection.

Cardinal *Huguezun* is ſaid to have contributed much to the laſt of theſe matches, by the character which he gave to *William* of the great merit and beauty of the young princeſs. This legate came over to abſolve the king from his vow of going to the *Holy Land:* and the *Pope* improved the opportunity, offered by the royal aſſent, to charge him with the excerciſe of his legatine powers in the viſitation of all the churches of *England*, and with ſeeing the ſtipulations, made at *Henry's* abſolution after *Becket's* murder, duely executed. Theſe ſtipulations obliged the king, not to give up the conſtitutions of *Clarendon*, or any cuſtom that prevailed in the times of his predeceſſors, but only ſuch as had been introduced in his own: and as the trial of the clergy in his courts for criminal matters, to which the ſhameful abuſes of the exemption they claimed, ariſing from the diſorders of the late uſurpation, had given occaſion [3], might be pretended to be of this laſt ſort, he conſented that no clergyman ſhould, for the future, be called to anſwer before a lay-judge, for any crime or tranſgreſſion, except thoſe againſt the foreſt laws, and in caſe of lay-fees, which owed ſervices to the crown, or any meſne lord. He conſented likewiſe

[1] *Malmeſb. Hiſt. Novel.* l. i. [2] *Hoveden*, p. 551, 555. *Benedict. Abb.* p. 142. [3] *M. Paris. Diceto*, col. 591.

not to keep prelacies vacant above a year, unleſs for a plain reaſon, or in caſe of neceſſity; and that the clergy ſhould not be obliged to maintain their right by duel; to which he had the leſs to object, becauſe he had given the laity a like privilege by the inſtitution of the *grand aſſize*. This laſt conceſſion ſeems not to have come within the view of thoſe ſtipulations, but to have been the pure effect of the king's regard to juſtice and equity: as was likewiſe the fourth, which he made at this time in favour of the clergy, and which it cannot be improper to explain. HENRY II. *A. D.* 1176.

IT was an old cuſtom of the church of *England*, that the murderers of eccleſiaſticks of any rank, ſtation, or dignity whatſoever, were puniſhed only with excommunication: and this was the reaſon why the aſſaſſins[1] concerned in the murder of *Becket*, were only ſent to *Rome* for the Pope's abſolution, upon their performing the penance enjoined. One is naturally tempted to imagine, that this cuſtom or law was introduced by way of retaliation for the ſlight puniſhment of ſuch eccleſiaſticks as had an hand in killing laicks, or was at leaſt owing to ſuch criminals being left to the mercy or ſentence of the biſhops in their eccleſiaſtical courts; who could not inflict a capital penalty, or denounce any other againſt the guilty than excommunication. But I am apt to think it aroſe from the piety, lenity, and charity of our *Saxon* kings and biſhops, leſs diſpoſed to revenge, than deſirous of the reformation of an offender: and perhaps the benefit of the church might be a motive for it; all ſuch murders being (as might be ſhewn from numberleſs inſtances) conſtantly followed by conſiderable benefactions to the ſees, convents, and churches, to which ſuch murdered eccleſiaſticks belonged. *Richard*, the immediate ſucceſſor of *Becket* in the ſee of *Canterbury*, complains heavily, in one of his letters, of this cuſtom, and "thinks it intolerable that the killer of a ſheep "ſhould, if he abſconded, be excommunicated, and if, being taken, he either con-"feſſed, or was convicted, ſhould thereupon be hanged; yet ſuch as murdered "clergymen and biſhops ſhould be only ſent to *Rome*, and return thence in triumph "with the reputation of a papal pardon, and act of grace, to live at home in deli-"cacy, luxury, and grandeur." Whether this prelate had any view to the noblemen who had killed his predeceſſor, in what he ſays of ſuch criminals returning from *Rome*, favoured with the *apoſtolical grace*, to live afterwards riotouſly at home (and certainly in his time we hear of no others going thither for ſuch a purpoſe) he owns the treatment was no more than the clergy deſerved. "The king, ſays he, claims "a right to puniſh ſuch exceſſes: but we (ſpeaking in the name of the clergy) "retain them to ourſelves; damnably indeed, to promote the impunity of ſuch "enormous crimes; and we richly deſerve it for uſurping upon another's juriſ-"diction." The king, ever zealous to puniſh crimes according to their demerit, and to protect the lives of his ſubjects, readily agreed to redreſs this grievance: and paſſed an act[2], that the murderers of eccleſiaſticks ſhould be tried in his court, before the juſticiary of the realm, in the preſence of the biſhop of the dioceſe, or his official; and beſides the uſual puniſhment for the murder of laymen, ſhould forfeit for themſelves and their heirs, all their real eſtates and lands of inheritance. In all other points the conſtitutions of *Clarendon*, as being the ancient cuſtoms of the realm, were to be obſerved; and, to prevent all ambiguity, had been re-enacted in the late council of *Northampton*: and as *Becket* had refuſed to plead in the king's court, when ſued by *John Mareſchal* for *Mundeham*, the Pope himſelf, by a bull[3] dated *October* 1, at *Fraſcati*, gave up that point; and declared, that all cauſes about eſtates and poſſeſſions belonged to the cognizance of the king's courts.

[1] *Petr. Bleſenſ.* ep. 73. [2] *Diceto*, col. 592. *Gervaſ.* col. 1433. [3] *Diceto*, col. 602.

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Huguezun having done his buſineſs, and got a vaſt ſum of money [1] from the churches he had viſited, went away at the latter end of *June* into *Normandie*; where he made a like viſitation: and in the next month cardinal *Vivian* landed at *Dover*, with the character of legate in *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and the neigbouring iſlands. This legate was ſent over at the requeſt of the *Scotch* biſhops: who, having by the diſpute between the metropolitans of *York* and *Canterbury* at the council of *Northampton*, eſcaped making their profeſſion of ſubjection to the church of *England*, had ſent agents privately to *Rome*, to put themſelves under Pope *Alexander's* protection, and deſire his interpoſition to ſave them from that ſubjection. *Vivian* was accordingly ſent over: but the king having probably ſome notice of the deſign, by the time the legate got to *Northampton*, ſent the biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Ely* to aſk him how he preſumed to enter his realm without a licenſe, and to let him know, that unleſs he agreed to what the king required, he would not be ſuffered to proceed any further. The legate, frightened at the meſſage, followed the advice of theſe biſhops: and agreeing to what was demanded, ſwore that he would not, in the courſe of his legation do any thing to the prejudice of the king or kingdom. He was thereupon allowed to purſue his journey towards *Scotland*, with *Henry's* paſs and recommendatory letters to the biſhops and abbeys of his realm, that lay in the road thither, to give him an honourable reception. The king of *Scotland* [2], was at this time on his way to the court of *England*; bringing with him *Gilbert* lord of *Galloway*, whom he had reduced, in order to do homage and ſwear fealty to *Henry* againſt all men: which were accordingly performed in the beginning of *October*. This lord paid likewiſe a thouſand marks of ſilver, either as a fine for the death of his brother, who was related to the king, or as a preſent to procure his good-will: and having delivered his ſon *Duncan* an hoſtage for his future peaceable behaviour, was received into the king's protection, and re-inſtated in the poſſeſſion of all his territories.

Henry, after this tranſaction, ſeems to have made a progreſs into the north: but having kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Notingham*, came from thence to *Northampton*; where [3] about the middle of *January* he held a great council to ſettle his affairs in *England*, before he went abroad to viſit his foreign dominions. *Robert* earl of *Leiceſter* had been in diſgrace ever ſince his rebellion: but one of his vaſſals, *W. de Cahaines*, pretending in this council to hold his barony, not of the earl, but of the king, with whom he thought to curry favour by that pretence, *Robert* was ſent for to anſwer the allegation: and did it with ſo much modeſty and ſubmiſſion to the king's pleaſure, that *Henry* immediately reſtored him to all the lands he had formerly poſſeſſed; except the caſtle of *Montſorel*, which was found by an inquiſition to be held of the crown, and that of *Pacey*, which the king kept in his own hands, as being a frontier place in *Normandie*. He reſtored at the ſame time *Hugh* earl of *Cheſter* to all his eſtate, except the caſtle of *Cheſter*: and gave *W. de Albiney* the earldom of *Arundel* or *Suſſex* with all the lands of his father, deceaſed about four months before. *Guy* dean of *Waltham-croſs* reſigning his deanery, the king converted that college of ſecular clergy into an abbey of canons regular; giving *Guy* a manor for his life, and making a valuable compenſation to each of the prebendaries: and [4] the abbeſs of *Ambreſbury* being depoſed for her incontinent life, and the reſt of the nuns being alike infamous in that reſpect, he filled the convent with nuns from *Fontevrault*; allowing the deprived abbeſs ten marks a year, out of charity, to keep her from ſtarving, and having the Pope's conſent for both theſe changes of the original conſtitution of thoſe ſocieties.

[1] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1433. *Benedict. Abb.* p. 144. 137. [2] *Ib.* p. 155. [3] *Ib.* p. 162. 164, 165, 166. *Hoveden.* [4] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1434. *Benedict. Abb.* p. 167. 209. 221. 142, 143. 164. 168. 200, 201. *Hoveden.*

HENRY II. A. D. 1177.

To this council came embaſſadors from *Philip* count of *Flanders*, to put the king in mind of a promiſe he had made him of certain ſums[1] of money, for the ſoul of his brother *Matthew* count of *Boulogne*, and for the relief of the *Holy Land*, upon the count's deferring his journey thither till *Eaſter*: which *Henry* had deſired might be put off, for fear he ſhould get the crown of *Jeruſalem* on the death of *Baldwin*, who was the king's couſin-german. *Philip* ſignified at the ſame time, that propoſals had been made him by the king of *France* for marrying one of *Matthew's* daughters to his ſon, and another to the ſon of the count of *Blois*: but he did not care to diſpoſe of them without *Henry's* advice; who took care to make good his promiſes, though the count, forgetting the oath he made in this laſt reſpect, married his nieces ſoon after without the king's conſent. *Philip* ſetting out for the *Holy Land* ſoon after *Eaſter*, *Henry* ſupplied him with five hundred marks: and ſent a thouſand more for the ſame ſervice, by *William de Mandeville* earl of *Eſſex*, and other *Engliſh* noblemen and knights hoſpitallers, that accompanied him in the expedition.

Inquiſition into divided fiefs: and preparations for a foreign expedition.

XXXV. THE king held another council about *Candlemas*[2] at *Marleborough*: and going about *Feb.* 22 to *Wincheſter*, ſent orders to all his high ſheriffs and bailiffs throughout the realm, to make a ſtrict inquiry, as well into all tenures *in capite*, within their ſeveral bailiwicks, the preſent tenants, with the ſervices either due, or actually done, for them; as into the partition of baronies and other fiefs, the tenants and ſervices thereof, and to make a return of the reſult of this enquiry into the exchequer by *Eaſter*. It was by the advice of his privy council or officers of his houſhold, that he ſent orders to all the earls, barons, and knights of the realm, that held of him *in capite*, to be ready with horſes and arms on *May* 1, at *London*, in order to follow him into *Normandie*, and ſtay abroad with him for a year, at their own expence, in his ſervice: and in the mean time, to ſend each an account, in what manner and with what number of knights, they could come at that time, without any great inconvenience. His foreign dominions ſeem now to have been in ſuch a condition as not to ſtand in need of theſe extraordinary preparations; though the viſcount of *Dax* and count of *Bigorre* had raiſed ſome diſturbance in *Gaſcogne*[3]: but prince *Richard*, having ſoon after *Chriſtmas* marched againſt them, and taken *Dax*, *Bayonne*, and other places, put a ſtop to the depredations committed by thoſe of *Sorge* and *Leſperon* upon pilgrims going to *Compoſtella*, and forced the people of *Navarre* and *Biſcay* to promiſe upon oath to keep the peace, eſtabliſhed before the end of *January* a general tranquility in all thoſe countries. *Henry* had alſo at the ſame time an occaſion to aſſert his rights in *Berry*, a province depending on the dutchy of *Guienne*[4]; where, upon the deceaſe of *Ralf de Deols*, the richeſt and moſt powerful baron of the country, leaving onely one daughter three years old, this heireſs, whoſe wardſhip and marriage belonged to him, had been carried off by her relations, who ſtood on their defence and fortified their caſtles. But having ordered his eldeſt ſon to march immediately againſt them with the forces of *Normandie*, the young king had made a good beginning by the reducing of *Chateauroux*: and there appeared nothing as yet in that affair to afford occaſion for an armament; which could only be neceſſary in caſe of a war with *France*; which however, not breaking out ſo ſoon as his apprehenſions ſuggeſted, allowed him to defer the rendezvous, till he had diſpatched an affair, which did great honour to his judgment and equity.

THERE had been a diſpute for ſome years between *Alphonſo*[5] king of *Caſtille*, and his uncle *Sanchez* king of *Navarre*, about ſome territories uſurped by the latter

[1] *Ibid.* [2] *Benedict.* p. 170, 171. [3] *Ibid.* p. 162, & *ſeq.* 138. [4] *Ibid.* p. 154. 163. [5] *Ibid.* 171, *Hoveden.*

upon

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upon the former, during his minority, in revenge of a like uſurpation made by one of his anceſtors: and at laſt they had agreed to refer all their differences to the judgment of the king of *England*, obliging themſelves to abide by his award. Several biſhops and other great men were ſent over by both parties to receive *Henry's* deciſion; with advocates to plead their cauſe, and two champions, famous for valour, bravely equipped for a duel, in caſe he ſhould adjudge the controverſy to be decided in that manner. Upon the arrival of theſe honourable perſons, the king ſummoned all his prelates, earls, and barons of *England*, to meet at *London* on *March* 13, being the firſt *Sunday* in *Lent*, to aſſiſt him in the deciſion he was to make: and the facts being ſtated on both ſides, without any contradiction to one another, he adjudged to each of the kings the reſpective territories that had been uſurped upon them (which they received with great ſatisfaction) and diſmiſſed their embaſſadors with magnificent preſents.

During the ſitting of this council, at which the biſhop of *Whithern* aſſiſted, and (as [1] *Brompton* ſays) ſo many abbots, deans, and archdeacons, that it was not eaſy to number them, a brother of *Robert* earl of *Ferrers* was killed privately in the night at *London*, which ſeems at this time to have been very ill governed. The city held of the crown, like the cinque ports, by barony or a military tenure: and on that account the citizens were reputed noble or gentlemen, and had generally the appellation of the barons of *London* [2]. They were very fond of military exerciſes, to which they were conſtantly trained: and an extravagant cuſtom had prevailed amongſt them, not ariſing ſo much from indigence as from wantonneſs and a frolickſome humour, for a hundred or more of the ſons and relations of theſe noble citizens, to rove through the ſtreets in the night, breaking open and plundering the houſes of rich people, and killing ſuch as they found in their way without mercy, ſo that no body durſt ſtir out of their doors after it was dark, for fear of being murdered. They had about three years before broke into the houſe of a rich citizen; who having intelligence of their deſign, was ready with a number of his friends well armed to receive them: and one *Andrew Bucquinte* and being wounded and taken, upon the promiſe of pardon as to life and limb, diſcovered his accomplices, ſeveral whereof fled, and others were ſeized. Among theſe laſt was *John Senex*, one of the nobleſt and richeſt of the citizens, who failing in his purgation by the water *ordeal*, offered the king five hundred marks of ſilver to ſave his life: but *Henry*, inexorable in the puniſhment of heinous crimes, ordered *R. de Lucy* to paſs ſentence upon him, and the man was hanged.

Meaſures for the ſecurity of *England* and *Ireland*.

XXXVI. The king after *Eaſter* made a progreſs into the *Eaſt-Angles* [3]: and paſſed from thence to *Gedington* in *Northamptonſhire*; where he held a council of his prelates and nobility, to provide for the peace and ſecurity of the kingdom. The methods proper for that purpoſe were the ſubject of various debates, as well there, as at *Windſor* and *Oxford*; in all which places the king held great councils, one immediately ſucceeding the other: the cuſtody of caſtles, was one of the points which came under the conſideration of theſe councils; and it being thought proper to change the governors of ſome of the moſt important, he put in their ſtead the moſt truſty knights of his houſhold; making *William* and *Roger d'Eſtouteville* governors of thoſe of *Roxburgh* and *Edenburgh*, and committing the cuſtody of *Scarborough* to *Roger* archbiſhop of *York*, *Norham* to *William de Neville*, and the caſtle of *Durham* to *Roger de Conyers*. *Hugh* biſhop of *Durham* had lain under great ſuſpicions ever ſince the late rebellion: he now gave the king two thouſand marks, as well to gain his good will, as to procure a grant of the manor of *Witton* to

[1] Col. 1142. [2] *Benedict.* p. 96. [3] *Ib.* 202, & *ſeq.* *Hoveden.*

his

his ſon *Henry de Puſey*. *David ap Owen* and *Reſe ap Griffith* princes of *North* and *South-Wales*, with others of the principal *Welſh* nobility, came to *Oxford:* and ſwore as well to keep the peace, as to bear true allegiance to the king; who gave to *David* his natural ſiſter *Emma* in marriage with the territory of *Elleſmere*, and to *Reſe* the country of *Merioneth*. The marches of *Scotland* and *Wales* being thus ſecured, nothing was wanting but to make a like proviſion for *Ireland*; the kings of which iſland had revolted upon the ill treatment they had received, and the loſſes they ſuffered continually by the depredations of the *Engliſh*. The king reſolved to give that country to his youngeſt ſon *John*, who had lately acquired a right to the earldom of *Glouceſter*, in conſequence of a contract made with *William* the late earl; who having loſt his onely ſon, and not caring to have his inheritance divided among his daughters, had given *Iſabel* the youngeſt, with the earldom and his whole eſtate, to this prince; upon condition, of *Henry's* making a grant of one hundred pounds a year rent in *England* to each of her elder ſiſters, *Mabel* married to *Amaury* count of *Evreux*, and *Amicia* wife of *Richard* earl of *Clare*. *John* was accordingly declared lord of *Ireland:* and received the fealty and homages of all the nobles, among whom the king diſtributed the lands of the revolted *Iriſh*. Thus he gave *Hugh de Lacey* all *Meath*[2], to be held of him and his ſon *John* by the ſervice of an hundred knights, with the cuſtody of the city of *Dublin*; and to *Miles Cogan* and *Robert Fitz Stephens* the kingdom of *Corke*, by the ſervice of ſixty knights; reſerving however to himſelf and heirs the town of *Corke* and the *Danes* cantred adjoining. He made a like exception of the city of *Limerick*, and the cantred about it, in the grant which he made of that kingdom to *Herbert* and *William*, brothers of *Reginald* late earl of *Cornwall*, and *Jocelin de Pomeray* their nephew, and upon their declining to accept it, to *Philip de Braouſe*, to be held by the ſame ſervice. The cuſtody of *Waterford* was entruſted to *Robert Poer*; as that of *Wexford* was to *William Fitz Aldhelm*, the king's ſeneſchal; and the revenue of certain territories was appropriated for thoſe ſervices, as well as for the guard of *Dublin*. *Hugh Kevelioc* earl of *Cheſter*, was likewiſe ordered to go over into *Ireland* to aſſiſt in ſubduing the country; where he might by his ſervices make ſome return to the king's clemency, in pardoning his rebellion and reſtoring him to his eſtate. The legate *Vivian*[3] had lately done ſome ſervice to the *Engliſh* adventurers in that iſland, by granting them, in a ſynod at *Dublin*, licenſe to ſeize the victuals (with the want whereof they were moſt preſſed) laid up by the *Iriſh* in churches, as in a ſanctuary not to be violated: and being now returned from thence, got a ſafe conduct from the king at *Wincheſter*[4] on *June* 3 to paſs into *Scotland*; where he extorted great ſums of money from the churches, and ſuſpended *Chriſtian* biſhop of *Whitherne*, for not coming to a ſynod to be held at *Edenburgh*; this prelate maintaining that he was exempt from his juriſdiction, as being ſubject to the archbiſhop of *York*, who was legate in his own province, and had conſecrated him biſhop, according to the cuſtom of his predeceſſors.

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XXXVII. HENRY was now in readineſs to oppoſe the meaſures of the king of *France*; who making uſe of his intereſt with Pope *Alexander*, threatned to have all *Normandie* put under an interdict, if the marriage of his daughter *Alice* with prince *Richard* was not compleated. *Louis* had made ſo ill an uſe of the marriage of his elder daughter *Margaret* to young *Henry*, which had enabled him to debauch not only his ſon-in-law, but the brothers of this prince from their duty to their father, that the king had no reaſon to be fond of any more alliances with a court,

Diſputes with *France*.

[1] *Ibid. Diceto*, col. 594. *Benedict.* p. 153. [2] *Ib.* 204, 206, 220. *Hoveden.* [3] *Hibern. expugn.* l. ii. c. 17. [4] *Benedict.* p. 211.

Henry II. A. D. 1177.

where designs were continually hatching to disturb the peace of his dominions. He had room to suspect something of that nature was now on foot; *Margaret* being lately gone thither without his leave, or so much as acquainting him with her journey: and had very good reason to complain of *Louis*, for not performing on his part the articles agreed on for the marriages. Young *Henry* was to have had with his [1] wife all the *Vexin* from *Gisors* as far as *Pontoise*, and *Richard* was to have with *Alice* the city of *Bourges*, with all its dependencies: these were express stipulations in the marriage contracts, which *Louis* had not yet fulfilled. It was thought adviseable, before any forces were carried abroad, to summon him to keep his word: and the king, by a proclamation on *June* 2, putting off the rendezvous of all his knights and military tenants till *July* 1 at *Winchester*, sent the archbishop of *Roüen*, with the bishops of *Winchester* and *Ely*, to the court of *France* [2], to demand the execution of the articles; and that *Margaret*, who was then so far advanced in her pregnancy, as to be near her time of delivery, might be sent back to *Normandie*. The bishop of *Ely* returning with an answer no way satisfactory, the king held on *July* 1, at *Winchester*, a great council; at which all his nobility, and *William* king of *Scotland*, by a particular mandate, assisted: and having settled all his affairs, went on *Saturday July* 9 to *Stoke* near *Portsmouth*; where his fleet lay ready for the embarkation of his forces. He was detained there three days by contrary winds: and then receiving advice by a knight templar [3], dispatched by *Richard Giffard* and other agents employed by him in *France*, that cardinal *Peter* elect of *Meaux*, and legate in that country, had received orders from the Pope to put all his dominions on both sides the sea under an interdict, unless he consented to the marriage of *Richard* and *Alice*, he returned to *Winchester* to consult with some of his bishops and councellors on that occasion. The resolution taken was, that the archbishop of *Canterbury*, and his suffragans there present, should appeal to the *Pope* against the legate, on account of a suspected grievance; which was done forthwith: and a messenger was sent to the archbishop of *York*, with directions to make the like appeal in his province.

This advice should naturally have hastened the king's expedition: but he [4] was unluckily detained by a sore leg (occasioned by a kick he had received from *Tostes de S. Omer's* horse three years before, in his march into *Suffolk*, against *Hugh Bigot*) till *Wednesday Aug.* 17 [5]; when he embarked at *Portsmouth*, with his son *Geffrey*, and landed the next day in *Normandie*. *Geffrey* [6] went from thence into *Bretagne* against *Guiomar de Leon*, and *Jernegan de Rocca*; who had raised some disturbances in the province, but now readily submitted: and the king going to *Roüen* had a visit from the legate *Peter*; who declaring the orders he had received from *Rome*, procured an interview between him and the king of *France* on [7] *Sept.* 21, at *Gué S. Remi* near *Nonancourt*, or, as others say, near *Ivry*, which *Walleran d'Ivry* had lately yielded to *Henry* with all its territory. In this conference *Henry* [8] offered, that *Richard* should marry *Alice*, if *Louis* would give him *Bourges*, and to his eldest son the country between *Gisors* and *Pontoise*, according to the articles of the marriage contracts: but *Louis* refusing to do so, there was no reconciling of the difference, nor yet any pretence left for the legate to issue out an interdict against *Henry's* dominions. This prelate however had the address to engage both the kings in a new croisade, and for that purpose, to oblige themselves by articles to a mutual assistance, and to suspend all discord and demands with regard to what each of them actually possessed, except as to *Auvergne*, *Chateauroux*, and the small fiefs and bounds of lands in *Berry*; which, if they could not agree about them between themselves,

[1] *Benedict.* p. 214. [2] *Ib.* 226. [3] *Ib.* 230, 231, 232. [4] *Hoveden.* p. 539.
[5] *Benedict.* p. 242. [6] *Rob. de Monte.* [7] *Ibid.* [8] *Hoveden. Benedict.* p. 245.

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were to be referred to three biſhops and as many barons, named on either part to examine into the truth of the caſe by the oaths of the people of the country, and empowered to make a final deciſion. HENRY II. A. D. 1177.

HENRY, at his return from this conference to *Vernueil*, made in [1] a council of many biſhops and barons of all his dominions, a very equitable ordinance in favour of vaſſals; "exempting their goods from being ſeized or diſtrained for the debts of "their lord, unleſs they were ſureties for ſuch debts, and ordering their rents to be "paid, not to the lord, but to his creditors." This was drawn up in the form of a charter: and being ſealed with the king's ſeal, was publiſhed and diſperſed, in order to be univerſally obſerved in *England* as well as in all his foreign dominions. *Henry* had ſent his eldeſt ſon into *Berry*, and [2] and *Richard* into *Guienne*, to ſuppreſs ſome rebels in thoſe parts: and hearing that the former had made but a ſlow progreſs in that work, levied an army in *Normandie*, and marched himſelf at its head into that province, where he ſoon reduced *Chateauroux*. From thence he advanced to *la Chaſtre*, intending to beſiege it: but the lord of the place, who had carried off the daughter of *Ralf de Deols* and detained her in his cuſtody, prevented it by waiting upon him at *Chinon* [3] and delivering up the young heireſs, with her lands of inheritance, ſaid to be worth as much as the revenue of *Normandie*. Marching on to the *Limouſin*, he puniſhed the barons of that country for their late inſurrection: and coming after *Martinmas* to meet the king of *France* at *Greiſſac* in *Auvergne*, had the ſatisfaction to find an aſſembly of the counts and barons of the province, convened in their preſence, declaring that all *Auvergne* belonged by antient right to the dominion of the dukes of *Guienne*, except the biſhoprick of *Clermont*, of which, they ſaid, the king of *France* was patron. *Louis* not agreeing to this verdict, they named each ſix referrees to determine the point of right according to the articles abovementioned. *Henry* had nothing more to do in theſe parts, but to receive the ſtrong caſtle of *Turenne* from the viſcount of that territory, and the homages, fealties, and allegiance of all the barons and knights [4] of *Audebert* count of *la Marche*, who intending to go to the *Holy land*, upon the loſs of his onely ſon, had ſold his county to him for fifteen thouſand pound [5] *Angevin* money.

THE kings affairs were now in ſo flouriſhing a condition, that he might [6] reaſonably expect a quiet of ſome years continuance: and returning to *Angers* where he kept his *Chriſtmas*, with his ſons *Richard* and *Geffrey*, and an unuſual concourſe of nobility, ſpent the firſt three months of the year in eſtabliſhing good order in that province. The ſame care employed his time after *Eaſter*, in *Normandie*; where he regulated the courſe of juſtice, and provided for the ſecurity of the frontiers, by charging prudent and truſty perſons with the adminiſtration of the one and the defence of the other. To ſecure the peace of the country ſtill more, he procured from the king of *France* letters of protection for it; declaring that prince's readineſs, during *Henry's* abſence, to aſſiſt his officers in its defence, whenever they applied to him for that purpoſe: letters uſually granted in thoſe times from one king to another, when engaged together in a *Croiſade*. After theſe precautions he went to *England*; landing there on *Saturday July* 15: and on *Aug.* 6. knighted [7] his ſon *Geffrey* with great ſolemnity at *Wodeſtoke*; who immediately went abroad to diſtinguiſh himſelf A. D. 1178.

[1] *Ibid.* 249. [2] *Ib.* p. 250, 251.
[3] *Rob. de Monte.* [4] *Benedict.* p. 252. *Hoveden. Diceto*, col. 599.
[5] *Robert de Monte* computes this ſum at ſix thouſand marks of ſilver, a purchaſe certainly very cheap; ſince he quotes king *Henry* for ſaying it was worth twenty thouſand marks, and conſidering the importance thereof for the ſecurity of his other territories in the dutchy of *Guienne*.
[6] *Rob. de Monte. Benedict.* p. 233, 234.
[7] *Ib.* 265, 266. *Diceto*, col. 600.

HENRY II. by feats of armes in the turnaments, which were then frequently exhibited on the
A. D. 1178. frontiers of *France* and *Normandie*.

THIS ſtep was the effect of an emulation of his brothers *Henry* and *Richard*, who were very adroit in ſuch military exerciſes[1]: and the former was ſo extremely fond of them, that about this time he paſſed three years together in nothing elſe but theſe amuſements; laying aſide the majeſty of a king, to ingratiate himſelf with knights, and court the applauſe of the populace at a monſtruous expence. The latter was employed much more honourably in putting a ſtop to the ravages of the [2] *Brabantine* free-booters, compoſed of *Baſques*, *Navarrois* and other mountaineers, dwelling along the *Pyrenees*, that infeſted *Guienne*, and ſupplied the little lords of caſtles and territories in that dutchy with troops on all occaſions; when they were minded to make an inſurrection, or commit depredations on their neigbours. *Richard*, not long after his father, paſſed over into *England*, marched into *Gaſcogne* with an army, in order to reduce the count of *Bigorre*, either to peace or obedience: and when he came to *Dax*, found the work in a manner done to his hands by the citizens of that place, who had ſurprized the count, and held him in cuſtody. In this circumſtance, his country would have been an eaſy conqueſt: but the king of *Arragon*, who claimed the ſuperiority thereof, and looked upon the count as his vaſſal, waiting upon *Richard*, prevailed upon him to ſet that lord at liberty: who was obliged however to deliver up *Clermont* and the caſtle of *Montbrun* for his ranſome.

A. D. 1179. RICHARD had ſtill a more difficult enterprize to accompliſh, before he could entirely quiet the province: it was the reducing of two turbulent and powerful barons, *Guy de Rancone*, lord of *Pons* in *Saintonge*, who had above two hundred and fifty fiefs under him, and the count of *Engouleſme*[3]. He made preparations for it ſoon after *Chriſtmas*: and having aſſembled a great army at *Saintes*, marched to *Pons*; inveſting it in a ſeaſon of the year, very unfavourable to ſuch an undertaking. Having lain before the place till near *Eaſter*, he left a body of forces to block it up: and on *April* 1, beſieged the caſtle of *Royamont*, which he took in three days and demoliſhed. The caſtles of *Genſac*, *Martillac*, and ſeveral others underwent the ſame fate, and were levelled with the ground: nor [4] did the ſtrong fortreſs of *Taillebourg* fare better, though fortified with a triple ditch and three walls, all ſecured by frequent towers, ſtrong bulwarks and other works, which had diſcouraged the dukes of *Guienne* from ever attempting a place, that paſſed in common repute for impregnable. It was now well ſupplied with proviſions, and had a garriſon of ſeveral thouſand ſoldiers, too numerous to dread any attacks of an enemy: nor was their confidence leſſened, when they ſaw *Richard*, after waſting the country and cutting up the vines about the place, come before it, and prepare to batter the walls with his military engines. Thinking it diſhonourable for ſuch a number of brave men to be cooped up within the walls of a fortreſs, they made, on *Tueſday May* 1, the third day of the ſiege, a general ſally: but were received with ſo much reſolution, that they were repulſed; and *Richard* purſued them with ſuch impetuoſity, that he entered the town with the runaways, and being maſter of the place, demoliſhed all its fortifications. This ſucceſs was followed by the ſubmiſſion of *Guy de Rancone*, and the ſurrender of *Pons*, which was likewiſe levelled: nor did the count of *Engouleſme* long hold out; being forced ſoon after *Whitſontide* to give up his city, and the caſtle of *Montignac*. The walls of both theſe places were levelled: and *Richard* leaving all quiet within his government, went to make his father a viſit in *England*. His brother *Geffrey*[5] had left this country immediately after *Eaſter*, in order to quell an

[1] *Ibid.* col. 602. *M. Paris.* [2] See *Concil. Latran.* an. 1179. can. 4. *in Baron. Annal.* t. xii. p. 916. *Benedict.* p. 274. [3] *Ib.* p. 275. [4] *M. Paris. Diceto*, col. 603, 604. *Rob. de Monte.* [5] *Ib. Benedict.* p. 317.

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insurrection raised in *Bretagne* by *Guiomar* viscount *de Leon* and his sons: and the young prince fell upon them with so much vigour, that he took all their castles, and forced them to take shelter in forests; where they could only subsist by little clandestine depredations. This obliged them to submit, and give up all their lands, except two parishes, which old *Guiomar* was to retain till the *Christmas* following; when he engaged to go to the *Holy Land*, and eleven others: which young *Guiomar* upon the delivery of his brother *Hervè* for an hostage, was allowed for his maintenance. HENRY II. A. D. 1179.

XXXVIII. THE king was in the mean time taken up in *England*, with punishing the corruption, and correcting the extortion, of [1] his sheriffs, bailiffs, foresters, and other officers; with redressing the grievances of his people, and regulating the administration of justice; for which no prince was ever more zealous, more careful to relieve the poor and oppressed, or more severe and impartial in the punishment of notorious and potent offenders. *Diceto* observes on this [2] occasion, that the hunting of the deer in his forests was punished either with fines or imprisonment; treason with banishment; lesser enormities with amputation of limbs; and murder, rapes, and robberies with hanging: and that [3] *Cadwallon*, a *Welsh* prince, uncle to *David* prince of *North-Wales*, being killed on *Sept.* 22, in returning from his court, whither he had come under the security of a safe-conduct, he spared none concerned in that breach of publick faith, condemning all that were taken to the gibbet. New institutions are frequently found upon experience to be attended with some unforeseen inconveniencies: and this was the case in regard to the itinerant justices appointed a few years before at the council of *Northampton*, to make their circuits in the country, and save the people the trouble and expence of coming far from their homes for justice. They were all men of great quality and barons of the realm: they were too numerous, and either by the frequency of their visits, and the state which they affected in their progress, or the largeness of their [4] retinues, put the country to an insupportable expence. [5] The king, who looked out among all orders and professions of men, for such as were above corruption, and would administer justice impartially, without any private view whatever, thought to remedy this inconvenience by a measure which he took the foregoing year by the advice of his council; pitching upon two of the clergy, and three of the laity, all of his own household, to hear the complaints of all persons aggrieved throughout the realm, and to be constantly resident in his court for this purpose, so that in any case too difficult for them to decide, they might immediately have recourse to the king; who would determine it by the advice of his council. This method did not prove effectual: and [6] in a great council of the prelates and nobility held this year at *Windsor* (at which young *Henry*, who came over about midlent and staid till *Whitsontide*, assisted) he divided the realm into four parts, assigning in three of them five justiciaries to each, two of them clergymen, the three others lay-barons, and sending them into their respective districts to distribute justice among the people. The bishops of *Wincheſter*, *Ely*, and *Norwich*, were the chief justiciaries of those three parts, each presiding in his class [7]: and the fourth part, consisting of the counties north of *Trent*, was put under the jurisdiction of the justices of the king's court. The judges of the three first classes gave the king an account of their administration on *Aug.* 27 at *Westminster*: and the good effects of the presidency of the three bishops here mentioned, are much Regulations in *England*.

[1] *Diceto*, col. 605. *Petr. Blesens.* ep. 95.
[2] *Diceto*, col. 605. and 570. [3] *Powel's Hist. of Wales*, p. 238. *M. Paris.*
[4] Even the archdeacons and other ecclesiastical visitors, in those days used to go with vast trains, exceeding burdensome to the clergy, till the grievance was in some measure redressed by the twentieth canon of the council of *Lateran*, held this year.
[5] *Benedict.* p. 266. [6] *Ib.* p. 316, 317.
[7] *Diceto*, col. 606.

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celebrated by *Diceto* and by *Richard* [1] archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in a letter to the Pope, to whom they had been accuſed of meddling in ſecular affairs and civil judicatures.

Pope *Alexander* had, two years before, made up all differences with the emperor *Frederic:* and an end being put to the ſchiſm, which had laſted near twenty years, he reſolved to hold a general ſynod about *Midlent* this year, in the church of *S. John de Lateran*, at *Rome*, for preventing the like calamity, and reforming ſome abuſes in eccleſiaſtical matters. He ſent legates [2] all over Chriſtendom to ſummon the prelates to it: *Albert de Suma* came with that character to *England*, as *Peter de S. Agatha* went for the ſame purpoſe to *Scotland*, *Galloway*, the *Iſle of Man*, and *Ireland*; being obliged, as he paſſed through *England*, to take an oath, that he would do no prejudice to the king or kingdom in his legation. The [3] archbiſhops of *Dublin* and *Tuam*, with five or ſix *Iriſh* biſhops, were deputed from the laſt of thoſe countries: and took a like oath in their paſſage, as did alſo the *Scotch* prelates. The biſhops of *England* were all ſummoned: but only thoſe of *Durham*, *Norwich*, *Hereford*, and *Bath*, went to the council; it not being the cuſtom of the church of *England* to ſend more than four to any *Roman* ſynod. It was opened on *Monday*, *March* 5, and broke up that day fortnight; having, in the three days of its ſeſſion, made ſeveral canons; one particular to the ſee of *Rome*, declaring the ſuffrages of two thirds of the cardinals abſolutely neceſſary to render a Pope's election canonical, and ſome others which were received and obſerved in this kingdom. Of this laſt ſort were thoſe, "that diſqualified all perſons under the age of thirty years "from being promoted to a biſhoprick; that annulled the ordinations of ſchiſma-"ticks, with their grants and collations to benefices; that required livings not to be "kept vacant above ſix months; that inhibited the clergy from taking upon them "ſecular employments; that forbade pluralities, ordinations without a title, the trial "of biſhops and eccleſiaſticks in ſecular courts, and the dangerous exerciſe of turna-"ments; ſuch as received a mortal wound in theſe laſt not being allowed *Chriſtian* "burial."

Henry reconciles *Philip* king of *France* to his mother and uncles.

XXXIX. There is another event of this year too remarkable to be paſſed by in ſilence, though it relates to a king of another country. *Louis* VII propoſing to crown his ſon *Philip*, then fourteen years old, ſummoned all the nobility of *France* to meet on *Auguſt* 15, at *Reims*, for that purpoſe: but going to *Compeigne* [4], in his way thither, the young prince chanced to loſe himſelf as he was hunting in the foreſt, and wandered about alone all the night; till meeting a charcoal man in the morning, he was conducted by him to his company. The gloomy horrour of the foreſt, the ſolitude and fright he was in, and the fatigue he underwent by being all night on horſeback, affected *Philip's* mind and body to ſuch a degree, that he fell extremely ill, and there were little hopes of his recovery, till his father had made a vow to viſit *Becket's* tomb at *Canterbury*. *Louis* ſent to *Henry* for a ſafe-conduct: and landing on *Auguſt* 22, at *Dover*, was received by him with all kinds of honour, and conducted the next day to *Canterbury*; where he paid his devotions to the reputed ſaint of the place, and paſſed a grant of an hundred *muids* of wine a year for ever, to the convent of *Chriſt-Church*. His ſtay in the place was ſhort; for he left *England* on the twenty-ſixth of the ſame month: and was extremely delighted at his arrival in *France*, to hear that his ſon was recovering. If this act of modiſh devotion was imagined to be of any uſe to the ſon [5], it ſeems to have been of little to the father, who, before he got to *S. Denis*, was ſeized with an apoplectic fit; which ended in a palſy, that took away the uſe of his right ſide, and hindered him

[1] *Petr. Bleſenſ.* ep. 84. [2] *Benedict.* p. 269, 270. [3] *Ib.* p. 288. *Hoveden.* [4] *Rob. de Monte.*
[5] *P. Daniel's Hiſt. de France.*

from being preſent at *Philip's* coronation. This ceremony was[1] performed on the feaſt of *All ſaints* at *Reims*; young *Henry* in right of the dukedom of *Normandie*, carrying before him, from his chamber to the church, a golden crown, which he afterwards aſſiſted to hold, when it was put on his head: and afterwards[2], at dinner ſerving the firſt diſh upon the table, as ſeneſchal of *France*; an hereditary charge belonging to the counts of *Anjou*. HENRY II. *A. D.* 1179.

LOUIS did not die till the eighteenth of *October* following: but as he was paralytic, *Philip*, from the time of his coronation, took upon him the government of the kingdom. *A. D.* 1180. The youth of this prince naturally threw him into the hands of others: and *Philip* count of *Flanders*, who had been his godfather, and is by *Brito* called his tutor, getting the aſcendant over him, put him upon ſeveral acts very oppreſſive to the people of *France*, and injurious to all that had been in his father's confidence. *Adelais*[3], the young king's mother, whoſe caſtles he ſeized, and her brothers *Theobald* count of *Blois* and *Chartres*, *Stephen* count of *Sancerre*, and *William* cardinal and archbiſhop of *Reims*, ſuffered more than any others, as being the more immediate objects of the tutor's jealouſy; who wanted to engroſs all the power of the government to himſelf, and had even driven the queen out of the kingdom. This ill treatment[4] engaged them to apply for aſſiſtance to the king of *England*, ſoon after *Chriſtmas*; which he had kept at *Notingham*, attended by the king, earls, and barons of *Scotland*, who ſat in his court there with the *Engliſh* nobility: but *Henry* ſeemed unwilling to enter into their quarrel. They were more ſucceſsful in their application to young *Henry*; who reſided in *Normandie:* and this prince embarking zealouſly in their cauſe, went over to *England* about *Midlent*, and prevailed with his father to eſpouſe their intereſts. Both theſe princes coming into *Normandie* a little before *Eaſter*, were there viſited by the queen, the count of *Blois*, and others of the *French* nobility; whoſe remonſtrances and aſſurances, confirmed by hoſtages, that they would always adhere to *Henry*, and follow his advice, made him reſolve to raiſe an army to ſupport their pretenſions. The count of *Flanders*, ſeeing ſo ſtrong a party formed againſt him, thought it neceſſary for the maintaining of his power, to unite *Philip* more cloſely to him by an alliance, that might ſerve for a counter-balance to the authority and influence of this young prince's mother and uncles. He had married *Iſabel*, the daughter and heireſs of *Raoul de Peronne*, count of *Vermandois*, but had no children by her: his ſiſter *Margaret* had, by her huſband, *Baldwin* count of *Hainault*, a daughter named *Iſabel*, for whom he had a great affection. This niece of his, the count of *Flanders* propoſed as a match for young *Philip*, offering to ſettle on her all the province of *Artois*; which with the county of *Vermandois*, that was, upon the death of his counteſs, to be reunited to the *domaine* of the crown, would be a very conſiderable enlargement of the *French* territories. *Philip*, contrary to the advice of all his friends, hearkened to the propoſal: and going to *Bapaume*, his marriage with *Iſabel* was there ſolemnized ſoon after *Eaſter* with great magnificence. The next ſtep was to crown the new queen: and *Whitſunday* was at firſt fixed for the day, on which the prelates and nobility of *France* were to meet at *Sens*, to aſſiſt at the ceremony; but the count of *Flanders*, in his impatience to ſee his niece inaugurated in ſo ſolemn a manner into the poſſeſſion of royalty, got the time to be haſtened, and ſhe was accordingly anointed (her huſband being crowned again at the ſame time) at *S. Denis*, by *Guy* archbiſhop of *Sens*, in whoſe province that town lay, on *May* 29, being the feaſt of the *Aſcenſion*.

THIS ſolemnity being over, *Philip* advanced with an army towards the frontiers of *Normandie*, to oppoſe the king of *England:* but neither of theſe princes being

[1] *Benedict.* p. 320. *Hoveden.* [2] *Benedict.* p. 330. [3] *Diceto*, col. 610. *Rob. de Monte.*
[4] *Benedict.* p. 323, 324, 325, 326. *Hoveden.*

fond

Henry II. A. D. 1180.

fond of running the hazard of a battle, and the ſubject of their quarrel being much fitter for an amicable accommodation, than a bloody deciſion, they eaſily agreed on a conference at *Giſors*. It was the intereſt of the count of *Flanders* to oppoſe any accommodation, that would bring the queen mother back to court, and put her in a condition of ſupplanting him in his credit with her ſon: and *Henry* had need of all his experience, knowledge of the world, addreſs, and arts of inſinuation, to bring the young prince to a compliance. *Philip* however behaved himſelf on this occaſion, ſo as to engage *Henry's* eſteem for ever after: and took care to aſſert his own authority, when he conſented to his mother's return. He agreed to allow her ſeven pounds, *Paris* money, a day for her ſubſiſtence as long as his father lived; and after his death, to put her in poſſeſſion of all the rents of the lands aſſigned for her dower, but reſerved to himſelf all the caſtles and fortreſſes erected thereon. In this conference, the count of *Flanders* did homage to the king of *England*, upon a renewal of ſome conventions formerly made between them; by which the latter granted a penſion of a thouſand pounds ſterling a year to the former, in conſideration of his keeping five hundred knights in readineſs at his own expence to ſerve the king forty days, whenever he was ſummoned. The count of *Clermont* did the like homage to *Henry*[1]: and the two kings confirmed all the articles of the peace, made between the two crowns three years before at *Gué S. Remi*. This was likewiſe renewed again ſoon after, upon the death of *Louis* VII: and they took each other's realms into their protection.

He reforms the coin in *England*, and arms all his ſubjects.

XL. Henry's being abroad, did not hinder him from redreſſing a terrible grievance in *England*, ariſing from the adulteration of the coin[2]: the mint men were proſecuted on this account, and ſeverely fined; and new money of a round form, of a juſt weight and alloy, being coined, the old was cried down by a proclamation, ordering it not to be taken in payments after *Martinmas*. *Ralf de Glanville* too, being[3] at this time chief juſticiary, publiſhed ſome of the *Confeſſor's* laws allowed by *William the Conqueror*; by which it appears, that the *Saxon* cuſtom of *friburgs* or *frank-pledges* ſtill continued; and it was provided, "that the tenants "of the church ſhould be ſued only in the eccleſiaſtical court; that breaches of the "peace of the church ſhould be cognizable before the biſhops; that churches and "parſonage houſes might ſerve as ſanctuaries for offenders; but in caſes of rapine, "they were obliged to make reſtitution or reparation, or abjure the country. It "appears likewiſe that the crown had a power of pardoning capital crimes, as "murder and treaſon, but whatever forfeiture accrued thence to others, was ſtill to "be made good to them, and the criminal to find ſureties for his good behaviour, "or elſe be baniſhed the realm; that wives innocent of the crimes committed by "their huſbands, were not to loſe their dower, nor children to be cut off from "ſucceeding to a father's inheritance, for any crime of his perpetrated, after they "were either born or begotten."

A. D. 1181.

It was in his court at *Le Mans*, where he paſſed his *Chriſtmas* holidays, that he iſſued a proclamation[4], ordering all freeholders and burgeſſes, in his tranſmarine dominions, to provide themſelves with armour. Such as had chattels to the value of an hundred pounds *Angevin*, were to have an horſe with compleat ſuits, and others to be armed in proportion to their ſubſtance; agreeable to the aſſize of armes eſtabliſhed in *England* upon his return thither. This arming of his ſubjects, which rendered them equally capable of defending their liberties, and of oppoſing an invader, ſeems to have been an effect of *Henry's* uſual providence, who loved to take his precautions, even before any danger was near: and it put the people[5] of

[1] *Rymer*, i. 50, 53. *M. Paris.* [2] *Benedict.* p. 344. *Diceto*, col. 611. [3] *Hoveden*, p. 601, & ſeq. [4] *Hoveden. Benedict.* p. 553. [5] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1458.

England

England into a condition, they had never been in ſince the conqueſt. He was on good terms both with *France* and *Flanders*, and had no immediate apprehenſions of an attack from the ſovereigns of either of thoſe countries, whatever the active genius of the former, might prepare him to expect in time: but they were either ſo alarmed by this regulation, or thought it ſo fit to be imitated, that they immediately eſtabliſhed the ſame in their own countries. By the aſſize of arms as ſettled in *England*[1], "every perſon poſſeſſed of a knight's fee, was to have a coat of mail, an "helmet, a ſhield, and a lance, and as many of each of theſe, as he had fees. "Every free layman, that had in goods or rents to the value of ſixteen marks, was "to have the ſame armes; and ſuch as had ten marks, were to have a leſſer coat of "mail, an iron cap, and a lance; the two laſt of which, with a *wambois* (*i. e.* a "coat quilted or ſtudded with ſome material proper to reſiſt the ſtroke of a weapon) "were aſſigned for the armes of burgeſſes, and all the freemen of burroughs. Theſe "armes were all to be provided before the feaſt of *S. Hilary* next following; none "obliged to have them, could either ſell, pawn, lend, or part with them out of his "cuſtody; nor could a lord take them from his vaſſal, either by forfeiture, gift, "ſecurity, or in any other manner. When the poſſeſſor died, they deſcended to his "heir; and if this heir was a minor, his guardian was to have the cuſtody of his "armes, as well as body; and till the heir came of age, he was to find a man to uſe "them in the king's ſervice. The itinerant juſtices were charged with the care of "the execution of this ordinance, and had a power as well of examining all perſons "upon oath as to the value of their eſtate, as of obliging them to ſwear, that they "would be faithful to the king, and keep theſe armes for his ſervice, and the defence "of the kingdom. No man was to keep more armes than he ought by this aſſize; "nor were any to be ſold or carried out of the realm; this laſt prohibition extend-"ing likewiſe to ſhips and timber."

HENRY II. A. D. 1181.

XLI. HENRY had taken leave of the king[2] of *France*, in a conference, on *April* 27, at *Gué S. Remi*, in order to ſet out for *Ireland:* and was ready to embark at *Barfleur*, when he was ſent for by that prince to make up matters between him and the count of *Flanders*; who nettled at being ſupplanted in his lord's favour by the queen mother, had picked a quarrel with the count of *Clermont en Beauvoiſis*, and beſieged one of his caſtles. The king, upon this meſſage, ordering his houſhold to proceed to *England*, repaired to the king of *France:* and having got them to meet at *Giſors*, and reconciled them for a time, embarked at *Cherbourgh*, landing, on *July* 26, at *Portſmouth*. Soon after his arrival in *England*, he held a great council at *Notingham*, at which *William* king of *Scotland*, with his earls and barons aſſiſted; and another, on *Sunday*, *September* 5, at *Eveſham*. In the firſt[3] of theſe, *Richard* archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had his croſs carried erect before him, though in the province of *York:* and went from thence to viſit the dioceſe of *Lincoln*; to which *Geffrey*, the king's natural ſon, had been elected nine years before, but had ſtill deferred his conſecration, and now reſigned his ſee into the hands of *Richard*[4]. This was done by his father's advice, who imagined he might be more uſeful to him in the poſt of chancellor; which he now gave him, with caſtles and lands to the value of five hundred marks a year in his foreign dominions, and as much in *England*. *Roger* archbiſhop of *York* was at this time in a declining way[5]: and died a little after ſun-ſet on *Saturday*, *November* 21; leaving behind him eleven thouſand marks of ſilver, three hundred of gold, and a large quantity of plate, both gold and ſilver. He had diſpoſed of ſome part of his wealth during the ſickneſs of which he died; contrary to his own doctrine, that no eccleſiaſtick could make any deviſe

He reconciles the king of *France* and count of *Flanders*.

[1] *Benedict.* p. 365. [2] *Ib.* p. 362, 363. *Hoveden.* [3] *Benedict.* p. 368. [4] *Ib.* p. 354, 356. *Angl. Sacr.* t. ii. p. 380. *Trivet.* [5] *M. Paris. Benedict.* p. 371, 372. *Hoveden.*

HENRY II. A. D. 1181. in ſuch a circumſtance: in conſequence of which notion, he had got a bull from Pope *Alexander*, granting him the effects of all the clergy in his province, that did not give them away with their own hands, but pretended to diſpoſe of them by will, when they were dying. The king ſeized all his treaſures as the goods of an inteſtate eccleſiaſtick; treating him with the ſame law and meaſure, that he had uſed in the caſe of others. This prelate had been for many years the Pope's legate in *Scotland:* and had a little before his death, excommunicated the king of that country, and laid an interdict on the kingdom [1]. What gave occaſion to theſe cenſures, was a conteſt about the election of a prelate to fill the ſee of *S. Andrew's*; the convent having choſen *John Scot*, in contempt of king *William's* recommendation of *Hugh*, one of his favourite chaplains. The king, incenſed at this affront, ſwore that *Scot* ſhould never enjoy that dignity: and ordered the canons to proceed to a new election; which was ſo managed by *Jocelin* biſhop of *Glaſgow*, that *Hugh* was returned as choſen by the intimidated electors, and notwithſtanding *John's* appeal to *Rome*, was conſecrated by the *Scotch* biſhops. The Pope diſpatched *Alexius*, a *Roman* ſubdeacon, into *Scotland* with legatine powers to determine the diſpute: who confirmed the firſt election, excommunicated *Jocelin* and the other clergy that had aſſiſted at the ſecond; and convening a ſynod at *Holy-rood* houſe, cauſed *John* to be conſecrated biſhop of *St. Andrew's*. *Hugh*, continuing to act as biſhop, was likewiſe excommunicated: and the king ſeizing the revenues of the ſee, ordered *Scot*, who had paſſed the ſame cenſure on *Richard de Moreville*, conſtable of *Scotland*, and others of his miniſters, to quit the kingdom. The Pope hereupon ſent orders to the archbiſhop of *York* and the biſhop of *Durham* to excommunicate the king, and put the realm under an interdict. Theſe cenſures being accordingly iſſued, and that of ſuſpenſion denounced againſt the prior of *S. Andrew's*, and all the parochial clergy of the dioceſe that did not adhere to *John*; *William* baniſhed ſuch as ſubmitted to this prelate, with all their relations, not excepting even little children; a proceeding ſo exactly agreeable to that of the king of *England's* in *Becket's* caſe, that it looks as if it was a common legal proviſion in both kingdoms to guard againſt papal encroachments. *Alexander* applied to *Henry* for his interpoſition to bring the king of *Scotland* to a compliance: and *William* [2] being ſent for to *Normandie*, it was agreed between the two kings, with *John's* conſent, that this laſt ſhould reſign *S. Andrew's*, and by way of recompence ſhould be put into ſome other ſee, and be made chancellor of *Scotland*. Pope *Alexander* rejected this accommodation: but dying this year, on *September* 20, his ſucceſſor, *Lucius* III, took off all the cenſures abovementioned, and allowed *John* to take the biſhoprick of *Dunkeld*, then fallen vacant.

THE peace made by the king of *England's* mediation between the count of *Flanders* and the king of *France*, proved of no long continuance [3]; by reaſon of the diſcontents, which poſſeſſed the uncles of the laſt of theſe princes, conceiving themſelves ſlighted, becauſe they had not the management of their nephew. *Stephen* count of *Sancerre* ſeized an eſtate that lay convenient for him, and kept poſſeſſion thereof in contempt of the king's orders: but fearing his reſentment, applied [4] to the count of *Flanders* for aid, and did him homage for the caſtle of *S. Brice*, to have a colour for his protection. *Philip Auguſte* ſeizing the land into his own hand, expelled his uncle; and the count of *Flanders* inſiſting on its being reſtored to himſelf and *Stephen*, fell, when this was denied, with a body of troops into the territories of the count of *Clermont*, by whoſe advice his demand had been rejected; waſted them and all the neighbourhood of *Senlis* with fire and ſword; and drew ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable of the *French* nobility into his party.

[1] *Hoveden. Benedict.* p. 345, & ſeq. [2] *Ib.* p. 362, 375, 379. [3] *Ib.* p. 372, 373.
[4] *Diceto*, col. 612.

But

But young *Henry* raiſing an army [1] in *Normandie*, and marching to the aſſiſtance of his brother-in-law; the count of *Flanders* retired with his forces. The quarrel however ſtill ſubſiſted, and this laſt prince ſollicited the emperor *Frederic* to invade *France:* but the king of *England*, too juſt and honourable to return upon the ſon the treatment he had received from his father *Louis* VII, and to encourage diſturbances in the realms of his neighbours, whatever reaſon he had to be jealous of their power, reſolved to uſe his good offices for making it up, and adjuſting all their differences. HENRY II. *A. D.* 1181.

WITH this view he propoſed to go over into *Normandie* ſoon after *Chriſtmas:* but was detained a good while upon the ſea-coaſt by contrary winds [2]; a delay which removed ſome of the difficulties in the way of a peace, by the deaths of the two counteſſes of *Gueldres* and *Flanders*. The former of theſe, was the neice and next heir of the count of *Flanders*, being the eldeſt daughter of his brother *Matthew* count of *Boulogne:* the latter was the daughter of *Ralf de Perone* count of *Vermandois*; and both of them averſe to any accommodation. *A. D.* 1182.

HENRY, conſidering his own mortality [3], made, at this time, a will, bequeathing four ſums, each of five thouſand marks, to the knights hoſpitallers, templars, convents, and hoſpitals of the *Holy Land*, and for the defence of that country, beſides many other conſiderable legacies to religious houſes in all his dominions: and keeping one copy of it in his own hands, ordered two other authentick inſtruments thereof to be laid up, one in his treaſury at *Wincheſter*; the other in the church of *Canterbury*. The *Chriſtians* in *Paleſtine* were now extremely diſtreſſed by the armes of the famous *Saladine:* and the Pope [4] called upon all the world for aſſiſtance; promiſing large indulgences to ſuch as went thither, with abſolution of all ſins confeſſed with a contrite heart, except in caſes where reſtitution was neceſſary, and allowing them without the conſent of their heirs or lords to mortgage their lands for the expences of the expedition. His letter on the ſubject, delivered to the kings of *France* and *England* in their conference at *Gué S. Remi* [5], had engaged them both to promiſe ſuccours to the *Holy Land:* and *Henry* now made good his word by ſending to its relief five hundred marks of gold, and forty-two thouſand of ſilver.

MIDLENT was paſſed before he got a favourable wind to waft him over from *Portſmouth* to *Barfleur*; and having [6] procured an interview after *Eaſter*, between the king of *France* and the count of *Flanders*, brought them to an agreement; by which the land in diſpute was to remain in the hands of the original poſſeſſor, and the count engaging to make ſatisfaction for the damages his troops had done in the country, quitted all claim to the ſervice of the count of *Clermont*. The king of *France* claimed all the county of *Vermandois*, as eſcheated to his crown, by the death of the late counteſs, and all the country as far as the *Lys*, in virtue of the articles of his marriage with the count's niece: and *Amiens* with all the other towns were yielded to him, except *Peronne* and *S. Quintin*, which the count retained till he was paid the ſum of ſixty thouſand pounds, which he pretended to be due to him; declaring however that he held them only as a ſecurity for the money.

XLII. WHILST the king was in *Normandie* [7], *Henry* duke of *Saxony* (who had married his daughter *Maude)* came to him with his wife and children, and abundance of his counts and barons; being driven out of his dominions in *Germany* by the emperor *Frederic*. The duke had ſeized ſome lands in his own territories belonging to the church of *Cologne*, and refuſed to reſtore them upon the emperor's order: nor would he ſtand to the judgment of the imperial court, to which the archbiſhop

Exile of *Henry* duke of *Saxony:* and the death of the young king *Henry*.

[1] *Diceto. Triveti Annal.* [2] *Benedict.* p 373. *Hoveden.* [3] *Rymer*, p. 57. [4] *Benedict.* p. 356. *Hoveden.* [5] *M. Paris.* [6] *Benedict.* i. 374. *Hoveden.* [7] *Ib. M. Paris. Benedict.* p. 329, 376.

had

Henry II. A. D. 1182. had applied for relief. His pretence for this refuſal was, that he could not expect juſtice from *Frederic*; becauſe he had offended him by not ſwearing fealty to his ſon, whom he had cauſed to be crowned, without the general conſent of the princes of the empire: and would not therefore come to his court, without a ſafe conduct, which was denied. This pretence was a new affront to the emperor, who charged him with breach of duty, in not ſending his quota of troops, which occaſioned the loſs of *Lombardie*; with going to *Conſtantinople*, and treating with the *Greek* emperor *Manuel*, to the prejudice of the *German* empire, and with ſeveral other treaſonable matters [1]. *Gervaſe* and others ſay, that this duke was proud, covetous, rapacious: and keeping no faith with any body, was univerſally hated. The imperial chamber having, either upon his not appearing to anſwer to the charge [2], or his not daring to purge himſelf by duel, condemned him as guilty, and declared all his territories forfeited; *Frederic* had put the decree in execution; given his dominions to another; and driven him out of *Germany*, after obliging him to take an oath, not to return thither in the ſpace of ſeven years, without leave from the emperor. *Henry* interceded himſelf with the emperor, and got the king of *France* and the count of *Flanders* to do the ſame, in behalf of the duke: and with ſuch a meaſure of ſucceſs, that *Frederic* allowed all his vaſſals, that attended him to return home, and took off four years from the time of his exile; and in the mean while granted the dutcheſs the full enjoyment of her jointure. The king hereupon diſmiſſed the nobility, that had followed their lord's fortune, with large preſents: and during the three years that [3] the duke and dutcheſs ſtayed with him, ſupported them in a very honourable manner, and at a vaſt expence, allowing them three hundred and fifty pounds *Angevin* a day for their maintenance.

The diſtreſs of his daughter and her huſband did not affect the king of *England* ſo much, as the refractorineſs of his eldeſt ſon; who always [4] running himſelf into difficulties by his extravagance, was never eaſy: and now retired, with his wife *Margaret*, to the court of *France*, to plot all the miſchief he poſſibly could againſt his father. From thence [5] he ſent his demands to the king, inſiſting on an immediate ceſſion of *Normandie* (the diſpoſition whereof he enjoyed already, but he wanted to have it in property) or ſome other part of his dominions, that might ſerve him for a reſidence, and enable him to ſupport the knights in his ſervice; with whom he uſed to amuſe himſelf in turnaments, and by whoſe advice he acted in all his undutiful meaſures. *Henry* rejecting his demands, he pretended to go to *Jeruſalem*; in hopes probably that his father, out of the exceſs of his paternal affection, would grant him all he aſked, to divert him from that reſolution. This fetch not ſucceeding, he agreed at laſt to take for himſelf an hundred pounds *Angevin*, and for his wife ten pounds a day for their expence; and the king promiſed further to pay a year's appointments to an hundred knights of his houſhold. Young *Henry*, ſatisfied with this allowance, proteſted he would never aſk any more of him: and returning to him, took a voluntary oath, that he would always, to the end of his life, ſubmit to his will and pleaſure.

A. D. 1183. The king, ever intent upon providing againſt futurity, and knowing the uncertainty of the young prince's temper, reſolved to ſeize the opportunity, which his good-humour offered, to unite him more cloſely to his brothers (whoſe fate would one day depend in a good meaſure upon him) by a bond, which would put them all under the ſtrongeſt obligations of duty and honour, to exerciſe a mutual affection. With this view, when, after keeping *Chriſtmas* with his three eldeſt ſons at *Caen*, he went from thence to *Angers*, where they all ſwore to maintain a perpetual amity with one another [6], he cauſed *Geffrey*, who, upon his late marriage with

[1] Col. 1465. [2] *Ib.* 402. *Hoveden.* [3] *Rob. de Monte.* [4] *Hoveden. Benedict.* p. 378, 380, 385. [5] *Diceto*, col. 612. [6] *Benedict. Abb.* p. 382, & ſeq. *Hoveden. Neubrig.* l. iii. c. 7.

Conſtance, had got full poſſeſſion of *Bretagne*, to do homage to his eldeſt brother for that dutchy. But when he propoſed to his ſecond ſon to do the ſame for *Guienne*, *Richard* refuſed it at firſt; as being equal to his brother in birth, and as having the ſame right to his mother's ſucceſſion, as his elder brother had to their father's: the king's remonſtrances however prevailed with him at laſt to conſent to the propoſal; and then young *Henry* would not receive his homage. This provoking *Richard*, a young prince of an high ſpirit, who had, juſt before, ſhewn his complaiſance to him, in giving up the caſtle of *Chairvaux* in *Anjou*, ſome ſharp words paſſed between them: and *Richard* went away in great wrath to *Guienne*, where he fortified his caſtles, and prepared to defend himſelf againſt his enemies. He had kept a ſtrict hand over the nobility of that province; and they complained of his debauching their wives and daughters; though perhaps his repreſſing the diſorders, which they uſed to commit formerly with impunity, was what gave them the greateſt offence. Whatever were their motives, they entered ſecretly into engagements with young *Henry*, whom they imagined more tractable, and knew to be more bountiful than his brother, to bear true allegiance to him as their liege lord by hereditary right, as long as they lived, and to put him in poſſeſſion of their caſtles. *Geffrey* joined with them in the deſign of driving *Richard* out of *Guienne*: and when young *Henry* entered that province on one ſide, and, by the help of the barons, made himſelf maſter of *Limoges*, he went to *Bretagne*, raiſed an army of his ſubjects; and with theſe, and a body of *Brabantins*, which he took into his pay, fell upon it in another quarter; burning and plundering all before him, not ſparing even churches and religious places. *Richard*, weakened by the revolt of the barons, and unable to reſiſt both his brothers, ſent to his father for aid; who fearing that he would loſe all his dutchy, and that if he were taken, he would not get out of his brother's hands alive[1], raiſed a great army: and having ſecured the earls of *Cheſter* and *Leiceſter*, to prevent their raiſing any commotion in *Normandie* during his abſence, marched to *Limoges*.

HENRY II. A. D. 1183.

THE king was received into the city, but not into the caſtle; which had been delivered by the viſcount of *Limoges* to young *Henry*: who, not able to oppoſe his father by open force, had recourſe to diſſimulation and treachery; acting a part more agreeable to the character and diſpoſition of *Geffrey*, with whom he was in a perfect intelligence. They pretended to reconcile the barons of *Guienne* to *Richard*: and under that colour had frequent conferences with them, to ſtrengthen their confederacy, and concert their meaſures; the king ſtaying in the mean time at *Limoges*, with only a ſmall train about him, in perfect ſecurity, and ſo little apprehenſive of his ſons, that he had ſent away the beſt part of his forces. In this condition, his life[2] was much expoſed, he being ſhot at from the caſtle; one of his knights wounded by his ſide; and his horſe's head ſhot through with an arrow; which would have pierced his own breaſt, if the horſe had not chanced to toſs up his head; and this in the preſence of thoſe two ſons, who made very ſlight of the matter. This putting the king more upon his guard, put it alſo out of their power to execute any of their deſigns; beſides that of plundering monaſteries to pay the *Brabantins*; whilſt they amuſed him with treaties of peace, and aſſurances of the barons readineſs to ſubmit and deliver hoſtages. Young *Henry*, in the mean time, under pretence of an old vow, took upon him the croſs: and would needs go to the *Holy Land*. The king did all he could to diſſuade him from that reſolution: but finding him determined, told him that his equipage and attendants ſhould equal, if not ſurpaſs, thoſe of any prince in chriſtendom, that ever went on the like expedition. Mortified at repeated diſappointments, and vexed to ſee all the meaſures, which his malice ſuggeſted againſt his father, baffled, he fell ſick at *Martel*, a

[1] *Benedict.* p. 385. [2] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1462.

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caſtle in the *Vicomté* of *Turenne*, of a fever, attended with a looſeneſs; which reducing him very low, he ſent to his father, deſiring to ſpeak with him before he died. The king durſt not go himſelf for fear of ſome treacherous deſign: but ſent in his ſtead a biſhop; who found him paſt hopes of recovery, and received his dying requeſt; that his father would forgive all his offences and malevolence towards him; that he would pay his knights and attendants their wages; and deal mercifully with the barons of *Guienne*. The king readily promiſed all he deſired, and ſent a meſſenger to tell him ſo: but before his arrival, young *Henry* died on *Saturday*, *June* 11; and his corpſe being embalmed, was buried firſt at *Le Mans*, but afterwards removed to the cathedral of *Roüen*, the place where he had deſired to be interred.

When the king firſt heard of his ſon's death, he could ſcarce believe it: but when he found it too true, he fainted away thrice, and burſt out into ſuch exceſſive lamentations for the moſt unnatural of ſons, as would ſcarce have been excuſable in the caſe of the moſt deſerving. But his paſſions were ſtrong as well as tender: and the firſt motions of nature are irreſiſtible, till a little time allows reaſon an opportunity of interpoſing its good offices for the relief of the afflicted. The young prince is ſaid to have repented heartily of his undutiful conduct:- but conſidering the weakneſs of his mind, the vanity of his heart, the inconſtancy of his temper, and the little influence, which the ſtrongeſt ties of religion, as well as of nature, had upon him, there is too much reaſon to apprehend, that, if he had recovered, he would have relapſed into his former meaſures. Some[1] people deſigning either to gloſs over the iniquity of his cauſe, or to gain credit to the ſincerity of his repentance, gave out, with an impudence and talent of lying very common in that credulous age, that the ſick were cured, and miracles wrought at his grave: and ſuch idle reports were induſtriouſly propagated. Providence took him off in the height of his crimes[2]: and by that means prevented an infinite deal of bloodſhed; the prince having reſolved to come to a general engagement on the *Monday* following, and to have uſed his ſword in the open field, to ſlay a father, whoſe greateſt failing was an exceſs of fondneſs for him, and his other children. His death put an end to all thoughts of a battle: and his troops were ſo ſtruck with it, that they immediately diſperſed, and were warmly purſued by prince *Richard*. The king's affairs were entirely re-eſtabliſhed by it, and his known clemency ſoon put an end to the inſurrection: the caſtle of *Limoges* was taken; and all the nobles of *Guienne* readily ſubmitted, delivering up their fortreſſes; ſome of which, having been entruſted to *Richard* before the war, he now kept in his own hands; and the reſt he demoliſhed ſo, as not to leave one ſtone upon another. The whole province was quieted, without the aſſiſtance of the king of *Arragon*, who had marched with an army to his ſuccour: but there being no occaſion for his ſervice, he returned with great acknowledgments of ſo ſeaſonable an act of friendſhip, and with magnificent preſents to himſelf and his forces. Young *Henry*[3] had a ſon born at *Paris*, on *June* 19, *A. D.* 1177, and named *William:* but the child not living above three days, this reſtleſs prince now died, without leaving any iſſue; and his wife *Margaret*, who ſurvived him, was, in a few years, remarried to *Bela* king of *Hungary*.

Diſputes with *France*.

XLIII. The prince had engaged very deliberately in this laſt rebellion, and had taken care before it broke out, to ſend her to her brother, that in all events ſhe might ſtill be in a place of ſafety: this princeſs now proved the occaſion of a diſpute with *France*; which, though compromiſed for a time, ſerved on future occaſions for a pretence to a quarrel. The king had ſcarce got back to *Normandie*, when her brother *Philip* demanded her jointure, and *Giſors* with all its depen-

[1] *Neubr.* l. iii. c. 7. [2] *Benedict.* p. 394, 395. [3] *Ib.* p. 226.

dences,

dencies [1], which had been given with her in marriage. To elude the first part of this demand, *Henry* alledged, that his son's settlement was invalid, as assigning lands which had before been settled in jointure upon queen *Eleanor*, whom he allowed to come out of confinement to take possession thereof; offering to stand to the judgment of the king of *France's* court upon that subject. *Gisors* he claimed as his own right, and an appendage to the dutchy of *Normandie*; maintaining likewise, that if *Louis* VII had ever any title to it, he had for himself and his heirs given it up to him for ever, at the time of *Margaret's* marriage. It is very certain that *Louis* had never performed on his part all the articles of that marriage, and his son could with the worse grace insist on their being fulfilled on the part of *England:* so that this affair was drawn out into a length of negotiation; *Henry*, in the mean time, receiving the submission, fealty, and homage of his son *Geffrey*; who gave up several of his castles in *Bretagne* for an assurance of his good behaviour. At last, in a conference held near *Gisors*, on *December* 6, between the two kings, attended by the nobility of both realms, it was agreed, that the widow relinquishing all claim to her dower, should receive from the king of *England* two thousand seven hundred pounds *Angevin* a year, to be paid at *Paris* as long as she lived: and both she and *Philip* quitted *Gisors* to *Henry*; obliging him however, to give it to which of his sons he thought fit should marry their sister *Adelais*, who had been long designed for *Richard*, and kept at *Winchester*.

HENRY II. A. D. 1184.

HENRY having thus made up matters with the king of *France*, had occasion soon after to be a mediator between him and the count of *Flanders*; whose marrying *Beatrix*, a daughter of *Alfonso*, king of *Portugal*, contrary to *Philip's* inclinations [2], had revived the dispute about the *Vermandois*; which he was required to give up, before he consummated the marriage. The count had not complied with that demand, and a war was going to ensue: but the king of *England* procuring a conference between them at *Choisy*, proposed a truce to the end of the year; which was agreed to by both parties, and afterwards renewed to the *Midsummer* following. The king had now been two years and an half absent from *England*; and some affairs calling him thither, he passed through *Picardie*, being honourably received by the count of *Flanders*, and convoyed through his country to *Witsand*; where he embarked, and on *Sunday* morning, *June* 10, landed at *Dover*. Upon the news of his arrival, *William* king of *Scotland*, with *Hugh* bishop of *St. Andrews*, and many of his prelates and nobility, waited upon him, to propose a marriage between himself and *Maude*, daughter of the dutchess of *Saxony:* but though the proposal was accepted, the marriage did not take effect, for want of a papal dispensation; they being related within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity. *Rese ap Griffith*, came also to his court at *Worcester*, to excuse the killing of *Ralf Poer*, in revenge of some injuries done to the *Welsh*, and to make his submission; renewing on this occasion his oath of fealty; restoring the castles taken during the king's absence; and promising to send his son and nephews for hostages.

XLIV. THE king, out of his great affection to his children [3], was desirous to provide principalities for them all: and *Richard* being now become his eldest son, and the heir of all his dominions, he had a mind that his youngest son *John* should have that province, which he had granted the other, whilst a younger brother. With this view, he had, a little before the last *Michaelmas*, sent for *John* and his tutor *Ralf de Glanville* over into *Normandie*: and upon their arrival, sending for *Richard* from *Guienne*, desired him to make a cession of that dutchy to his brother, and receive his homage. *Richard* had been long used to exercise a sovereign authority in that province, and did not care to part with his power: he desired a day

Henry proposes to marry his son *Richard* to the emperor's daughter, and to give *Guienne* to his son *John*.

[1] *Benedict.* p. 396, & seq. [2] *Ib.* p. 405, 407, 408, 433. [3] *Ib.* p. 397, 401.

or

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or two to conſult his friends, before he gave an anſwer; and made uſe of that interval to retire from court, and get back to *Guienne*. Being there at liberty, he wrote his father word, that he would not part with *Guienne* to any body: an anſwer which much diſpleaſed *Henry*, but produced no further conſequences, whilſt he continued abroad. After he was gone for *England*, *Geffrey* and *John* invaded *Guienne*, waſting the country; and *Richard* in revenge made excurſions into *Bretagne:* but a ſtop was put to thoſe hoſtilities, by their father's ſending for them all into *England*; where they were made friends, and ſubmitted to his determination.

The king was equally ſucceſsful in making up his ſon-in-law the duke of *Saxony's* quarrel with the emperor, after having reconciled him to the archbiſhop of *Cologne*; whoſe injuries had been the firſt occaſion of the duke's proſecution. This prelate coming this year into *England*, on a pilgrimage to *Becket's* tomb [1], and with a commiſſion to agree on a marriage between prince *Richard*, and a daughter of the emperor (which was actually ſettled, but prevented by the princeſs's death) *Henry* engaged him not only to remit all his animoſity againſt the duke, but to be likewiſe his advocate with *Frederic*. He engaged too, in his ſon-in-law's behalf, an interceſſor ſtill more powerful; whom he had a lucky opportunity of obliging. The *Romans* had applied to Pope *Lucius* with an humble requeſt, that he would eaſe them of ſome heavy duties laid upon them by his predeceſſors; and had been refuſed. This put them into ſuch a rage, that they made an inſurrection; drove him out of *Rome:* and perſecuted him from place to place, wherever he attempted to ſeek a retreat. The Pope applied to the princes and churches of *Europe* for ſuccour in his diſtreſs [2], and among others to the king and prelates of *England*; who did not think it adviſable to let him make a collection in this kingdom by his nuncios, for fear it ſhould create a precedent, and prove of infinite detriment to the nation by becoming cuſtomary. To avoid this danger, the biſhops intreated the king to ſupply the Pope with a ſum of money for himſelf and them; engaging to reimburſe it, whenever he pleaſed: and *Henry* doing ſo, found *Lucius* very ready to uſe his good offices with the *emperor*, in a conference he had with him at *Verona*. The effect of theſe appeared in *Frederic's* recalling the duke of *Saxony*, and reſtoring him to a great part of his territories; the poſſeſſion whereof was delivered to him the year following.

One of the moſt urgent affairs [3], which brought the king over to *England* was, the filling up of the vacancy in the ſee of *Canterbury*, occaſioned by archbiſhop *Richard's* death, on *Friday*, *February* 16. The election of a new primate was a matter of great importance, and attended with ſome difficulties. The king, ſoon after his arrival, ſent *Ralf de Glanville*, his chief juſticiary, with ſome biſhops, to *Canterbury*, to prepare the convent for an election: and the monks, meeting in chapter, had pitched upon the abbot of *Battel*, formerly their prior, naming likewiſe four others, for the king to chooſe one of the number. None of theſe were acceptable: and the affair ſlept till the council held on *Auguſt* 4, at *Reading*; when the monks being ſummoned, ſent *Alan*, the prior, with ſome others of the convent to propoſe the perſons they had nominated. Theſe being rejected, another council was held [4] on *October* 23; when the delegates of the convent attending, a diſpute aroſe between them and the ſuffragan biſhops of the province, which had the right of voting firſt in the election; the monks pretending to the privilege, and producing a royal charter confirming it; the biſhops denying the authority of that charter, as a grant againſt common right, and derogatory to the rights of the church of *England*: and maintaining that the ſuffragans of the province ought to have the choice of their metropolitan. Nothing being done at this meeting, the biſhops and monks were

[1] *Benedict.* p. 413, 417. *Hoveden.* [2] *Ib.* p. 404, 417, 432. [3] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1466, & ſeq.
[4] *Diceto*, col. 619. *Hoveden. Benedict.* p. 411, 414, 415.

ſummoned to *London*, on *November* 30: and on *December* 2, the biſhop of *London* proposing *Baldwin* biſhop of *Worceſter*, all the prelates concurred in his election, and the monks went away without giving their aſſent. The biſhops preſenting their elect to the king, *Baldwin* was approved: but *Henry* was forced to go himſelf to *Canterbury*, to perſuade the monks to acquieſce; which they conſented to, upon being allowed the formality of an election. Their delegates accordingly meeting, on *December* 16, the third *Sunday* in *Advent*, in the chapter-houſe of *Weſtminſter*, choſe *Baldwin:* and that they might not ſeem to approve any thing done before, ſung *Te Deum* immediately, led him to the altar, ſaluted him on the cheek, and preſented him to the king and his ſons; who repeated to him the ſame ceremony of a kiſs, which they had given him upon the biſhops election.

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He moderates the foreſt laws, and ſends *John* to *Ireland.*

XLV. THE king, deviating from the cuſtom of his predeceſſors, and following the lenity of his own diſpoſition [1], had hitherto uſed little rigour in puniſhing tranſgreſſions of the foreſt: but his clemency being abuſed, he now found it neceſſary, upon the death of *Thomas Fitz Bernard*, who had ſucceeded *Alan de Neville* in the poſt of chief juſticiary of the foreſts, to put theſe under ſome new regulations. Thus dividing the realm into four parts, he aſſigned to each four juſtices, two clergymen, and two knights, and appointed likewiſe in each two gentlemen of his houſhold, as verderors to take care of the vert and veniſon, and have authority over all his foreſters, and thoſe of his knights and barons. "Theſe were all ſworn "to obſerve the aſſize of the foreſt now eſtabliſhed; by which the king cautioned all "perſons, from incurring any forfeiture on account of his veniſon and foreſts, in "confidence of that impunity, which they had hitherto enjoyed; for though he "had not yet levied any forfeiture of chattels, tranſgreſſors ſhould for the future be "puniſhed according to the laws of his grandfather *Henry*, which ſubjected ſuch "offenders to the loſs of their eyes and teſticles. None were allowed without a "warrant, to have any bows, dogs, or greyhounds within the king's foreſts, or to "make any waſte or deſtruction of their woods, that lay within the precincts "thereof; the king however allowed his earls, barons, and free tenants, to cut in "their woods what was neceſſary for their uſe, provided it was done without waſte, "and by the view of his foreſters. Theſe were ordered alſo to have an eye on the "foreſters of knights and others, who had woods within the bounds of his foreſts, "and to ſee that the woods were not deſtroyed; for if they were, the forfeiture in "that caſe would be levied on the owner of the woods, and not on any other per-"ſon. The king's foreſters were all to ſwear, that they would obſerve this aſſize, "and not plague any body for what the king allowed them out of his foreſts."

IT was this king's continual attention to the adminiſtration of juſtice, and the quiet that his ſubjects enjoyed under him, which have occaſioned ſo few acts of his government to be tranſmitted down to poſterity by the writers of his time; who being all eccleſiaſticks, ſeldom take notice of any tranſactions in quiet reigns, but what relate to church affairs. Foreign wars indeed, and domeſtick diſturbances afford ſome exerciſe to their pens; but *Henry's* inclinations to cultivate peace with all his neighbours, either cut off all occaſions of the former, or rendered them of ſhort continuance: and as for troubles within his own dominions, the wiſdom and goodneſs of his adminiſtration, leaving his ſubjects no pretences of complaint, but what aroſe from the virtues of their prince, the tranquillity of his reign was interrupted with nothing of that nature, but what was owing either to the unmeaſurable ambition, and turbulent ſpirit of *Becket*, or to the reſtleſs temper and unnatural conduct of his own ſons; who were never to be ſatisfied, though no father ever laboured more for their advancement. *John*, the youngeſt [2] of theſe, was not yet provided for, in

[1] *Benedict.* p. 417, & ſeq. [2] *Ib.* p. 435, 438.

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the manner he desired: and being now of an age to receive knighthood, he conferred upon him that honour, on *April* 1, being *Midlent-Sunday*, at *Windsor*, and sent him to *Ireland*; proposing to make him king of that country; and to have him crowned in form; for which, as the coronation of princes, was in those days deemed, not so much a civil act, as an ecclesiastical rite, he soon after got a privilege from Pope *Urban* III, who sent over cardinal *Octavian*, as legate for *Ireland*, to perform the ceremony; which the king however at that time declined. *Henry* had hitherto left the affairs of that realm chiefly to the management of private adventurers, whom he thought capable of reducing the unarmed *Irish*, and their little potentates, disunited as they were among themselves; hoping to reap afterwards the fruit of their conquests. But they had not made such a progress in the work as he expected, and acted in such a manner, that it looked as if they affected an independency: and he flattered himself, that the sending of his son over, would be a means, as well of bringing them to a more regular form of government, as of hastening the reduction of the country.

The *Irish* were a rude, false, faithless, and inconstant people[1]; lazy, and given to rapine; hardy and daring; but ill-armed and undisciplined; vain-glorious, and easy to be flattered with good usage, and hopes of advantages. They were only to be governed by a strict and steady hand; nor were they to be either subdued or kept quiet, but by the prosecution of a war with vigour, by the punishment of their treacheries with severity, and by letting them, in times of peace, enjoy their properties with security. Had the first adventurers not been discouraged in their enterprizes, whilst the *Irish* were struck with terror, and neither knew any thing of the art of war, nor had any armour for their defence, they would soon have effected a conquest of the country: or had not the king been called thence by the conspiracy and rebellion of his sons, he would have established peace in it by the form of government, which he would have settled so, that the *Irish* should have relished the blessings of quiet and good order, and all sorts of men have found a benefit from his regulations. But these two methods being blended together, clashing with one another, taking place by turns, and neither of them pursued steadily, nothing was done; the civil governors hating the military men, repressing their efforts, turning them out of their acquisitions, disputing their grants, and plaguing them with lawsuits, and the warlike adventurers sitting still; their ardour for conquest being repressed, and their attempts discouraged by this treatment. *Henry* had, in *A. D.* 1176, sent over[2] *William Fitz Adelm*, as lord justice, to take care that the *Irish* were not ill-treated, and that the adventurers did not grow too powerful: but this governor took care only to curtail the possessions of the latter, and to enrich himself; nor was there, in his time, any enterprize undertaken against the *Irish*, besides the short expedition of *Miles Cogan*, with the garrison of *Dublin*, into *Connaght*; from whence, after having advanced as far as *Tuam*, he was forced to return in haste, and being attacked in a wood before he reached the *Shannon*, lost several of his men in this action or retreat. *Philip de Braouse* had the kingdom of *Limeric* granted him: but did not think it worth the conquering. *Robert Fitz Stephens*[3] and *Miles Cogan*, who had a like grant of the kingdom of *Corke*, divided it between themselves; planted the seven cantreds lying next the city; and coming to an agreement with *Dermot Maccarty* prince of *Desmond*, contented themselves with a tribute from the other twenty-four cantreds. Thus they lived for some years in quiet, till *Ralf*, the son of *Robert*, and *Miles Cogan* being treacherously, and in violation of the rights of hospitality, murdered by *Mac Tyre*, who had invited them to his house, *Dermot* took up arms, and invested *Corke*; which was bravely defended by *Robert*,

[1] *Hibern. expugn.* l. ii. c. 36, 37. [2] *Ib.* c. 15. [3] *Ib.* c. 18.

and

and the ſiege at laſt raiſed by his nephew *Raimond*. The reinforcement brought by this gallant gentleman, and the further ſupplies that came ſoon after over from *Wales* under *Philip Barry*, and *Richard*, brother to *Miles Cogan*, enabled *Robert* to defeat the *Iriſh* in ſeveral encounters, and reduce them again to obedience: but did not animate him to attempt further conqueſts. HENRY II. *A. D.* 1185.

HUGH DE LACY [1] ſeems to have underſtood, the beſt of all the adventurers, how to ſubdue and ſettle a country. He was a man of great temper, probity, and prudence, as well as valour; he planted colonies throughout his large country of *Meath*; fortified it with caſtles in the moſt convenient ſituations; protected every body in their property; reſtored ſuch as had been turned out of their poſſeſſions by violence; and being mild, equal, and ſteady in his conduct, ſoon eſtabliſhed good order in his territories; where a face of plenty appeared unknown in other parts of the realm, and the people taſting the ſweets of peace and ſecurity, began to be weaned from their barbarous cuſtoms, and to live together in towns and villages. Upon *Fitz Aldelm's* being recalled, he was, in *A. D.* 1179 [2], made ſole guardian of the kingdom; and then took the ſame care to ſtrengthen *Leinſter*, as he had done *Meath*, with caſtles; encouraging the arts of peace; gaining the *Iriſh*, as well as the great men, by acts of generoſity, the affability of his behaviour, and the juſtice of his adminiſtration; and growing, by theſe means, ſo very popular, that he became ſuſpected of aiming at the dominion and ſcepter of the nation. This ſuſpicion ſeeming to be confirmed by his contracting an alliance with the *Iriſh*, and marrying the daughter of *Roderic O Connor* king of *Conaght*, *Henry* was ſo alarmed by it, that in the year following, he ſent over *John*, conſtable of *Cheſter*, and *Richard de Pec* to take upon them the government, and to have a watchful eye on *Hugh's* proceedings. It ſoon appeared that he had no views, but the publick good, and the king's ſervice: and the two juſtices returning at the latter end of the year into *England*, *Hugh* [3] was again, in *A. D.* 1181, put into the government; but had *Robert de Shrewſbury* joined with him in the commiſſion, as counſellor or coadjutor. He purſued, in this readeption of the government, the ſame plan, that he had obſerved in his former; erecting caſtles in different parts of *Leinſter*, for the ſecurity of the country; which enjoyed a perfect tranquillity, all the three years that he continued in it; no alteration happening till the year 1184, when *John Comyn* [4], one of the king's juſticiaries, lately made archbiſhop of *Dublin*, and *Philip de Worceſter*, came over to prepare matters for *Prince John's* reception, and entering upon the exerciſe of the government.

IN all this time, there was no new conqueſt made, nor indeed attempted, except in *Ulſter* by *John de Courcy*; a nobleman of great ſtature, ſtrength of body, and fortitude; very enterprizing and daring; but though bred up in war from his early years, rather fitter for a ſoldier, than a general. *Henry* had granted him a patent, for enjoying to him and his heirs, all the lands he could conquer by his ſword in [5] the unſubdued part of *Ireland*; homage and fealty to the crown ſtill reſerved: and had likewiſe joined him with *Fitz Aldelm* in the government. *John* did not like the inactivity of his collegue: and in the beginning of *A. D.* 1177, taking with him from *Dublin* twenty-two knights with their followers, and three hundred others, he marched into the province of *Ulſter*, truſting to his ſword to find him proviſions. On *February* 1, the fourth day of his march, he arrived in the morning at *Downe*, the beſt town in the country, and the place of king *Dunleve's* reſidence, who fled upon his approach: and taking it without any reſiſtance, found in it plenty of victuals to refreſh his half-ſtarved ſoldiers, and a great booty to gratify their avarice. The legate *Vivian* was then holding a council in the town; and

[1] *Hibern. expugn.* l. ii. c. 19. [2] *Ib.* c. 21. [3] *Ib.* c. 22. [4] *Ib.* c. 23, 24. [5] *Ib.* c. 16.

treated

Henry II. A. D. 1185.

treated with *John* for a peace between him and *Dunleve*, propoſing the payment of a tribute, if the former would return home[1]: but not ſucceeding in his negotiation, encouraged the latter to try the fortune of a battle. *Dunleve*, with the aſſiſtance of king *Roderic*, and other *Iriſh* chieftains, raiſing in a few days an army of ten thouſand men, advanced to *Downe:* and *Courcy*, not caring to be ſhut up in a ſlight fortification, which he had thrown up in a corner of the town, where he could ill-defend himſelf, and muſt at laſt periſh by famine, drew out his ſmall, but reſolute, body of forces into the open field, and marched to meet the enemy. The battle was ſharp and bloody, and the victory, for ſome time, uncertain: but the *Iriſh* at laſt, yielding to the valour and ſuperior arms of the *Engliſh*, were defeated; and flying along the owzy ſhore of the ſea, were ſlain in great numbers. *John* had, on the *Midſummer day* following, another engagement in the ſame place with fifteen thouſand *Iriſh:* and gained ſo compleat a victory, that the enemy did not care to meet him any more in the field, and he had time to erect caſtles for the ſecurity of his conqueſts. Two of theſe, particularly that of *Ferney*, in the county of *Monaghan*, being put into the cuſtody of *Mac Mahon*, the chieftain of a ſept; who had ſubmitted and ſworn to be a faithful ſubject, he levelled them with the ground; and thereby incenſed *Courcy* ſo highly, that he pillaged the other's country, and drove away his cattle. Theſe being too numerous to be driven in one body, *John* was forced to divide them, as well as his men, into three, taking up as many miles in length: and being to paſs through narrow, deep, and boggy roads, interlaced and covered with buſhes, was attacked by the *Iriſh*; who, ruſhing ſuddenly out of the woods, ſet up ſuch hideous ſhouts, as affrighted the cattle, and made them run ſo furiouſly upon their drivers, as ſoon put the *Engliſh* in diſorder. In this circumſtance, their whole body diſperſed; being purſued on all ſides by the *Iriſh:* and *Courcy* himſelf, retiring with *Amaury de S. Lawrence*, and a few other gallant men, was forced to fight almoſt every ſtep of his way for two days together, without any refreſhment, and very little intermiſſion, till he got to a fort; where he could ſecure himſelf, and rendezvous his ſcattered forces, of which he had loſt four hundred in this expedition. The *Iriſh*, elated with their ſucceſs, and deſpiſing a beaten enemy, aſſembled all their forces: and advancing towards the fort, encamped at a ſmall diſtance, like raw warriors, in a careleſs manner, without any watches, guards, or out parties, and, by this ſecurity, gave the *Engliſh* an advantage, which they did not fail to improve. *Courcy*, having intelligence of their poſture and condition, fell upon the *Iriſh* in the night; caught them generally aſleep, and killing them almoſt without reſiſtance, deſtroyed ſo many of them, that ſcarce two hundred of their whole body eſcaped. He had afterwards two other engagements with them, one near *Dundalk*, the other at the bridge of *Ivory*; in both which he forced the enemy to a retreat: and marrying a daughter of *Gothred* king of *Man*, and the iſles, to prevent, by that alliance, their having any ſuccour from thence, he at laſt compleated his conqueſt of *Ulſter*.

Such was the ſituation of *Ireland*, when prince *John*, ſetting ſail from *Milford Haven*. on *Wedneſday* in *Eaſter* week, landed the next day, about noon[2], at *Waterford*, with three or four hundred knights, and a much greater number of other horſemen, and a ſtrong body of archers. He was attended at his arrival by the moſt conſiderable *Iriſh* in thoſe parts, who had hitherto lived peaceably and in obedience to the *Engliſh* government: but inſtead of a good reception, they were divided and deſpiſed by the young giddy *Normans*, that were about the prince, and his chief favourites, for the oddneſs of their dreſs, and their uncouth manners. There is no people in the world more impatient of contempt and deriſion than the *Iriſh:* and finding themſelves taken by their long beards, abuſed ſhamefully in other

[1] *Neubrig.* l. iii. c. 8. [2] *Ib.* c. 35, 36, 37.

reſpects,

reſpects, and made a laughing-ſtock by a parcel of young fellows, they got out of town in a fury; repaired to their homes; and taking their families and cattle along with them, retired into the territories of the kings of *Limeric*, *Corke*, and *Connaght*. Thoſe princes were ready to come and make their ſubmiſſion to the young prince: but when they heard from theſe men, how they had been abuſed and inſulted; what a ſtripling *John* was; what a ſet of young fellows, without judgment, prudence, gravity, modeſty, or decorum, he had about him; they eaſily concluded, that when friends were ſo ill treated, they who had been enemies ſhould meet with worſe uſage; and laid aſide all thoughts of ſubjection to the *Engliſh* government. HENRY II. *A. D.* 1185.

THEY had been before at variance with one another, but now made a league together for their common defence: and thoſe that had taken refuge in their lands, ſerved them for ſpies to procure intelligence, and for guides to conduct them in their incurſions into the *Engliſh* quarters. All the armes uſed by the *Iriſh*, before the *Engliſh* invaſion, were a ſhort lance, a couple of darts, and a ſharp hatchet, uſed with one hand: and they had no manner of armour for their defence. They underſtood nothing of horſe ſervice; dreaded infinitely the lances of the knights, and the arrows of the foot, wounding at a diſtance; and in pitched battles lay in theſe reſpects under diſadvantages, which all their ſuperiority in numbers could not balance: but being improved by experience, they began to correct their defects; to arm themſelves after the *Engliſh* faſhion; to employ their natural cunning and genius for ſtratagems and ſurprizes; to avoid engagements in the open field; and to keep to their woods; where foot have the advantage of horſe, where agility is of more uſe than armour, and where the lighteſt armes are the fitteſt for ſervice. Sallying out of thoſe covers, which the *Engliſh* had neglected to cut down, they frequently, as opportunities offered, ſurprized ſmall parties: and infeſting the roads, which had not been opened and levelled as they ought, rendered them in a manner unpaſſable; whilſt the forces newly come over, being unuſed to woods, cumbered with armes, too heavy for a quick motion, and improper for ſuch a ſcene of action, were ill qualified to ferret them out of thoſe faſtneſſes. The firſt adventurers, indeed, with their *Welſh* followers, an hardy, active race of men, bred up in woods, bogs, and mountains, inured to fatigues, equally adroit in fighting on foot, or on horſeback, in woods or in the open field, were very proper for the work: but they were in no meaſure of favour with the young prince; and being ſlighted, remained unactive. The young *Normans*, his favourites, directed all his meaſures, and did not care either to ſtir from about his perſon, or to quit the maritime towns, where there was luxurious living: they were proud, inſolent, rapacious, and their ſtipendiary followers very eager for pay, but full as averſe to the hardſhips of war; and though they were fond of plunder, they liked rather to find it among the ſubdued *Iriſh*, than to ſeek it with fatigues and dangers on the marches, and in the enemies quarters. The young prince [1] was unexperienced, unthinking, and profuſe; he ſoon ſquandered away the money he brought with him to pay the ſoldiers: and loſt a great part of them in little ſkirmiſhes with the *Iriſh*; who, grown bolder by their ſucceſs, reduced the reſt to great difficulties for ſubſiſtence. The king, upon advice of theſe proceedings, found it neceſſary to recal his ſon with the young people that knew nothing of the ſtate of the nation, and to leave the management of affairs to thoſe experienced men, who had been concerned in the conqueſt. Thus *John*, quitting *Ireland* a little before *Chriſtmas*, left the government in the hands of *John de Courcy*; who keeping his forces in continual action, attacking the *Iriſh* in all parts, and ſcouring the countries of *Corke*, *Limeric*, and *Connaght*, ſoon forced the enemy to be quiet.

[1] *Hoveden. Benedict. Abb.* 438.

Henry II. A. D. 1185.

Henry ſends ſuccour, but declines going to the *Holy Land.*

XLVI. The young prince, a little before he ſet out for *Ireland*, had thrown himſelf at his father's feet, and ſued for leave to go at the head of a body of forces for the relief of the *Holy Land*; which was at that time in imminent danger of being entirely reduced by *Saladine* [1]. *Baldwin* IV was on the throne of *Jeruſalem*, but was, by an incurable leproſy, which waſted him continually, diſabled from acting, as he would otherwiſe have done, for the defence of the country. He had no children, and had married his ſiſter *Sibylle* to *William*, ſon of the marqueſs of *Montſerrat*: but that prince dying, and leaving a ſon, as yet an infant, named *Baldwin*, this young prince had been, by his uncle, declared his ſucceſſor in the throne, and crowned in that capacity. It was ſtill neceſſary to provide ſome perſon, qualified by his courage, reſolution, prudence, and military ſkill, to make head againſt the ſuperior forces of *Saladine*, and to manage the affairs of the government during young *Baldwin's* minority. With this view *Sibylle* had been remarried to *Guy de Luſignan*; who being concerned in the death of *Patrick* earl of *Saliſbury*, in *A. D.* 1168, had from that time quitted *Poitou*, and retired to the *Holy Land*: but *Guy* being found unequal to the charge, and *Raimond* count of *Tripoli* pretending to it, there was great danger of a civil war between the two competitors, and no way ſeemed ſo likely to prevent an evil which would ruine all the affairs of the *Chriſtians* in the Eaſt, as to engage ſome *European* prince of great reputation to come thither with an army of his ſubjects for their ſuccour, The king of *England* was nearly related to *Baldwin*, and ſeemed, by his known prudence and experience, the moſt capable of any to reconcile the contending parties: it was accordingly upon him that *Baldwin* and his council caſt their eyes; and ſent *Heraclius*, patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, with the great maſters of the hoſpitallers and templars, to ſollicite him to undertake the expedition. The laſt of theſe died in the journey: but the two former came in *February* to *England*, with the letters of Pope *Lucius*, preſſing the king to embark in the enterprize.

Henry was making a progreſs in the north of his kingdom, when theſe embaſſadors arrived: but ſtopping ſhort in it, returned immediately to *Reading*; where he gave them audience, and received from the patriarch the keys of the holy ſepulchre [2], and the royal banner of *Jeruſalem*, but delivered them back to him to keep, till he had conſulted the prelates and nobility of his kingdom. He accordingly ſummoned them to meet, on the firſt *Sunday* in *Lent*, at *Clerkenwell* in *London*, in a great council; at which thoſe of *Scotland*, with king *William* at their head, likewiſe aſſiſted: and the matter being there conſidered, it was the [3] general opinion, that the king's accepting the crown of *Jeruſalem*, and going on an expedition thither, was inconſiſtent with the ſafety of his own kingdom. *Henry* offered to the patriarch to ſend a ſupply of money; but this was not ſo proper a relief in the preſent circumſtances of the *Holy Land*, as a prince of the houſe of *Anjou*: and ſince the king could not go in perſon, the embaſſadors deſired at leaſt one of his ſons; upon which *John* offered his ſervice, and begged earneſtly for leave to go to *Jeruſalem*. This was inconſiſtent with the *Iriſh* ſcheme, nor would *Henry's* fondneſs for his ſon permit him to engage in ſo remote and hazardous an expedition, from whence few returned: he choſe rather to defer taking any reſolution, till he had conſulted the king of *France*, from whom he had moſt to apprehend, whilſt abſent from his dominions. Many of his knights and barons received the croſs immediately from the patriarch [4]: and the king ſet out with him, on *April* 17, the *Tueſday* in *Paſſion week*, for *Normandie*. He had ſoon after a conference with the king of *France* at

[1] *Benedict.* 425, & ſeq. *Hoveden.* [2] *Ib. Hoveden.* [3] *Hibern. expugn.* l. ii. c. 26. [4] *M. Paris. Benedict.* p. 436, 437.

Vaudreu

Vaudreuil, and the two kings promiſed in concert to ſend large ſupplies of men and money: but, to the patriarch's mortification, neither of them would go in perſon. HENRY II. *A. D.* 1185.

PHILIP might perhaps have gone on an expedition to the *Holy Land* without any inconvenience to his affairs; he had nothing to dread from *Henry's* juſtice and peaceable inclinations: but this laſt had every thing to fear from the graſping humour, and ambitious views, of the other; who having, at his entrance upon the government of *France*, formed a ſcheme for reuniting to the monarchy all the provinces and fiefs, that had, in the courſe of ſeveral ages, been diſmembered from it, ſtuck at nothing to effect his purpoſe. *Henry* had ſtill ſtronger reaſons againſt ſuch an expedition, on account of the circumſtances of his own family, and the diſſentions of his ſons; who, when no longer controlled by his preſence, would ſoon have made all his dominions a miſerable ſcene of blood, confuſion, and deſolation[1]. *Richard* had, in the beginning of this year, left *England* with his father's leave, and returned to *Guienne:* but was no ſooner got thither, than forgetting the oaths he had lately taken of allegiance to the king, and for maintaining amity with his brother, he fortified his caſtles, and invaded *Geffrey's* territories of *Bretagne*. *Henry* arriving in *Normandie*, was obliged to raiſe an army to reduce him to obedience: but deſirous to avoid bloodſhed, had recourſe to an expedient for preventing it, which ſucceeded. Queen *Eleanor* had been the chief author[2] of the firſt rebellion of his ſons, and to keep her from the like practices for the future, had been kept from that time under confinement; till her daughter, the dutcheſs of *Saxony*, coming into *England*, ſhe had been ſet at liberty, and a court was kept for them both at *Windſor*. The king now ſent for her over, and ordered *Richard*, without any delay, to ſurrender all *Guienne* to her, as her undoubted right; otherwiſe ſhe ſhould come in perſon, with a great army, to recover her inheritance. *Richard*, with all his haughty ſpirit, had yet a ſtrong principle of juſtice, and a great affection for his mother: and the people of *Guienne* had a profound reſpect for the heireſs of their ancient race of princes. Theſe motives inclining him to hearken to the advice of his friends on this occaſion, he delivered up *Guienne* with all the fortreſſes in it to his mother: and laying down his arms, ſubmitted, and made his father's court the place of his abode.

XLVII. RICHARD'S behaviour, whilſt he continued there, was ſo modeſt and dutiful, that his father thought he might venture to truſt him again with *Guienne*[3]: and *Raimond* count of *Toulouſe* having, on ſome pretence or other, impriſoned ſeveral merchants of that country, the king gave his ſon a vaſt ſum of money, to enable him to procure ſatisfaction for the injury. *Richard* repairing immediately into *Guienne*, raiſed an army, and waſted the count's territories; who applied in vain to the count of *France* for aſſiſtance. *Philip* either did not think it a favourable time for attacking *Henry*, or his hands were tied up by the treaty he had lately made with him in a conference held a little before *Lent*, near *Giſors:* in which the former convention about *Margaret's* annuity, in lieu of her jointure, had been confirmed, and it was provided, that *Richard* ſhould marry *Philip's* ſiſter *Adelais*. This laſt prince renounced, on his part, all the claim which he or his father *Louis* had to *Giſors*, and its dependencies: and engaged never to diſpute any more with the king of *England*, or *Richard*, or their heirs, upon that ſubject. Thus was peace made: but *Margaret* being[4] ſoon after married to *Bela* king of *Hungary*, her removal into ſo diſtant a country gave occaſion to a new diſpute about the payment of her jointure, and *Philip* revived his former pretenſions. *Henry*, however, leaving every *A. D.* 1186. Treaty with *France*, and alliance with *Scotland*.

[1] *Benedict.* p. 432, 436. *Hoveden.* [2] *Ib.* 406, 413. [3] *Hoveden. Benedict.* p. 444, 445, 447. [4] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1478.

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Henry II. A. D. 1186.

thing ſecure abroad, ſeized the opportunity of this interval of hoſtilities to paſs over into *England*; landing, on *April* 27, at *Southampton*.

The affairs, that called him thither, were the filling up of eight vacant ſees, and the eſtabliſhing of a firm friendſhip with *William* king of *Scotland*[1]; both which he effected to his mind in three great councils held, the one at *Oxford*, ſoon after his arrival, the ſecond at *Wodeſtoke*, in the beginning of *September*, and the laſt on the fourteenth of the ſame month, at *Marlborough*. It was with this view, that[2], upon the death of *Simon de Senlis*, the third of the name, without iſſue, he had the year before given the earldom of *Huntingdon* to that king (who immediately conveyed it to his brother *David*) and now, in the firſt of theſe councils, propoſed to him, that ſince *William* could not marry the daughter of the dutcheſs of *Saxony*, by reaſon of their conſanguinity, he would give him one of his relations, *Ermengarde*, daughter of *Richard*, ſon of *Roſcelin*, viſcount of *Beaumont le Roger*, by *Conſtance*, natural daughter of *Henry* I, his own grandfather. *William*, by the advice of his council, agreed to the propoſal: and whilſt the young lady was ſent for, returned with his earls and barons into *Scotland*; having firſt renewed their oaths of fealty, given hoſtages, and undertaken to reduce *Roland*, ſon of *Uchtred*; who, upon the death of his uncle *Gilbert*, ſon of *Fergus*, had got poſſeſſion of all *Galloway*[3]. *Gilbert* had died the year before, on *New-Year's day:* and *Duncan*, his ſon and heir, being then an hoſtage in the court of *England*, under the king's protection, *Roland* had made uſe of the opportunity afforded by his abſence, to invade the country, and make himſelf maſter of it, by the ſlaughter of all the barons, that offered to reſiſt. He now ſtood on his defence, till *Henry* himſelf advanced at the head of a numerous army to *Carliſle*; when he thought fit to come thither, and made his ſubmiſſion, upon the condition of being ſuffered to enjoy his father's eſtate, and of ſtanding to the judgment of the king's court with regard to his uncle *Gilbert's*, claimed by *Duncan*. The king of *Scotland*, with his brother *David*, and the *Scotch* nobility, obliged themſelves by oath, to make war on *Roland*, if he receded from the fealty he ſwore on this occaſion to *Henry:* and *Joſceline* biſhop of *Glaſgow* engaged to put him under an excommunication, till he made ſatisfaction to the king of *England*. *William's* marriage with *Ermengarde* was ſolemnized on *September* 5, at *Wodeſtoke:* and *Henry* gave up to him the caſtle of *Edenburgh*, with an hundred marks rent, and forty knights fees, by way of a portion with the lady.

Prince *Geffrey's* death occaſions a diſpute with *France*.

XLVIII. This alliance was a very ſeaſonable proviſion for the quiet of *England*, *Henry* having, about a fortnight before the marriage, loſt his ſon *Geffrey* duke of *Bretagne*, whoſe deceaſe had like to have proved the occaſion of new troubles. This young prince was naturally[4] eloquent and crafty; had conſiderable talents, and a perſuaſive tongue, but very bad ſentiments: he was a great maſter in the art of diſſimulation; and under the ſmootheſt words, and moſt ſolemn profeſſions, knew how to cover the worſt deſigns, which his malevolence and ingratitude to his father could ſuggeſt. He was very fond of all[5] military exerciſes: and this fondneſs ſerved for a pretext, to colour his going to the court of *France*, where turnaments were moſt in faſhion, and continually uſed; though his real deſign was to enter into a cloſer union with *Philip*. He had deſired his father to give him the county of *Anjou*[6]: but his elder brother *Richard* not conſenting to it, he had met with a denial. This firing his reſentment, he reſolved to be revenged of both, by the means of the king of *France*; with whom he agreed to hold *Bretagne* of him in vaſſalage, to throw off all ſubjection to his own father, and to invade *Normandie*. Pro-

[1] *Benedict.* p. 446, 452, 453. [2] *Ib.* p. 435, 448. *Chron. Mailroſ.* [3] *Benedict.* p. 437, 438, 448, 449, 450. [4] *Topogr. Hibern. Diſt.* iii. c. 50. *Neubrig.* l. iii. c. 7. [5] *Benedict.* p. 451. [6] *Neubrig. Ib.*

vidence cut him off in the midſt of theſe treacherous deſigns; he being unhorſed in one of thoſe turnaments, and (as the pride and obſtinacy of his heart would not allow him to yield himſelf to the victors) trodden under foot, and bruiſed in ſuch a manner, that he fell ill, and was carried off in a few days by a fever[1]. This *child of perdition* (as *Hoveden* ſays he was generally called, on account of his perfidiouſneſs to his father) died on *Auguſt* 19: and was buried in the choir of *Notre Dame*, at *Paris*; leaving behind him only one daughter, named *Eleanor*. HENRY II. A. D. 1186.

THE ſuperiority of *Bretagne* had been granted, together with *Normandie*, by *Charles the Simple*, to *Rollo*, and had been enjoyed by his deſcendants: it had been ſtrenuouſly aſſerted by *William the Conqueror*, and from his time homage had been frequently done by the counts or dukes of that province to the kings of *England*, in right of their dutchy of *Normandie*. *Philip* purſuing conſtantly his great ſcheme for reuniting to the *Domaine* all the fiefs that had been granted away by his predeceſſors, claimed as lord paramount, the cuſtody of the whole province, with the wardſhip of the heireſs, till ſhe came to be of age to be married: and enforced his demand with threats, in caſe of a refuſal[2]. *Henry*, to prevent the effect of thoſe menaces, ſent *Ralf de Glanville*, *Walter de Coutances* archbiſhop of *Roüen*, and *William de Mandeville* earl of *Eſſex* and *Albemarle*, his embaſſadors to the court of *France*: who ſucceeded firſt in making a truce till *S. Hilary*, and afterwards in prolonging it to *Eaſter*. What rendered a peace the more difficult, was an encounter that had lately happened near *Giſors*, between *Henry de Veir*, governor of the place, and *Ralf de Vaus*, a *French* knight; who being killed in it, *Philip* had reſented his death ſo highly, as to ſeize the effects of all *Henry's* ſubjects in *France*; which produced a like ſeizure of the chattels of the *French* in *Normandie* and *Guienne*: but on the truce, both ſides made reſtitution. *Guyomar de Leon*[3], and his brother *Hervé*, encouraged by *Geffrey's* death, raiſed likewiſe ſome diſturbances in *Bretagne*: but the dutcheſs *Conſtance*[4] being, on *March* 29, *Eaſter day*, in the year following, delivered, at *Nantes*, of a ſon named *Arthur*, the *Bretons* in general were ſo pleaſed with this event, that the province was ſoon pacified.

THE death of *Geffrey* diverted *Henry* from ſending his ſon *John* again into *Ireland*; being leſs concerned to make an entire conqueſt of that realm, than to prevent a war with *Philip*. Cardinal *Octavian* and *Hugh Nonant* had come over in *Chriſtmas* holidays[5], being ſent by the *Pope* as his legates, *a latere*, to hear and determine all cauſes (if there were any) in which appeals had been made to him: a commiſſion, which, if ſuffered to be executed, could not but be much to the diſgrace and detriment of the kingdom. *Baldwin* archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who had already got himſelf inveſted with the character of legate, looked upon their coming as an affront; and joined with his ſuffragans againſt their ſtay; ſuggeſting to the king, that as he was obliged to go abroad, in order to make a peace with *France*, he might take them along with him, to act as mediators in the treaty. They landed with him, on *Tueſday*, *February* 17, at *Witſand*; where they were met by the counts of *Flanders*, *Blois*, and *Guiſnes*, and convoyed by them to *Aumale* in *Normandie*. The two kings had afterwards a conference, on *April* 5, at *Gué S. Remi*: but after a long debate, the treaty came to nothing, by reaſon of *Philip's* unreaſonable demands. Both princes prepared for war; *Henry*, by levying about *Whitſontide* a mighty army, which he divided into four parts, under his ſons *Richard* and *John*, the earl of *Albemarle*, and his natural ſon *Geffrey*, to defend different quarters of his dominions; *Philip*, by more clandeſtine meaſures, endeavouring to debauch the other's vaſſals. Thus he gained over *Urſe de Fretteval*, and the count of *Nevers*, A. D. 1187.

[1] *Diceto*, col. 630. *M. Paris.* [2] *Benedict.* p. 455, 457. [3] *Ib.* 460, 463. [4] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1480. *Diceto*, col. 635. *Aug. du Paz. Hiſt. des Barons de Chateau Brient.* p. 8. [5] *Benedict.* p. 464.

HENRY II. A. D. 1187.

to whom *Henry* had lately given in marriage [1] the relict of *Eudes de Yſſoudun*, with the wardſhip of the heir; a kindneſs, which the other returned by treacherouſly delivering up the place, and revolting openly to *Philip*. This tempted the king of *France* to invade *Berry*, and lay ſiege to *Chateauroux*; which was defended by the two ſons of the king of *England*, who marched to their relief, reſolved to venture an engagement. The two armies came in ſight of each other on *Midſummer eve*, and were drawn up in order to engage; when upon the legate's denouncing anathemas, in the Pope's name [2], againſt whoever ſhould oppoſe a peace, and by the mediation of the prelates and nobility of both realms, a truce for two years was concluded: *Henry* agreed to it the eaſier, becauſe he ſuſpected treachery; *Richard* having, without his knowledge, had a private conference with *Philip*. This leaving all things in their preſent ſtate, the king of *France* retained *Yſſoudun*, and the ſervice of *Urſe de Fretteval*, till the end of that term; during which there was to be a ceſſation of hoſtilities.

THIS treaty proved very fatal to the king of *England*, as it enabled *Philip* to debauch *Richard*; whom he invited to *Paris*, and kept there a long time, treating him with extraordinary honours, and the moſt endearing careſſes. They were ſcarce ever aſunder from each other, by day or night; they eat at one table; they lay in the ſame chamber, and often in the ſame bed: and appeared in every thing like ſworn brothers. *Henry* [3] was amazed at this ſudden intimacy, and waited to ſee in what it would terminate: he ſuſpected ſome ill deſign, and put off his return to *England*, on that account. It ſoon appeared, that his ſuſpicions were juſtly founded; for after frequent meſſengers ſent, in vain, to recal his ſon from the court of *France*, with aſſurances, that he would grant him every thing he could aſk in reaſon, *Richard* promiſed to come to him: but inſtead of doing ſo, went to *Chinon*; ſeized *Henry's* treaſures which were there kept; and paſſing into *Guienne*, fortified his caſtles, and abſolutely refuſed coming to his father. This was not a very proper method to obtain what he moſt wanted; having taken it into his head, either at *Philip's* ſuggeſtion, or out of the ambition of his own heart, that he ought to be crowned king; as his elder brother had been in the life time of his father. The king had ſuffered ſo much by that experiment, from a ſon, whom, at the time he made it, he had no reaſon from any part of his conduct to ſuſpect, that he was not at all inclined to make another of the ſame kind without any neceſſity; eſpecially in favour of one, who openly ſet him at defiance, and by entering into the ſtricteſt friendſhip, perhaps into hoſtile meaſures, with his mortal enemy, could not pretend to any ſhare of his confidence. He ſent however ſeveral meſſages to *Richard* by perſons; who at laſt made him ſenſible of the ill conſequences of his behaviour, and of the ill deſigns of thoſe who laboured to ſow diſcord between him and his father. The young prince came, and made his ſubmiſſion; doing homage to *Henry* at *Angers*, and taking a ſolemn oath, that he would never deviate more from his own duty, and the king's allegiance: but being naturally haſty and impetuous in his meaſures, he ſoon after received the croſs [4] from the archbiſhop of *Tours*, without the conſent or knowledge of his father; being the firſt nobleman in all the provinces of *France*, that engaged in the *Croiſade*.

A. D. 1188.

The kings of *England* and *France* take the croſs, and lay a tenth on their ſubjects for relief of the *Holy Land*.

XLIX. HENRY, after paſſing the *Chriſtmas* at *Caen*, was got to *Barfleur* in order to embark for *England*; when he received notice of the king of *France's* threats, that he would deſtroy all his foreign territories with fire and ſword [5], if he did not immediately either reſtore *Giſors*, or cauſe his ſon *Richard* to marry *Adelais*. This meſſage putting a ſtop to his journey, produced a conference in the uſual place

[1] P. 468. [2] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1500. [3] *Ib.* p. 470, 471. [4] *Diceto*, col. 636. *Neubrig.* l. iii. c. 23. [5] *Benedict.* p. 495, 532.

between *Giſors* and *Trie* under a prodigious elm; which ſhaded ſome thouſands of perſons, and covered ſeveral acres of land with its branches. It was held on *January* 21, by the two kings, attended by prince *Richard*, with the prelates and nobility of both kingdoms. Thither came likewiſe the archbiſhop of *Tyre*; who brought from the *Holy Land* a melancholy account of its being over-run, *Jeruſalem* taken, and all the towns and fortreſſes of the *Chriſtians* in the eaſt (except *Antioch*, *Tyre*, and *Tripoli*) reduced by *Saladine*: and was ſent to ſollicite ſuccours from the princes of *Europe*. The relation, which this prelate gave, of the diſaſters and miſeries of the *Chriſtians* in thoſe parts, ſo affected all the audience, that the two kings, laying aſide their ancient animoſity, agreed to a truce: and turned all their thoughts to the relief of *Paleſtine*. They both received the croſs from the hands of the archbiſhop, reſolving to go thither in perſon; their example was followed by *Philip* count of *Flanders*, and an infinite number of prelates and nobles of both kingdoms. They were all to raiſe the greateſt body of forces they poſſibly could for this expedition; each nation being to be diſtinguiſhed [1] by the colour of its badge; the *French* by red, the *Engliſh* by white, and the *Flemings* by green, croſſes. A [2] plenary indulgence was publiſhed in the Pope's name, for thoſe that engaged in the *Croiſade*, and made a ſincere confeſſion of their ſins: and certain rules or ordinances were agreed on, for preventing luxury, libertiniſm, and other diſorders; which had occaſioned former enterprizes of the ſame nature to miſcarry. To defray the charges of the war, it was reſolved, that a tenth (called generally the *Saladine* tenth) of all rents and chattels, as well of the clergy as laity, ſhould be raiſed in the territories of all theſe princes; who retired to their homes, to provide, with all poſſible diſpatch, whatever was neceſſary for the expedition.

HENRY II. A. D. 1188.

HENRY having given orders for raiſing this tenth in his foreign territories, ſailed from *Dieppe* to *England*, landing, on *January* 30, at *Winchelſea*: and loſt no time in ſummoning a general council of his prelates and nobility, on *February* 11 [3], at *Gedington*; where it was agreed to lay a tenth upon all the counties, cities, and burroughs in the kingdom. It was a tenth of all rents and moveables, except of corn growing this year, armes, horſes, cloaths, veſtments, and jewels: and being levied both upon the clergy and laity, on *Jews* [4], as well as *Chriſtians*, was to be collected and paid by the *Candlemas* following. Every perſon, whether eccleſiaſtick or laick, that went on this expedition, was exempted from paying to the tax, and might levy a tenth on his own vaſſals or tenants: he had a privilege likewiſe granted him, of mortgaging his rents, whether eccleſiaſtical or ſecular, for three years; the mortgagee being to receive all the fruits thereof for that term, whatever became of other creditors [5]. The king ſent *Hugh* biſhop of *Durham*, and ſome other noblemen to preſs *William* king of *Scotland* to raiſe a like tenth in his realm; which he readily promiſed, and was very deſirous to do, if he could get his vaſſals to conſent. With this view he ſummoned a general convention of all his prelates, earls, and barons, and an infinite number of his vaſſals or free tenants: and propoſed the matter to them in the preſence of the *Engliſh* embaſſadors. After a debate on the ſubject, the council rejected the propoſal, and reſolved to give no tenth; declaring further, "that they would never give it, even though the king of *England*, and their lord the "king of *Scotland* ſhould ſwear, they would have it from them:" nor could either fair or rough words, the perſuaſions of *William*, or the remonſtrances of the embaſſadors, divert them from this reſolution. We ſee in this relation a remarkable account, as well of the conſtituent members of a *Scotch* parliament, which was un-

[1] *Hoveden.* [2] *Benedict.* p. 496, 497, & ſeq. *Neubrig.* l. iii. c. 23. [3] *Chr. Gervaſ.* col. 1522. [4] *Gervaſe* (in *Chron.* col. 1529) ſays, that by this tenth, there were raiſed ſeventy thouſand pounds upon the king's *Chriſtian* ſubjects, and ſixty thouſand pounds upon the *Jews*. [5] *Benedict.* p. 514, 515. *Hoveden.*

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HENRY II. A. D. 1189.

doubtedly formed upon the plan of that in *England*, as of their power in the grant of money, and the laying of taxes upon the ſubject.

Prince *Richard*, in concert with *France*, begins a war, and rebels.

L. IN the mean time, ſome diſturbances [1] broke out in *Guienne*: where *Aymar* count of *Engouleſme*, *Geffrey de Rancone*, and *Geffrey de Luſignan* roſe up in armes againſt prince *Richard*, and committed great depredation on his lands: but he attacked them ſo briſkly, that they were ſoon reduced. This prince, to revenge ſome inſults received from the count of *Toulouſe*, made an incurſion into his country: and took *Peter Seilun*, who had put his lord upon arreſting the merchants of *Guienne*. The count, by way of repriſal, ſeized *Robert Poer* and *Ralf Fraſer*, two *Engliſh* knights that were paſſing through his territories, in their return from a pilgrimage to *S. Iago de Compoſtella:* and would not ſet them at liberty till *Seilun* was releaſed. *Richard* rejected the condition, deeming it a renouncing of the protection of St. *James*, and the privileges of a pilgrimage, to pay any ranſome for freeing the *Engliſh:* and it was on thoſe accounts that the king of *France* ordered them to be releaſed. The count however would not comply: and *Philip*, who would not come into thoſe parts to make peace between them, returned to *France*, ſeeing them too much inflamed to come to any accommodation [2]. But *Richard* taking *Moiſſac*, and ſeventeen caſtles in the neighbourhood of *Toulouſe*, *Raimond* was ſoon obliged to apply again for ſuccour to the king of *France*; who complaining of his invaſion to *Henry*, received from him an anſwer, which ought to have given him ſome confuſion, as it aſcribed to him a diſturbance, that interrupted the proſecution of the croiſade. The king of *England*, ſent him word that what his ſon had done about *Toulouſe* [3], was without his conſent, and againſt his will; nor was it in his power to remedie it: and that *Richard* had ſent him word by the archbiſhop of *Dublin*, that all his proceedings in that invaſion were taken in concert with the king of *France*, and by his advice, becauſe the count would not join in the late treaty for engaging in the croiſade. *Philip* finding his clandeſtine meaſures diſcovered, and having it more at heart to add one town to the domaine of *France* than to recover all *Paleſtine* out of the hands of the infidels, thought fit at laſt to throw of the maſk. He had ſworn to ſuſpend all differences, and forbear hoſtilities till the croiſade was over; he had as a ſworn brother in that enterprize, undertaken the protection of *Henry's* foreign dominions: but forgetting all obligations of honour and conſcience [4], he now fell with an army into *Berry*. He had been treating for ſome time with the barons of this province, and with thoſe of *Auvergne*, to debauch them from their allegiance to the king of *England:* and they, gained by his promiſes, were ready to join him, and deliver up their caſtles for his ſervice. It is an eaſy matter in ſuch a caſe for a prince to make conqueſts, more for his advantage than glory: and *Philip* [5] was received without any oppoſition into the important towns of *Chateauroux*, *Argentan*, and *Levroux*, and into all the other fortreſſes of the nobility of *Berry*; nothing being left to *Henry* but *Loches*, and the caſtles of his own demeſne, in that province. The king of *France*, having made himſelf maſter of the greateſt part of *Auvergne* in the ſame manner, fell into *Touraine*; where he took *Mont-Richard* and *Buzançais:* and *Bouchard* count of *Vendome* declaring for him, delivered up the place and territory adjoining. All the pretence which *Philip* had for theſe hoſtilities, was *Richard's* invaſion of the county of *Toulouſe*; a meaſure ſo convenient for the former's purpoſes, that (as the latter's quarrel with *Raimond* ſeems to have ſlept afterwards, without any farther proſecution) there ſeems very little reaſon to doubt of its being made

[1] *Ib. Benedict.* p. 500. *& ſeq.* [2] *Diceto*, col. 639. [3] *Ib.* p. 508. *Hoveden.*
[4] *Diceto*, col. 639. [5] L. iii. c. 25.

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in concert with him, and of *Richard's* being an acceſſary to the general defection of the barons of *Berry* and *Auvergne*. HENRY II. *A. D.* 1188.

THE king of *England* ſeems to have been all this time intent only upon providing for his expedition to the *Holy Land*; for which purpoſe he had got *Baldwin* archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to preach up the croiſade in *Wales*, and employed others to promote it in *England*. [1]He had ſent alſo embaſſadors, as well to the emperor of *Germany*, to engage him in the ſame deſign, as to *Bela* king of *Hungary* and *Curſac Angeli* emperor of *Conſtantinople*, to provide ſupplies of victuals for his forces that were to paſs through their territories. He was much ſurprized to hear of *Philip's* breach of the ſtipulations between them, without any provocation given on his part, and of the great progreſs he had made in *Berry* and *Auvergne:* and immediately diſpatched archbiſhop *Baldwin*, with the biſhops of *Lincoln* and *Cheſter* to the court *France*, to know the meaning of theſe hoſtilities, and to demand reſtitution of the places taken. *Philip*, having little to ſay in excuſe of his conduct, would not give audience to thoſe embaſſadors: and *Henry*, ſeeing no proſpect of a peace, was obliged to go over into *Normandie*[2]; landing on *July* 11, at *Barfleur*, and carrying with him a great army of *Engliſh*, beſides ſeveral thouſands of *Welſh* infantry. Theſe forces he increaſed with new levies in *Normandie*[3]: but kept himſelf quiet for ſome days, till he had ſent the archbiſhop of *Roüen*, with other embaſſadors, to the king of *France*, to demand reſtitution of all he had taken, and ſatisfaction for the damages he had done; and in failure thereof to renounce all fealty to him, and to declare that he ſhould regard him for the future, as his mortal enemy. The biſhop of *Beauvais* had in the mean time burnt the towns of *Blangy* and *Aumale:* and the embaſſadors returning with *Philip's* anſwer, that he was reſolved to continue the war till he had reduced all *Berry* and the *Vexin Normand*, *Henry* entered the territories of *France*, burnt *S. Clair ſur Epte* and other towns; and on *Tueſday Auguſt* 30, advanced to *Mante*, where the king of *France* was ſaid to be with his army. That prince's forces were much weakened by the departure of many of the *nobleſſe*, who had retired to their ſeats to take care of the vintage: only a ſmall ſkirmiſh happened near the place, in which *William des Barres*, a *French* knight, was taken, but got off on breach of his parole. *Henry* ſeeing no likelihood of a battle, marched to *Ivry*; from whence various parts of his army, ſpreading themſelves over the borders of *France* on that ſide, burnt *Danville*, *Dreux*, and other places. *Philip* ſeeing this havock made in his territories[4], ſued to *Henry* for peace, offering to reſtore all he had taken in *Berry:* and a conference was held for that purpoſe near *Giſors*, for three days together, without coming to an agreement. Whether the king of *France* was nettled at any thing that had paſſed in the debates on this occaſion, or was vexed at the ill ſucceſs of the treaty, he[5] ſhewed his reſentment in a manner too mean for a great prince, by deſtroying the fine elme, that grew near *Giſors*, but in the *French* territories, ſo celebrated by *W. Brito* in his *Phillipiade*[6]; under which their conference had been held; becauſe his adverſary took delight in it, and that it might be no more the ſcene of treaties.

[7]THERE is a circumſtance ſubſequent to this conference, which looks as if the ill ſucceſs of it was owing to ſome unreaſonable demands on the part of *Philip*; the counts of *Flanders* and *Blois*, with ſeveral other counts and barons of *France*, immediately laying down their armes, and declaring they would never uſe them more againſt *Chriſtians*, till they were returned from their expedition to *Jeruſalem*. The king of *France*, thus deſerted by his vaſſals, deſired another conference; probably with no other view, than to remove their ſcruples, by ſeeming to have peaceable

[1] *Diceto*, col. 637, 638. [2] *Benedict.* p. 508. [3] *Ib.* p. 516. *Hoveden.* [4] *Ib.* p. 517.
[5] *Diceto*, col. 639. [6] L. iii. [7] *Benedict.* p. 519. *Hoveden.*

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inclinations: it was held on *Oct.* 7. and ended like the former. For after every thing in appearance was ſettled by *Philip's* conſenting to reſtore to the king of *England*, all that had been taken ſince the late truce, and *Richard's* agreeing to make a like reſtitution to the count of *Toulouſe*; the king of *France*, demanded the caſtle of *Pacey* as a pledge for *Henry's* keeping the articles; when he who had broke his own faith ſo ſcandalouſly, ought with much more reaſon to have given, than aſked, ſuch a ſecurity. The king of *England* rejecting this condition, the conference broke up: and *Neulon* ſon of *Urſe de Fretteval*, returned into *Henry's* obedience; giving his own ſon, with ſome of his relations, as hoſtages for aſſurance of his fidelity. The negociations for peace however wereſt ill carried on by meſſengers between the two kings, with ſuch a proſpect of ſucceſs, that the king of *England* ſent back his *Welſh* troops, and all his hired ſoldiers: and a conference was agreed on, to be held near *Bon-moulins* on *Nov.* 8, for adjuſting all the articles.

[1]The king had in the late treaty ſome reaſon to ſuſpect a colluſion between his ſon *Richard* and *Philip:* he now found his ſuſpicions fully verified, by the latter's manner of treating, and by the open declarations of the former. The king of *France* offered indeed to give up all that had been taken, but clogged this offer with two extraordinary conditions: one was, that his ſiſter *Alice* ſhould be married to *Richard*; the other, that all the king's ſubjects, as well in *England* as in all his foreign dominions, ſhould take an oath of allegiance to *Richard.* The firſt of theſe propoſals might be made by *Philip* with ſome decency, if he would at the ſame time have given up *Bourges*, and performed the other conditions of the contract for the marriage of the two parties: yet nothing of that kind was offered. But the laſt was certainly very improper to be made by an enemy: and ſeemed the effect of a conſpiracy between *Philip* and *Richard*, to ſtrip *Henry* of his crown, if he had complied with the motion. The king had ſuffered too much from the crowning of his eldeſt ſon, and allowing his nobility to ſwear fealty to him, not to ſee the miſchiefs which ſuch a ſtep would produce in the caſe of *Richard*; eſpecially, when it was forced upon him in ſuch a manner, that the young prince would conſider himſelf as obliged for it, not ſo much to him as to his enemy, of whoſe influence on his ſon, the father had already too much reaſon to complain. Thus he made no difficulty, in rejecting this laſt condition: and *Richard*, hot in his temper and haſty in his meaſures, threw himſelf immediately at the king of *France's* feet; ſwore fealty to him; and did homage for *Normandie* and all the provinces held of the [2]crown of *France*; the inveſtiture whereof *Philip* gave him, and promiſed to reſtore him *Chateauroux*, *Yſſoudun*, and all that he had taken in *Berry*; though he did not make good his word, at leaſt as to *Chateauroux.* Thus was the myſtery of iniquity (as *Neubrigenſis* calls it) which had been working for ſome time, at laſt made publick.

This ſtep ſeems to have been taken after the two kings had agreed upon a truce, till *Hilary*[3]; for whilſt *Henry* was in an aſtoniſhment at *Richard's* action, and muſing on the meaning of ſuch a conſpiracy, *Philip* went off, accompanied by that young prince, to the amazement of all preſent: and the king finding himſelf left alone, retired to take proper meaſures for preventing their deſigns; making haſte himſelf into *Guienne*, and ſending *Geffrey* his chancellor to take care of *Anjou*, and ſecure the fortreſſes of that country againſt the attempts of *Richard* as well as *Philip.* [4]The conference laſted three days, and ſeems to have laſted ſo long by *Henry's* propoſing, that inſtead of protracting a troubleſome diſpute, by reſtoring what had been ſeized ſince their taking the croſs, and leaving matters in the ſtate they were in before,

[1] *Ibid. Benedict.* p. 520, 521. *Diceto*, col. 641. *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1536. [2] *Benedict.* p. 533.
[3] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1537. [4] *Diceto*, col. 641. *Triveti Chron.*

they

they might rather, by the advice of their prelates and barons then aſſembled, make a peace that ſhould be laſting. This was warmly oppoſed by *Richard*; who having taken *Cahors*, and reduced all the province of *Quercy*, declared abſolutely, that he would not part with a whole county, and other parcels of his demeſnes, with a revenue of above a thouſand marks a year, for the fief of *Chateauroux* and the caſtles of *Yſſoudun* and *Graçay*, which were only to be held of him and *France*, and were not his own demeſnes. It was perhaps for this reaſon that the cardinal [1] of *Albano*, ſent by Pope *Clement* III, as his legate, to make peace between the two crowns, excommunicated *Richard* as the great obſtacle to the peace, ſoon after this conference. *Clement* [2] was uneaſy at the delay of the expedition to the *Holy Land*, and imputing that delay to the king of *France's* meaſures, ſent the cardinal of *Anagni* to ſucceed *Albano* (who died preſently after his ſentence againſt *Richard)* with orders to reconcile the two kings, if poſſible: and this new legate coming into *France*, in the beginning of the next year, prevailed with them both to promiſe, that they would refer all their diſputes to his judgment, and that of the biſhops of *Reims*, *Bourges*, *Roüen*, and *Canterbury*.

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THE laſt of theſe prelates [3] was ſent by the king of *England* to reclaim his ſon: but *Richard's* head was ſo full of jealouſies, which his *French* friends had inſtilled into him, that he had loſt all ſenſe of his filial duty; and would hearken to no overtures. *Henry* had ever ſhewn a great fondneſs for all his children: and the affection he now expreſſed to *John* (who alone of his ſons, beſides *Richard*, was ſtill living, though he had done little for him) was made uſe of as an handle to ſuggeſt to *Richard*, that the father intended to diſinherit him, and to leave the crown to his younger brother. There was not the leaſt fact to ſupport this ſuggeſtion, nor the leaſt reaſon to imagine, that *Henry* ever entertained ſuch a deſign: but his rejecting the artful and enſnaring propoſal made him by the king of *France* at the laſt conference, for transferring the allegiance and homage of his ſubjects to *Richard*, ſerved this laſt inſtead of a thouſand proofs, and cauſing him to give credit to that malevolent ſuggeſtion, threw him headlong into the arms of *Philip*. When a notion hath once got poſſeſſion of the imagination, the more groundleſs it is, the leſs capable is it of being removed by reaſon: and *Richard* was too full of his own merits, to lend an ear to thoſe conſiderations; which would juſtify his father in that refuſal, and rendered himſelf utterly unworthy of ſo great a confidence. He now made it his buſineſs to raiſe up all the enemies he could againſt his father [4]: and as people are naturally diſpoſed to worſhip the riſing ſun, he drew off many of the nobility of *Normandie*, *Anjou*, and *Guienne* from his ſervice, and reinforced the *French* army with the troops, that uſed to ſerve under him in the laſt of thoſe provinces. *Ralf de Fougeres*, and the turbulent barons of *Bretagne*, who had ever been partizans of *France*, and embarked in every rebellion againſt *Henry*, now declared themſelves for *Richard:* and ſeveral others, that had uſed to adhere to the *Engliſh* intereſt in that country, engaged in the party of the ſucceſſor to a crown, of which they expected ſoon to ſee him in poſſeſſion [5]; his father being ſeized with an illneſs, which falling upon a conſtitution already broken, at a time when the mind was oppreſſed with an infinity of cares and vexation, put his life in imminent danger [6]. Theſe noblemen were ſo well united in their meaſures, that they made a formal agreement in writing with *Philip* and *Richard*; obliging themſelves to acknowledge the latter for their lord, upon condition, that peace ſhould not be made without providing for their ſecurity, and comprehending them in the treaty.

THE truce [7], expiring at *S. Hilary*, was followed by the inſurrection of theſe conſpirators, and by ſome incurſions of *Richard* into his father's territories: but

[1] *Hoveden*, p. 649. [2] *Benedict.* p. 534. [3] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1539. [4] *Neubr.* l. iii. c. 25. *Benedict.* p. 534. *M. Paris.* [5] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1539. [6] *Benedict.* p. 545. [7] *Ib.* p. 534.

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these were soon stopped by its being renewed at the instance of the mediators, till after *Easter*. *Henry* was in great hopes of a peace, through the good offices of the legate (who pressed it in the most earnest manner) till *Trinity Sunday*, *June* 5; when a conference being held at *La Ferté Bernard*, *Philip*, to his former demands of the marriage of *Adelais*, and the homage of all *Henry's* subject to *Richard*, added another, to which, however it might answer the purposes of *France*, he could not reasonably expect the king's consent; since it was to send both his sons on an expedition from which few returned, and to leave, in case of his mortality, all his dominions exposed to the attempts of his enemies. He insisted, that prince *John* should accompany his brother to the *Holy Land:* and *Richard* declared that he would not go thither without him; for fear that if his father, who was by his age and infirmities excused from the voyage, should die in his absence, his brother might make use of the opportunity to seize the crown, or at least to raise some disturbance in his dominions. This was what *Richard* should have considered, before he had taken upon him the cross, without so much as consulting a father, who would scarce have given his consent to that resolution; though when he found it taken, he was ready to supply every thing to enable him to execute it in the most honourable manner: and it would have been happy for him, if his son had performed his vow with as much expedition, as he had made it with rashness. It was certainly very unreasonable in *Richard* to expect, that, to correct his own blunders, his father should be forced to commit greater, should in a manner unking himself, divide and render precarious the obedience of his subjects, and lay a foundation, as well for disturbing the quiet of his reign during his life, as for exposing his dominions, after his decease, to the ambition of a foreign invader, or the rapaciousness of a turbulent nobility. It was well known, that he had four years before, whilst *Geffrey* was living, and *Richard* was infected with no jealousy, refused to allow *John* to go on the expedition proposed: and *Philip* probably, to make all the advantage he could of the unthinking tool he had got into his hands, insisted upon it, with the view of preventing a peace; for the conference broke off upon *Henry's* refusal of this condition. The [1] legate *Anagni*, who was present at the treaty, and used his best endeavours to bring it to effect, seems to have considered it in this light, when he threatned to lay an interdict upon all *Philip's* dominions; a threat which that prince slighted, but which put the furious *Richard* into such a passion, that he drew his sword, and would have run the legate through; if the prelates and nobility present, had not interposed to prevent an act, that would have shocked all the world as much as *Becket's* murder, and might have ruined all his and *Philip's* measures.

Henry, notwithstanding the dependance he had on the *Pope's* mediation to procure a peace, seems to have been apprehensive, that his enemies, in their aversion to it, and resolution to make the most of the advantages of their present situation, would find some means to defeat the treaty: and had sent *Ralf de Glanville* to *England*, to fetch [2] over all his *English* knights, even such as were generally excused from foreign service, on account of their not being able to support the charges of the voyage. The defection of his transmarine subjects, some or other of which were continually dropping off, and revolting to *Richard*, rendered it necessary for him to have a body of troops, not yet infected with disloyalty, on whose fidelity he might depend in all exigencies; for scarce knowing whom to trust of those that were about him, he could not act with a vigour answerable to the necessity of his affairs: but his enemies did not allow him time to receive this succour. *Philip* and *Richard*, as soon as the conference was over [3], retired to *Nogent de Rotrou*, where their army lay: and advancing with it, took *la Ferté Bernard*, *Montfort*, *Malestable*, *Beaumont*, and *Balon*; where they rested three days: and then making a feint,

[1] *Benedict.* p. 541, 542. *M. Paris.* [2] *Chron. Gervas.* col. 1544. [3] *Benedict.* p. 542, 543, 544.

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as if they intended to take the road of *Tours*, turned ſhort, and marched to attack *Le Mans*[1]. *Henry* was in the place with ſeven hundred knights, and a ſmall body of forces; when they appeared in ſight of it on *Monday*, *June* 12, to his great ſurprize, and put his followers into ſuch an hurry, that *Stephen de Tours*, ſeneſchal of *Anjou*, ſetting the ſuburbs on fire, the flame ſpread over the walls, and catched the houſes of the city. *Geffrey de Bruillon* endeavoured to break down a ſtone bridge over the *Sarte*, to ſtop the advance of the enemy: but before he could execute his deſign, was attacked, wounded, and taken priſoner; and his men flying in diſorder, were purſued ſo cloſe by the *French*, that they entered with them into the city[2]. *Henry* ſeeing all loſt, and no poſſibility of redreſſing the diſorder, cauſed as much by the fire, as by the ſudden attack of the enemy, retired with his troops towards *Frenelles*; leaving only thirty knights, with ſixty of their attendants, in the tower of *Le Mans:* which being undermined and battered for three days, was then forced to ſurrender. The king having the next day diſpatched *William Fitz Ralf*, ſeneſchal of *Normandie*, and *William de Mandeville* earl of *Eſſex* and *Aumale*, to take care of *Normandie*; and ordered his chancellor *Geffrey* to march with the bulk of his army to *Alençon*, went himſelf with a ſmall train towards *Angers:* and was ſoon after joined by *Geffrey*, with a party of knights, at *Savigny*. HENRY II. A. D. 1189.

IN the mean time *Philip*, and *Richard*, who had in vain purſued his father in his retreat from *le Mans*, found eaſy conqueſts wherever they marched: the lord of *Mont doubleau* joined them and delivered up his caſtle; thoſe of *Trou*, *Roches l'Eveque*, *Montoire*, *Chateau-du-loir*, *Chaumont*, *Amboiſe* and *Rochecorbon* ſubmitted as readily; and on *Friday June* 30, they came in ſight of *Tours*. It happened very luckily for them[3], that the *Loire* was exceeding low, and they found a ford to paſs their army to the other ſide of the river: and on the *Monday* following, early in the morning, ſome of their ſoldiers, without any orders, ſcaling the walls, entered the city without any oppoſition from the inhabitants; who either ſhut themſelves up in their houſes, or retired into the caſtle, which ſoon after ſurrendered. The count of *Flanders*[4], the duke of *Burgundy*, and the archbiſhop of *Reims*, came thither to *Philip* from the conference at *Azay*, where they had ſettled articles of peace: and went from thence, the day before the city was taken, to *Saumur*, where the king of *England* was, to receive his approbation of the conditions. This prince was in no condition to refuſe any that were offered: he ſaw his own forces much diminiſhed by deſertion, and no reſiſtance made to the enemy in places that uſed to take up ſeveral weeks in reducing; he ſuſpected treachery on all ſides, and knew not where to place a confidence; and in this diſtreſs agreed to ratify the articles[5]. "Theſe obliged *Henry* to do homage again to *Philip*, becauſe "he had renounced his former in the beginning of the war, and to put *Adelais* into "the hands of one of five perſons to be named by *Richard*, in order to be married to "him upon his return from *Paleſtine*. All *Henry's* vaſſals were to take an oath of "fealty to *Richard* as his ſucceſſor: and ſuch of them as had revolted to this young "prince, were to ſtay with him, and not return to the king of *England*, till the laſt "month before he ſet out for *Jeruſalem*; the time of which was fixed for the *Mid-*"*lent* following, and the rendezvous at *Vezelay*. *Henry* was to be reſtored to all "he poſſeſſed in *Berry*, before the war; but was to pay twenty thouſand marks of "ſilver to the king of *France*, for the charges he pretended to have been at in forti-"fying *Chateauroux*[6]: and the latter was to keep in his hands the cities of *Le Mans* "and *Tours*, the caſtle of *Trou*, and *Chateau-de-loir* (unleſs the former had a mind "to exchange them for *Giſors*, *Pacey*, and *Nonancourt*) till all the articles were

[1] *Annal. Trivet.* [2] *Gir. Cambrenſ.* in *Anglia Sacr.* ii. 381. [3] *Gul. Brito Philipiade*, l. iii. [4] *Diceto*, col. 645. *Benedict.* p. 544. *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 381. [5] *Benedict.* p. 545, 546. [6] *Diceto*, col. 644.

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" fulfilled." There was another article in favour of the burgeſſes of the demeſne towns of the king of *England*; providing that they ſhould be free in *France*; paying only their due cuſtoms, and not be impleaded, but in caſe of felony. It is alſo obſervable, that there is no mention in them of *John's* going to *Jeruſalem:* which looks as if it had been inſiſted on before, purely to break off the treaty; or that it was omitted now upon a preſumption, that the king was dying; the apprehenſion whereof, as *Neubrigenſis* ſays, haſtened the accommodation.

King *Henry's* death, character, and children.

LI. These articles, firſt agreed on at *Azay*, on *June* 30, were ſigned (according to *M. Paris* [1] and *Giraldus Cambrenſis)* on *Tueſday*, *July* 4, in a ſecond conference at the ſame place; whither the king was brought extremely ill, and was carried thence in a litter to *Chinon*. He had been infirm for ſome time, and it is univerſally agreed, that vexation added much to his illneſs; one occaſion whereof, as *Hoveden* ſays, was the ſeeing his favourite ſon *John's* name at the head of the liſt of thoſe, that had engaged to join *Philip* and *Richard*. But he ſtood in no need of that proof of *John's* want of affection and duty, ſince notwithſtanding the very particular care he took of this ſon's intereſt, in the height of all his troubles, as he made his retreat [2] from *Le Mans*, *John*, in a day or two after, deſerted him, and revolted to his enemies, in a juncture, when he was not able to bear ſuch an additional weight of affliction. However this was, the king died of a fever [3], and a diſentery, the ſeventh day after he had been firſt ſeized, and two days after the articles were ſigned, *viz.* on *Thurſday*, *July* 6, at *Chinon:* and his corpſe, attended all the way by his natural ſon *Geffrey* on foot, was carried to the nunnery of *Fontevrault*. The next day, as it lay in the abbey church, his ſon *Richard* coming in, was not a little ſtruck with horror at the ſight of the corpſe [4]; and the more ſo, becauſe, the moment he entered the church, the blood chanced to guſh out of both his father's noſtrils in ſuch plenty, that the aſſiſtants were forced to wipe his mouth and face ſeveral times with a napkin. The funeral rites and ſervice were performed the day following; *Richard* aſſiſting at them with great decorum, and all the appearance of devotion, as well as *Geffrey:* who, as ſoon as the ceremony was over, delivered to him the great ſeal of his father; which he had kept in the king's life-time, as chancellor, and which, from the moment of his deceaſe, had been carefully ſealed up by the ſeals of the barons, then preſent [6].

Thus died, and was buried, the greateſt, the wiſeſt, the amiableſt, and the beſt king that had ſat on the throne of *England*, ſince the Conqueſt; though the monkiſh writers, in their blind zeal for *Becket*, and inordinate paſſion for certain eccleſiaſtical liberties, adapted to aggrandize the papacy, have been very injurious to his memory; as much perhaps by omitting his regulations and acts in the courſe of his government, which certainly deſerved their notice; as by the bitterneſs of their invectives, for which they had little foundation, beſides their own prejudices and conjectures. He was the prince of the age, the moſt univerſally eſteemed in his life-time, and the moſt generally lamented at his death, by foreigners, as well as by his own ſubjects; who found every day that they paſſed under his ſucceſſors, ſtill more occaſion to regret his loſs, and dated the beginning of their ſorrows from his deceaſe. One of the moſt zealous partizans [6] of *Becket* in the height of that quarrel, and of his own

[1] *Anglia Sacr.* ii. 381. [2] *Ib. Neubrig.* l. iii. c. 25. *Benedict.* p. 548. [3] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1545. [4] *Ib. Benedict.* p. 545.

[5] It ſeems reaſonable from this account, which *Giraldus Cambrenſis* ſeems to have had from *Geffrey* himſelf, whoſe life he wrote, to think, that there was no biſhop preſent at *Henry's* death; ſo that the relations of his curſing his ſons, and of not retracting theſe curſes at his death, notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances of *the biſhops* that attended him, ſeem to be mere monkiſh tales, and without any foundation. The ſame may be ſaid of ſome other circumſtances related of the conference of *Azay*.

[6] *Epiſt. S. Tho.* l. i. *Epiſt.* 103.

ſufferings,

sufferings, being baniſhed on that account, ſays, "he was endowed with ſo many, and "ſuch excellent, gifts both of nature and grace, that there was not a prince in the "world comparable to him: and if he had but ſhewed a little more deference to "the church [1], no encomium could come up to his merit." That affair was of a very delicate nature, and conſidering the notions and circumſtances of the times, any other prince would have ſunk under it: but he conducted himſelf in it with great firmneſs, as well as prudence; and under all the diſadvantages, in which the murder of that prelate involved him [2], he came out of it, without giving up any one point of the royal prerogative for which he contended, or any one cuſtom, which the other oppoſed. The rebellion of his three eldeſt ſons, ſupported by all the power of *France*, *Flanders*, and *Scotland*, as well as by the defection of the moſt powerful of his nobility, was of a nature ſtill more dangerous: yet what would have ruined a monarch of leſs admirable talents, ſerved only to raiſe his glory. The mutinous temper, and repeated revolts of his children, hindered him from compleating the conqueſt of *Ireland*, and ſettling the government of it on ſuch a foot, as might have preſerved it in the *Engliſh* ſubjection: yet he died in the poſſeſſion of more power, and larger dominions, than any of his ſucceſſors ever enjoyed; and the unuſual calamities, which attended his ſons, were deemed by all the world a juſt judgment upon them, for their unnatural behaviour.

HENRY II. *A. D.* 1189.

HENRY was of a fair, ruddy complexion, light hair, round face, middle ſtature, and exact proportion; his eyes blew, very beautiful, mild and engaging, when he was in good humour, but ſtern and ſparkling, as lightening, when he was in a paſſion; into which he was ſometimes ſurprized by ſudden provocations, though a moment's reflection brought him to himſelf, and when he expected ſhocks, no man had ever a greater command of his temper [3]. He was ſtrong in the arms, broad cheſted, fleſhy, and inclined to be corpulent: but kept down his fat by a conſtant ſeries of exerciſes and fatigues. He was very temperate and ſober, or rather abſtinent in point of meat and drink; never indulging himſelf in either, or indeed in any reſpect, either in peace or war; for what time he had to ſpare, was not given to reſt, but employed either in reading, riding, or walking. When he had ſet out very early in the morning to hunt, and had ſpent the whole day in that diverſion, he minded the fatigue ſo little, that upon his return in the evening, he ſcarce ever ſat down either before or after ſupper: but uſed to tire all his court with continual ſtanding; and ſuffered himſelf ſo much by this practice, never ſitting but whilſt he eat or rode, that it was ſuppoſed to be, in conjunction with the kicks he received from horſes, the cauſe of the ſwelling of his legs, and to have haſtened the breaking of his conſtitution. He was eloquent and perſuaſive in his diſcourſe, which was ever judicious, knowing well what to ſay, and when to be ſilent; agreeable and facetious in his ordinary converſation; eaſy in his carriage; affable and courteous in his reception of perſons; infinitely good-natured; and the politeſt prince of the age; very compaſſionate to all in diſtreſs, and always ready to give them relief. It was this goodneſs of his nature, that made him, in the beginning of his reign [4], aboliſh the infamous and inhuman practices, which had prevailed, till his time, on all the

[1] By the church here can be meant only the particular church of *Rome*, and the papal authority; to which *Henry* was indeed no friend, and endeavoured to reduced the power of the Pope, as low here, as it had been in the days of his grandfather. But as the author of a *Life of Becket*, wrote by a monk of *Canterbury*, two years after that prelate's death, and preſerved in manuſcript in the library of *Lambeth*, obſerves, the king's ſole view was to ſerve the church of *England*; to aſſert her independency; and to make the archbiſhop of *Canterbury's* court the *dernier reſſort* in all eccleſiaſtical cauſes, without admitting any appeal to *Rome*. So that *Henry* was really the champion for thoſe rights and liberties of the church of *England*, and of the ſee of *Canterbury*, which *Becket* laboured, with all his might, to ſubvert, and ſubject to the court of *Rome*. See *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 523, 524.

[2] *Girald. Cambrenſ.* in *Anglia Sacr.* ii. 430.

[3] *Petr. Bleſenſ. Epiſt. Archiepiſcopo Panormitano. Hibern. expugn.* l. i. c. 45. [4] *Neubrig.* l. iii. c. 26. *Geſta Conſulum Andegav. in Dacherii Spicil.* t. x. p. 406.

ſea

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ſea coaſts of *England*, where perſons that had ſuffered ſhipwreck met with barbarous uſage; enjoining all manner of good offices to be done them, and puniſhing with great ſeverity all, that either ſtole their goods, or abuſed their perſons. It was this moved him to aſſign conſtantly the tenth part of his houſhold proviſions to be diſtributed to the poor: and [1] in a bad year, when corn was become extremely ſcarce in *Anjou* and *le Maine*, he maintained ten thouſand needy perſons every day from *April* 1, till after harveſt; and ordered all his ſtorehouſes for meat and drink to be opened, for the uſe of all that ſtood in need of relief. He [2] had very great natural parts, with a ſolid judgment; and theſe much improved by an uncommon degree of learning; to which he had applied himſelf from his earlieſt youth: and never afterwards intermitted his ſtudies, except on the neceſſary calls of health or buſineſs; making ſome point or other thereof, the chief ſubject of his diſcourſe with learned men; whom he always exceedingly careſſed, and took great delight in their converſation. In this reſpect nature had been very kind, in giving him an advantage of infinite ſervice to a man of his juſt obſervation and cool reflection; it was a prodigious memory, which never allowed him to forget any perſon he had ever ſeen, or any thing he had either read or heard, that was worth notice: and by this means he was perfectly verſed in hiſtory, and had always ready for uſe the experience of all ages. He was brave in armes, but ſtill with prudence, taking care to provide againſt all accidents; he excelled in military ſkill, and was intrepid in all the dangers of a field of battle: yet loved peace and applied all his endeavours to preſerve it; abhorring bloodſhed ſo much, that he regretted every common ſoldier that fell in the field, and never entered into a war, but in caſe of abſolute neceſſity; and then none was ever more active and vigorous in its proſecution, though none was ever more merciful in his treatment of a vanquiſhed enemy. He was univerſally allowed to be the greateſt politician of the age, wiſe in council, conſiderate in all his meaſures; moderate in proſperity, firm in adverſity; conſtant in his friendſhip and affections; but equally ſo in his averſions; which he did not eaſily get over, when once contracted. He hated pride above all things; was always ſtately to the proud; whilſt in talking to the poor and humble, he overflowed with kindneſs: he was ever liberal in point of almes, and on all publick occaſions, though parſimonious in private matters; and his bounty was exerciſed more upon ſtrangers, than his own domeſticks; yet if we may judge by the wealth of ſome of theſe laſt, taken notice of in hiſtory, or by the grants to others mentioned in the pipe rolls of his reign, they did not want rewards for their ſervices. The monk of *Marmoutiar*, who wrote the *Geſta Conſulum Andegavenſium*, compares him to *Cato* for integrity: and *Johannis Saburienſis* [3], ſpeaking of his virtues, diſtinguiſhes particularly his courage, vigour, magnificence, prudence, modeſty from his earlieſt youth; and ſays, theſe were too known a part of his character for envy, either to deny or diſſemble; and he was ſo much of a piece in other reſpects, *that it was impoſſible to recount all his virtues.*

There is one flaw in his private character, taken notice of by ancient writers; who charge him with incontinency; and date generally the commencement of it after the rebellion of his ſons and the confinement of queen *Eleanor*. I have already ſhewn their miſtake, as to the time of his affair with *Roſamund* [4]; whoſe two ſons, though elder in age, were brought up with the king's legitimate children: and there is not the leaſt ground to ſurmiſe, that he ever acknowledged any other natural iſſue. The monks were fond of propagating and incouraging any idle ſtory to the prejudice of this king's character: and though *Henry*, ſo continually taken up with

[1] *Benedict.* p. 215. *Diceto*, col. 589. [2] *Petr. Bleſenſ. ib.* [3] *Policrat.* l. vi. c. 18.
[4] *Anglia Sacr.* ii. 378.

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buſineſs, that he had not a moment of his time unemployed, ought to be little ſuſpected of the vices and amuſements of the idle world, ſuch as lewdneſs is: yet *Brompton* and others charge him with having an amour with *Adelais* of *France*, deſigned for his ſon *Richard*, according to a treaty made *A. D.* 1169, but both too young at that time for marriage, and never affianced. Her being kept in *England* from that year till *Henry's* death; *Richard's* eagerneſs in demanding her for his wife a few months before his father's deceaſe, and rejecting her afterwards, even with her brother *Philip's*[1] conſent; and a formal ſtory (the ſcene whereof was laid in *Sicily*) of *Richard* then known to be affianced to his wife *Berengaria*, his proving *Adelais* to be delivered of a ſon, which was thought to have been gotten by his father, are the pretences of this imputation. But the young princeſs was not fit for marriage, till after the rebellion of *Henry*, *Richard* and *Geffrey*, had made the king apprehenſive of the dangers of *Richard's* being too cloſely united with *France* by ſuch an alliance: and yet he might be willing to have her married to his ſon *John*, who might want the aſſiſtance of that crown, to ſupport him againſt an elder brother, rough, violent, and obſtinate. This indeed ſeems at laſt to be his deſign; *Richard's* demand of her was a mere grimace, deſigned only to diſtreſs his father, and to throw a difficulty in the way of the ſcheme in favour of his younger brother; he might have other reaſons for rejecting *Adelais*, beſides her being got with child, and he was not a man to be conſtrained to any thing againſt his inclinations. I am apt to take the ſtory of her being debauched, whether by *Henry* or by any body elſe, to be mere ſurmiſe, and an effect of the impertinent gueſſes of people, in order to account for an event; the reaſons whereof they did not underſtand. As the frailties of kings are ever conſpicuous, and exerciſe the curioſity of the world, it ſeems very ſtrange, that if *Henry* really had a ſon by her, no memorial of him, not ſo much as his name, ſhould be ever preſerved by any writer; nor any notice at all be taken of him, either by his father, or the ſons and ſucceſſors of that father; who in the language, and according to the practice, of that age, would have called him their brother, and have treated him as ſuch in many reſpects.

HOWEVER this matter was, *Henry's* publick conduct as a king, was certainly without reproach: and it is a great misfortune, that the particular methods and regulations, which he obſerved and made, in the courſe of his civil adminiſtration, have not been tranſmitted to us by cotemporary writers. Had this been done, we ſhould not have been at a loſs to diſtinguiſh the juſt bounds of the royal prerogative, and the true rights of the ſubject in thoſe days; when the former was equitably exerted by, and the latter were fully enjoyed under, the wiſeſt and beſt of our kings; for no prince was ever more averſe to[2] oppreſſion, cruelty, and tyranny. The good of his people was the reigning paſſion of his ſoul, and the chief principle of all his actions[3]; it was for this end that he loved and cultivated peace, and that he made alliances; that he went every day to council, as regularly as he went to divine ſervice; that he convened ſo many general councils (called by *Robert* of *Glouceſter* parliaments) in every year of his abode in *England*; not for the grant of ſupplies, or to fleece his ſubjects, but purely to have their advice, in making wholeſome ordinances for the publick welfare. It was for this end, that he was ſo careful in providing for the due adminiſtration of juſtice, looking out every where for men of the greateſt probity and capacity[4] to be employed as his juſticiaries, that it might be diſtributed with all poſſible impartiality and equity: nor did he yet truſt them implicitly in that point, but kept himſelf a ſtrict watch over their conduct. This was the reaſon why he reſided ſo rarely, and for ſo ſhort a time, in any of his palaces, and was

[1] *Rymer*, i. 68. [2] *Diceto*, col. 582. [3] *Petr. Bleſenſ. ib. Neubrig. ib.*
[4] *Diceto*, col. 605, 606.

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ſo continually making progreſſes through every part of his dominions, to inſpect the behaviour of his officers; puniſhing ſuch as abuſed their power with an exemplary ſeverity [1], but none with greater, than the judges, that he found guilty of doing wrong, and perverting juſtice. In theſe progreſſes, and indeed at all times, his ears were ſtill open to the complaints of the poor and oppreſſed [2]; his attention was conſtantly exerciſed in their behalf: it was ever a part of his inſtructions to his juſticiaries, to take particular care of widows, orphans, the indigent and diſtreſſed, the infirm and the miſerable, who ever found in him a moſt generous patron and benefactor. It was for their ſake, and for the protection of the innocent, that he was vigilant and active in the diſcovery and proſecution of notorious malefactors, concerned in rapes, murders, robberies, and depredations, and ſo ſevere in executing the laws which puniſhed thoſe crimes capitally, that they were ſoon extirpated, and good order, with its attendants, tranquillity, induſtry, and plenty, eſtabliſhed in every quarter of his kingdom. Humanity and mercy, wiſdom and equity directed every part of his conduct in the exerciſe of his authority: and though he loved hunting as much as any of his predeceſſors, he took off the ſeverity of their foreſt-laws, which puniſhed the violation thereof with death, or amputation of limbs; the higheſt penalty, that he inflicted on ſuch offenders [3], being only a ſhort impriſonment, or temporary exile; poſterity reaping the benefit of this mitigation, which ſerved for a precedent or rule to his ſucceſſors. His foreſts were horribly waſted, and his deer, boars, and other veniſon deſtroyed during the rebellion of his three ſons; and ſome complaints are made by writers, on account of the proſecution of perſons concerned in that deſtruction: but beſides, that the offenders had been generally dipped in that rebellion, there are not twenty-five inſtances, in which the fines laid upon them, amount to an hundred marks, the reſt are ſmall, and the number of perſons inconſiderable, as well at that time, as throughout his reign, as appears by the pipe-rolls (particularly that of his twenty-ſecond year) wherein thoſe fines are accounted for by the ſheriffs. This too was probably done for example, and to prevent offenders from repeating in more orderly times thoſe crimes, which they would otherwiſe have committed in a time of diſorder with impunity. For he did not make uſe of that rebellion, to ſqueeze money from his people; being well ſatisfied with the fidelity, which the body of the nation, truly ſenſible of their own happineſs under an excellent prince, had ſhewn to him in that time of trial; when notwithſtanding ſo many great men were concerned in the conſpiracy, they were forced to depend on *Scots*, *Flemings*, and other foreigners, to carry on their enterprize.

Never was the clemency of a prince ſo nobly and glorioufly diſplayed, as this king's was on that occaſion: it was equally the effect of his intrepid courage, conſummate wiſdom, true magnanimity, and unbounded good will to his ſubjects. He had infinite numbers of them in his power, either taken priſoners in battle, or ſurrendered with fortreſſes at diſcretion, during the moſt unnatural rebellion, that perhaps ever was upon earth: but he did not put ſo much as one man to death, and he even reſtored all to their eſtates, which had been confiſcated of courſe upon their rebellion. *Adam de Port's* treaſons were diſcovered juſt before that rebellion broke out; and flying from juſtice, he was convicted and outlawed: but though this man had, by not truſting to the mercy of a generous prince, rendered himſelf undeſerving of a pardon, it appears from [4] the pipe-rolls, that he reſtored him afterwards to the poſſeſſion of all his vaſt eſtate, as well in *England* as *Normandie*. Nor did he ever puniſh any treaſon (a crime too rife among the gentry in his time, whilſt they were currying favour with his ſons) more ſeverely than by baniſhment,

[1] *Petr. Bleſenſ. ib.* [2] *Diceto*, col. 582. *Neubrig. ib.* *Topogr. Hibern. Diſt.* iii. c. 48.
[3] *Neubr. ib.* [4] *Rot. Mag. Pip.* 26 *Hen.* ii. *Sudhanteſhire.*

which he eaſily and ſoon remitted; ſo ready was he to forgive the moſt enormous offences againſt himſelf; whilſt he was inexorable in puniſhing the crimes of thoſe that preyed on his ſubjects. Their happineſs was the great object which he had ever in view, and which gave him the moſt ſenſible pleaſure: and it was to this king, that this nation owes its releaſe from the heavy tax of *Danegeld*, which though collected in ſome inſtances in the ſecond [1], and in two or three in the third year of his reign, perhaps as arrears from the time of his predeceſſor, was never raiſed afterwards. HENRY II. *A. D.* 1189.

IT is really amazing how *Henry* could ſupport all his wars, and other occaſions of expence, without laying ſo much as one tax upon his people [2]: for the two, that were laid upon them in his time *(viz.)* in the twelfth, and the laſt years of his reign, by the advice of the great council, were not for his uſe, but for the relief of the *Holy Land*; a charity ordinary in thoſe days among all the *Chriſtians* of the Weſt, and to which vaſt ſums were contributed by the king himſelf. I do not reckon *ſcutages* among the taxes, it being only a commutation in money in lieu of that perſonal ſervice in war, which all the king's military tenants were obliged to by the conditions of the tenure, on which their eſtates were granted. The lands of biſhops and eccleſiaſticks were held upon that tenure, and they were obliged, as well as others, to perſonal ſervice: but ſome of them being more ſcrupulous than others in that reſpect, and not caring to ſerve in perſon, got indulgences for themſelves, and alſo for their knights, upon making a pecuniary payment (called *ſcutage)* in lieu of their perſonal ſervice, and ſome monaſteries were favoured ſo much, as in certain caſes, to procure an entire exemption. [3] Thus the biſhops and abbots, who did not ſerve perſonally in the king's expedition, *A. D.* 1155, into the marches of *Wales* againſt *Hugh de Mortimer*, and others, who held out *Clebery*, *Wigmore*, and other caſtles as well in *Wales*, as on the borders againſt him, paid *ſcutage:* but none of the laity were admitted to ſuch a compoſition in money, till the fifth of this king, when he undertook the expedition againſt *Toulouſe*. *Henry*, always conſulting the convenience of his vaſſals, allowed them to compound on that occaſion, in ſome caſes for a groſs ſum, in others at a certain rate in proportion to their fees: and this was a wonderful eaſe to all the military tenants of the crown; theſe rates being much leſs than the bare expence of their perſonal ſervice, and they being freed thereby from other great inconveniencies, as well as dangers attending it; the benefit whereof deſcended likewiſe to their poſterity by this method's becoming an ordinary practice. It would be injuſtice to the memory of this excellent prince not to take notice on this occaſion of a moderation, which may be obſerved in all his conduct: for though he had the ſame right to ſuch *ſcutages*, as a landlord hath to the rents and ſervices of his tenants, he levied very few; and [4] beſides certain ſums accounted for in his eighth year on that account [5], there are but two more mentioned in all the rolls of his time, *viz.* in the [6] eighteenth and twenty-third years of his reign, as paid by thoſe that neither went themſelves, nor had ſent their knights to attend him, in his expeditions to *Ireland* in the former year, and to *Galloway* in that laſt mentioned. The aid given on account of his daughter *Maude's* marriage to *Henry* duke of *Saxony*, was no more than an ordinary condition of the tenure of lands, which all tenants were to pay in virtue of their firſt grant or inveſtiture, whenever a king or a lord's eldeſt daughter was to be married. When *Henry* diſpoſed of his two younger daughters, to the kings of *Caſtille* and *Sicily*, he aſked no aid of his ſubjects: [7] and with regard to that for *Maude*, ſo far was he from being rigorous in

[1] See *Rotul. Pip.* 2, 3 *Hen.* ii. [2] *Bibl. Cotton. Julius A.* viii. *Chron. Reg. Angl. a Bruto ad E.* iii. [3] *Rot. Pip.* 2 *Hen.* ii. [4] *Ib.* 8 *Hen.* ii.

[5] Whether theſe were arrears of the ſcutage of *Toulouſe*, or raiſed on the continuance of the *French* war, is uncertain, though I incline to the former opinion, becauſe the particular occaſion is not mentioned in the *pipe-roll*, though uſually done in the caſe of a new ſcutage.

[6] *Rot. Pip.* 18 and 22 *Hen.* ii.

[7] *Ib.* 14 *Hen.* ii. *Cuerwieſcire Sutſexa, Somerſet.*

exacting

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exacting it according to the rate of one mark a knight's fee, which the great lords paid, that he took leſs from others, particularly from *Richier de l'Aigle*, only at the rate of eight ſhillings and four-pence for each knight's fee, and from *Philip de Colombieres*, at the rate of a noble. There was undoubtedly a very great difference in the value of ſome knights fees from others, as well in regard of the goodneſs, as of the quantity of land, which they contained; ſome knights likewiſe were leſs able to bear the expence, either of a perſonal ſervice, or of a compoſition for it, than others: and *Henry*, ever conſiderate, equitable, and averſe to lay an unequal burden on any one, took care to make allowances in ſuch caſes. Thus a little before his death, in the urgent neceſſity he was under[1] of having the aſſiſtance of all his vaſſals, he ſummoned the poor and indigent, as well as others, but this was contrary to his cuſtom, and only owing to the greatneſs and ſuddenneſs of his diſtreſs. Thus when the *ſcutage* was levied upon the knights, that did not go with the king to *Galloway*, at the rate of twenty ſhillings a knight's fee, it was charged upon ſmaller fees[2] in *Cornwall*, *Devon*, and *Dorſet*, *&c.* only at twelve ſhillings and ſix-pence a fee: and that this was uſed in former *ſcutages*, is plain from the plea made by *William de Cahaines*, who being charged nine pounds for nine knights, maintained that his knight's fees were but ſmall, and he ought to payed but twelve ſhillings and ſix-pence for each: which plea was allowed by the juſticiaries.

It was not the extent of *Henry's* dominions, though larger than any either of his predeceſſors or ſucceſſors enjoyed, ſo much as his admirable œconomy, and good management of his ordinary revenue, that enabled him thus to exerciſe his humanity and tenderneſs to his ſubjects, at the ſame time that he was involved in foreign wars; and when theſe intermitted, was yet laying out great ſums, either in the fortification of his frontier caſtles, and places of ſtrength, or in building new palaces, and beautifying the old royal houſes, with parks, ponds, and other ornaments, to render them more convenient and magnificent. There never was a reign, either before or after his, in which the people of this nation were ſo entirely free from all manner of taxes, burdens, grievances, and complaints: and it is chiefly to him, that their poſterity at this day are indebted for the cuſtom of juries, and ſome other inſtitutions, which they eſteem as the beſt part of their conſtitution. The onely perſons that appear unkind to his memory, are the monkiſh writers, prejudiced by the affair of *Becket*, and angry at their poſſeſſions being taxed to the *Saladine* tenth, for the relief of *Paleſtine*; which yet was paid in all other countries of *Europe*, and granted by their own ſuperiors: and it would have been infamous in them, not to have contributed themſelves to a *Croiſade*, in which, by their preaching and exhortations, they endeavoured to draw all the world to engage. The king was certainly very pious and ſerious in point of religion; though he was not fond of ſhewing his piety in the modiſh way of founding monaſteries, and endowing them with privileges deſtructive of diſcipline and order; having too much reaſon, from his own experience, to look upon them, as ſo many ſeminaries of ſedition, malevolence, turbulency, and diſorders. It muſt be owned, for the honour of the ſecular clergy, that they always ſtood by the king, even in his diſpute with *Becket:* and he well deſerved it at their hands[3]; for he really loved and honoured their perſons and character; he took them under his particular care and protection; being full as careful to preſerve their rights and poſſeſſions, as he was of his own demeſnes. He never laid, like other princes, on pretence of neceſſity, any tribute, tax, or other burden on any church or monaſtery: and he was careful in filling all eccleſiaſtical dignities with men of merit (ſo that he would not let his own ſon enjoy the ſee of *Lincoln*, till he had qualified himſelf by his learning for the ſee) being an utter enemy to all flattery, corruption, and ſimony. He is charged indeed with keeping biſhopricks

[1] *Gervaſ.* col. 1544. [2] *Rot. Pip.* 33 *Hen.* ii. [3] *Neubrig. ut ſupra.*

vacant, with a view to enjoy the mean profits: but the charge is unjuſt, ſince he never kept any vacant longer than the uſual time; when he was able to fill them (which could not be done during his diſpute with *Becket*) or was not out of the kingdom, and he took immediate care to fill them upon his return. Whoever examines the ſucceſſion of biſhops in each ſee during his reign, will find this to be the caſe; except in two inſtances *(viz.)* of *Lincoln*, to which his natural ſon *Geffrey* was elected, and being confirmed, enjoyed its revenue without being conſecrated, till a ſucceſſor was provided immediately upon his reſignation; and of *York*. This laſt, after the death of archbiſhop *Roger*, at the latter end of *November*, *A. D.* 1181, he deſigned for the ſame ſon, as ſoon as he could be ſpared from his ſecular affairs, in which he did him eminent ſervices; who accordingly enjoyed it afterwards, and proved an excellent prelate. No privileged place or ſanctuary [1], no eccleſiaſtical character could indeed ſcreen robbers, plunderers, murderers, and the like notorious malefactors from puniſhment: they were drawn from their places of refuge; tried in his courts; and ſuffered according to law; but this was purely an effect of his zeal for juſtice. It was inconſiſtent with his dignity, to let privileges be extorted from him by force; and therefore he withſtood *Becket* in his attempts for uſurping them: but he never invaded any of the real and juſt privileges of the clergy; and ſupporting theſe (as [2] *Neubrigenſis* ſays) in all caſes, he added of his own free will ſeveral others, to which they had no pretenſions; particularly an exemption from all publick charges, tolls, and burdens; for which the clergy, to this day, are obliged to this prince, as their predeceſſors for ſome ages were for their claim of exemption from the courts of law (except in caſes of advowſons, lay-fees, and tranſgreſſions of the foreſt) being put into a legal, regular, and conſtant method. When this king, whoſe reign every good ſubject wiſhed to be as immortal as his memory, came to die in the fifty-ſeventh year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign, the monks ſo full of malevolence, and complaints againſt him, ſoon found the difference between him and his ſucceſſors: and, as the ſame author ſays, felt to their ſorrow, *the little finger of his ſons heavier upon them, than the loins of the father.*

Henry II. *A. D.* 1189.

Henry had, by his wife *Eleanor*, five ſons, and three daughters. The ſons were, 1. *William*, who was born on *Auguſt* 17, *A. D.* 1152, and dying in *A. D.* 1156, was buried in the abbey of *Reading*. 2. *Henry*, whoſe birth, coronation, and death, have been already mentioned. 3. *Richard*, born at *Oxford*, in *September*, *A. D.* 1157, who ſucceeded his father in the throne. 4. *Geffrey*, who was born on *September* 3, *A. D.* 1158, and dying on *Auguſt* 19, *A. D.* 1186, was buried in the cathedral of *Paris*. And 5. *John*, ſurnamed *Sans terre*, who was born at *Oxford*, on *Chriſtmas-eve*, *A. D.* 1166, and got poſſeſſion of the crown of *England*, upon the death of his brother *Richard*. The daughters were, 1. *Maude*, born *A. D.* 1156, who being married to *Henry*, ſurnamed, *the Lion*, duke of *Saxony* and *Bavaria*, died about the ſame time as her father. 2. *Eleanor*, born *A. D.* 1161 [3], at *Danfront*, and married to *Alfonſo* VIII, king of *Caſtille*, before the year 1176, when the diſpute between that prince and the king of *Navarre* was referred to the king of *England*. 3. *Joane*, born in *October*, *A. D.* 1164, in *Normandie*; married, in *A. D.* 1176, to *William* II, king of *Sicily*; and after his death, *A. D.* 1189, remarried to *Raimond* VI, count of *Toulouſe*. She died *A. D.* 1199, and was buried in the nunnery of *Fon-*

[1] *Knighton*, col. 2400. [2] L. iii. c. 26.

[3] *Robert de Thorigny*, called generally *Robert de Monte*, as being abbot of *Mont S. Michel*, was one of her godfathers, with cardinal *Henry*, the Pope's legate, and *Achard* biſhop of *Avranches*: and in his continuation of *Sigebert's* chronicle, *Eleanor's* birth is fixed at the latter end of 1162, but it was undoubtedly in *A. D.* 1161, becauſe the king kept the *Chriſtmas* following at *Bayeux*; and the publiſhers of the edition of that chronicle finiſhed at *Paris*, *June* 1, *A. D.* 1513, have from the year 1158 (which is twice marked) to *A. D.* 1177, made a miſtake in the year of our Lord put in the margin; all the events arranged under each year during that interval, belonging really to the year before, as will appear evidently to any one, who compares that author with the cotemporary hiſtorians.

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tevrault. *Henry* had likewiſe, by the fair *Roſamund*, two natural ſons (*viz.*) *William Longueſpé*, to whom *Richard* I, gave the earldom of *Saliſbury*, with *Ela*, daughter and heir of *William D'Evreux*; and *Geffrey* archbiſhop of *York*, born [1] *A. D.* 1151. There was likewiſe one *Morgan*, a *Welſhman*, provoſt of *Beverley* [2], who pretended to be begotten by him on the lady of a knight, named *Ralf Bloet*; and who, in *A. D.* 1213, was, in contempt of king *John's* recommendatory letters in favour of others, choſen by the unanimous voices of the monks of the chapter, biſhop of *Durham*. Going to *Rome* for conſecration, it was objected to him that he was a baſtard; but the Pope being inclined to favour him, or elſe not believing that he was really the king's ſon (for the court of *Rome* did not uſe to ſcruple admitting the natural ſons of princes) offered, if he would ſay that he was a knight's ſon, he would confirm his election. *Morgan* rejected the propoſal; declaring that he would not renounce the honour of being ſprung of royal blood, to obtain any dignity whatever: and thus loſt that wealthy biſhoprick. The Pope's offer ſeems to imply, that there was no other proof of the man's being a natural ſon to *Henry*, than his own aſſertion; for otherwiſe he could not regularly have made ſuch an offer in a controverted election: but all ages, as well as this, have produced ſome ſuch wrong-headed mortals, who have, without any foundation, beſides their own ridiculous vanity, either taken it into their heads to fancy, or have endeavoured to palm upon the world, a notion, that they were the baſe iſſue of princes.

[1] *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 388. [2] *Ib.*

RICHARD I.

Richard I. A. D. 1189.

LII. RICHARD, ſurnamed, from his intepridity, *Cœur de Lion*, ſucceeding his father in the throne of *England*, began his reign with an act, which if not excuſed by ſome provocation now unknown, was enough to make his ſubjects expect from him every thing that was arbitrary and violent. *Stephen de Tours* was a man of low birth, but great talents: and had by his capacity, diligence, and fidelity, recommended himſelf ſo much to *Henry*, that he had made him ſeneſchal of *Anjou* [1]; entruſted him as well with the government of ſeveral caſtles in that province, as with the keeping of his treaſure; and given him a lady of noble birth and great fortune in marriage. *Richard*, as ſoon as his father's funeral was over, ſeized upon this man; loaded him with irons, till he had delivered up, not only the treaſure and forts entruſted to his care, but every penny of his own money: and having thus ſtripped him of forty-five thouſand pounds *Angevin* money (as *Richard* of the *Deviſes* ſays) took away his wife from him, cauſed them to be divorced on account of his being an unſuitable match for her, through the ignobility of his deſcent; and declaring that he would, by his own authority, in a legal way, annul all ſuch unequal marriages. It may perhaps, after this treatment, appear ſtrange, that he continued *Stephen* in his poſt, and employed him afterwards in managing the revenue of *Anjou*: but it is not the onely inſtance of the inequality of this prince's behaviour. There [2] was more good ſenſe and judgment in his general conduct towards thoſe who had ſerved his father in his councils, or in civil and military employments: he had ſufficient opportunities of knowing the integrity or infidelity of each; and continued all in their poſts that had been faithful to their late maſter; diſcarding the

Richard's coronation, and firſt acts of government.

[1] *Benedict.* p. 547, 548. *Hoveden.* *Brompton*, col. 1254, 1154. [2] See *Benedict.* p. 554, 567, 568.

reſt,

reſt, who deſerting *Henry's* ſervice, had adhered to him in his rebellion. Theſe laſt, whether eccleſiaſticks or lay-men, he turned out of his court, and hated for ever after; not thinking them likely to be more faithful to himſelf, than they had been to his father: and when *Guy de la Val* the younger, *Ralf de Fougeres*, and *Judael de Mayenne*, demanded to be reſtored to their lands and caſtles (which being forfeited in former rebellions had been ſeized by *Henry)* in recompence of their ſervices to him in his laſt revolt, he did indeed put them in poſſeſſion thereof, according to his convention with them; but turned them out again the next day, ſaying, that ſuch as deſerted their lords, and aſſiſted others againſt them, deſerved only to be rewarded in that manner. RICHARD I. *A. D.* 1189.

THE king having ſettled the affairs of *Guienne* and *Anjou* to his mind [1], went into *Normandie:* and meeting the archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *Roüen* at *Seez*, was abſolved by them of his crime of taking up armes againſt his father, after he had engaged in the *Croiſade* [2]. On *Thurſday*, *July* 20, he was inveſted at *Roüen*, with the ducal ſword and banner of *Normandie:* and then received the homage and fealties of all the nobility of the province, gracing the ſolemnity with ſome acts of favour. Thus he gave his niece *Maude* to *Geffrey*, ſon of *Rotrou*, count of *Perche*; to his favourite *William Mareſchal*, the daughter of *Richard Strongbow* in marriage, with the honour of *Strigull*; and to *Gilbert*, ſon [3] of *Roger Fitz Rainfroy*, the late king's ſteward of the houſhold, *Heloiſe*, daughter and heir of *William de Lancaſter*, baron of *Kendal*. He confirmed to his brother *John* the four thouſand marks a year in *England*, and the county of *Mortain* in *Normandie*, which had been granted him by his father; beſides the honour of *Glouceſter*, which he was to enjoy with the late earl's daughter: and gave the royal aſſent to his [4] natural brother *Geffrey's* election to the ſee of *York*; though he ſoon after diſturbed him in the enjoyment of its temporalties, and ſeized the caſtles of *Baugé* and *Langeais*, which *Henry* had given him in the territories of *Touraine* and *Anjou*, till he had ſqueezed from *Geffrey* two thouſand pounds for reſtoring him to his rights and poſſeſſions. *Richard* had [5], on the *Saturday* following, a conference between *Chaumont* and *Trie*, with the king of *France*; who reſtoring the places he had taken in the late war, demanded of him *Giſors:* but on the former's promiſing to add four thouſand marks to the twenty thouſand, which his father had agreed to pay for the expences of the war, he thought fit to wave the demand. Thus having provided for his foreign affairs, the king ſet out for *England:* and landed on *Sunday*, *Auguſt* 13, at *Portſmouth*.

QUEEN *Eleanor* his mother [6], whoſe jointure he increaſed with thoſe of king *Henry* the firſt and *Stephen's* queens, had hitherto exerciſed under him, the government of this kingdom: and had been empowered to publiſh an act of grace; remitting all fines for tranſgreſſions of the foreſt, and ſetting all criminals and priſoners at liberty, except ſuch, as owning their guilt, had accuſed their accomplices; who were either to abjure the realm, or be continued in priſon. This was a ſtep, which carrying with it an air of clemency, might perhaps be proper to ingratiate a new prince with his people: but it gave with all (in [7] *Neubrigenſis's* opinion) too much encouragement to offenders to repeat their crimes, in hopes of the like impunity. *Robert* earl of *Leiceſter* had been pardoned and reſtored by *Henry* to all his eſtate, except the caſtles of *Montſorel* and *Pacey*; *Richard* now put him in poſſeſſion of theſe: and others, whoſe lands had been forfeited, had the benefit of a like reſtitution. *Avice*, daughter and [8] heir of *Ralf de Deols*, being left a widow by the death of her firſt huſband *Baldwin de Redvers*, the fourth earl of *Devon*, the king gave her in marriage to *Andrew de Chavigny*, with the caſtle and honour of *Chateauroux* in *Berry*. If the jealouſy which he had expreſſed lately of his brother *John* was ever real, or any

[1] *Diceto*, col. 646. [2] *M. Paris.* [3] *Benedict.* p. 549. [4] *Anglia Sacr.* ii. 384, 386. [5] *Hoveden.* [6] *Benedict.* p. 577. *ib.* p. 550. *Hoveden.* [7] L. iv. c. 1. [8] *Benedict.* p. 553, 555. *Hoveden.*

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thing more than a mere pretence, it ſeems now to be entirely removed; ſince he increaſed his appanage by grants of the eſtate of *William Peverel*, and the caſtles of *Marlborough*, *Lutgerſhal*, the *Pec*, *Bolſover*, *Lancaſter*, *Nottingham*, *Tikehill* and *Wallingford*, with the foreſts and honours annexed to thoſe caſtles. To theſe *Hoveden* and others, add the earldoms of *Cornwall*, *Devon*, *Dorſet*, *Somerſet*, *Notingham*, *Derby*, and *Lancaſhire*: [1] And *John* (notwithſtanding archbiſhop *Baldwin's* prohibition on account of their conſanguinity) marrying on *Auguſt* 29, at *Marlborough*, the heireſs of the late earl of *Glouceſter*, became by means of all theſe honours, maſter of a conſiderable part of the realm, at a time when the king was leaving it, to go on a long, dangerous, and remote expedition. The queen mother had, before *Richard's* coming over, cauſed all the freemen throughout all *England* to take an oath of fealty to him: the prelates and nobility did the ſame ſoon after at his coronation; which was ſolemnized on *Sept.* 3, at *Weſtminſter*. [2] *Ralf de Diceto*, dean of *St. Pauls*, officiated at this ceremony in the biſhop of *London's* ſtead, the ſee being vacant: it appears from him, that the oath taken by *Richard* was couched in the very ſame terms, with that taken on the like occaſions, by all his predeceſſors, from the time of *William the Conqueror*, and with the promiſe made by our *Saxon* monarchs before the Conqueſt.

WHEN divine ſervice was over, and the king was at dinner in *Weſtminſter Hall*, there happened an accident that proved very fatal to the *Jews* of *London*, and to abundance of that ſect in different parts of the kingdom. They had lived without diſturbance during the ſteady and quiet reign of the late king: and being deſirous to curry favour with the new, by making him a conſiderable preſent, ſeveral of the chief and wealthieſt among them, had come from the cities, where they uſually dwelt, to *London*, in order to agree upon the ſum which it was proper to offer. They were in all ages odious to the people of *England*; but more particularly ſo at a time, when their zeal for *Chriſtianity* was worked up to the higeſt degree by the ſermons of preachers, that diſplayed all their oratory to paint the miſeries of their fellow *Chriſtians* in the *Holy Land*, and exalt the merit of *Croiſades*. [3] Whether *Richard* hated them, or was apprehenſive that their appearance at his coronation, might occaſion a tumult, or had only a view to prevent the inconveniencies of a crowd (which laſt ſeems to be the reaſon why women were included in the prohibition) he had iſſued a proclamation the day before, that no *Jew* ſhould be ſuffered to come into the church, at the time of the coronation ſervice, or to enter the palace whilſt he was at dinner. This reſtraint rendering their curioſity more eager, ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable *Jews*, whoſe wealth and dealings made them moſt known, mixed with the crowd of people gathered about the gates of the palace: and one of them attempting to thruſt into the palace, was ſhoved away, or ſtruck with the palm of his hand, by a *Chriſtian*, that knew him, and checked his inſolence in daring to break the king's proclamation. This ſerved for a ſignal to others, who immediately inſulting the *Jews* with bitter reproaches, a tumult enſued: and the mob crowding from all parts, proceeded from ill language to blows, and from ſtriking them with the fiſt, to attacking them with clubs and ſtones; imagining that every thing muſt be agreeable to the king, that ſeemed to anſwer the intent of the proclamation. The *Jews*, taking to their heels, were ſome of them trodden under foot in their flight, and others beaten to death: and this treatment giving occaſion to a rumor, which ſpread in a moment over *London*, that the king had ordered all the *Jews* to be exterminated, the mob of the city got together, and an infinite number of others (who had been

[1] *Neubr.* l. iv. c. 3. *Benedict.* p. 577. [2] Col. 647. *Benedict.* p. 558. *Hoveden. Chron. Dunſtaple.*
[3] *Benedict. p.* 560. *Neubrig.* l. iv. c. 1.

drawn thither out of the country by the ſolemnity of the coronation) with armes in their hand, eager for the plunder, and breathing the deſtruction, of that people. The *Jewiſh* citizens ſhut themſelves up in their houſes, and were there attacked by the enraged populace, till night came on; when the mob finding their efforts to break into ſtrong houſes, built of ſtone, fruitleſs, ſet fire to them at the top, and the flames ſpreading to the buildings of *Chriſtians*, that lay contiguous to the others, the city was ſet on fire in ſeveral places: and the *Jews* were either burnt within their houſes, or attempting to come out, periſhed by the ſwords of the multitude. The king hearing of this diſturbance, ſent *Ralf de Glanville*, the chief juſticiary, and other noblemen to ſtop the fury of the mob, and prevent further miſchief: but all their endeavours were in vain; and being forced to retire for the ſafety of their own lives, the rabble continued plundering *Chriſtians* as well as *Jews*, till they quarrelled about dividing the ſpoil, and morning coming on, mere wearineſs, or the neceſſity of ſecuring their booty, made them at laſt diſperſe. Such a ſedition and inſult upon majeſty, in the beginning of a reign, merited a ſevere correction: and yet ſome or other of all the beſt families in the city, being concerned in it, there ſeemed to be as much danger in making an inquiſition into all the offenders, as there could be miſchief in letting them eſcape with impunity. *Richard* taking a middle way [1], cauſed ſeveral of the ring-leaders, and the moſt notorious of the malefactors to be apprehended the next day: and theſe being hanged for a terror to others, he iſſued a proclamation forbidding the like tumults, and taking the *Jews* under his protection. RICHARD I. *A. D.* 1189.

THIS proved for ſome time their ſecurity, but ſoon after the king went abroad, they were attacked and murdered in the ſame manner [2] at *Lynne*, *Stamford*, and *York:* in the laſt of which places five hundred of them periſhed; the greateſt part of their own act, burning themſelves in the caſtle, where they had retired for ſafety, and from whence they very imprudently kept out the governor and high ſheriff; the reſt, who ſued for mercy, and were promiſed it, falling by the ſwords of the ſeditious. There was more of avarice, than of a falſe inhumane zeal for *Chriſtianity*, in theſe attempts. Many of the gentry of the province, greatly indebted to the *Jews* were concerned in that of *York:* and when the maſſacre was over, went to the cathedral where their bonds were lodged; took them away from the officers who had the cuſtody thereof, and burnt them in the middle of the church, with great ſolemnity. This laſt act was in fraud of the king's revenue, to whom by law belonged all the perſonal eſtates of uſurers, deceaſed: and *Richard* incenſed, as well at this embezzlement of his dues, as at the inſult on his authority by ſo flagrant a breach of his late orders, for the ſecurity of the *Jews*, ordered the biſhop of *Ely*, his chief juſticiary at that time, to puniſh the guilty in an exemplary manner. This prelate coming accordingly into *Yorkſhire* to execute his orders, found the principal actors in the tragedy fled into *Scotland:* and the citizens of *York* excuſing themſelves, as neither concerned in the maſſacre, nor able to ſtop the fury of the mob ſet on by others, he contented himſelf with turning out the high ſheriff and the governor of the caſtle; and only levying fines upon ſeveral according to their abilities, put no body to death upon this occaſion.

LII. THE king ſoon after his coronation went to the abbey of *Pipewell* in *Northamptonſhire* [3]; where in an aſſembly of his prelates and nobility on *Sept.* 16, the ſees of *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Sarum*, and *Ely* were filled with *Godfrey de Lucy* archdeacon of *York*, *Richard Nigel* archdeacon of *Ely*, *Hubert Walter* dean of *York*, His preparations for an expedition to the *Holy Land*.

[1] *M. Paris. Benedict.* p. 561. [2] *Neubrig.* l. iv. c. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. [3] *Benedict.* p. 585.
[4] *Diceto*, col. 648. *Benedict.* p. 562, 564. *Hoveden.*

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and *William Longchamp* a *Frenchman*, of a mean family in *Picardie*. *Richard's* thoughts were now entirely taken up with an expedition to the *Holy Land*, and the raiſing of money to defray its charges. He had upon *Geffrey Ridel* the late biſhop of *Ely's* dying inteſtate on *Aug.* 20, ſeized all his effects, amounting to three thouſand marks of ſilver and two hundred of gold, beſides plate and jewels: but this had ſcarce ſerved to pay the expence of his coronation. He had found in his father's treaſury [1] at *Wincheſter* vaſt ſums, which in weight and tale much exceeded an hundred thouſand marks. *Benedict* and *John* abbots of *Peterborough*, and *M. Paris* ſay, that they amounted to nine hundred thouſand pounds in gold and ſilver, beſides precious ſtones, jewels, and rich utenſils: but he did not think all this ſufficient to ſupport the number of forces and the naval armament he deſigned to employ in the *Croiſade*. [2] *Hugh* biſhop of *Durham* had engaged in it; and on that pretext had extorted large ſums of money from his vaſſals: but when he had amaſſed eleven thouſand pound for the voyage, he got abſolved from his vow, and employed the money to purchaſe of the king the earldom of *Northumberland* for his life, and the honour of *Sadberg* to himſelf and his ſucceſſors in that ſee for ever. [3] High ſheriffs of counties and keepers of foreſts had great power in thoſe days; and thoſe poſts were much coveted on that account, though more ſo for being very lucrative: theſe *Richard* ſold for a term of years, and made the like ſale of all other offices and dignities. The barons of *Bedfordſhire* [4] gave him two hundred marks to diſforeſt that part of their county, which *Henry* had afforeſted: and the knights of *Surrey* paid as much for the like favour to the parts of their ſhire, lying between the river *Waie* and *Kent*, and running from the ſtreet to *Geldedon*, as far ſouth as that county extended. [5] The burgeſſes of *Bedford* paid eighty marks for the fee-farm of their town and the privileges of their charter: and in this manner were liberties, charters, caſtles, and mannors of the crown granted to all that had a mind to ſuch purchaſes. [6] Thus the abbot of *St. Edmundſbury* bought the mannor of *Mildenhale* for a thouſand marks, as the biſhop of *Wincheſter* did for ſix hundred thoſe of *Menes* and *Weregrave*; every body taking advantage of the king's eagerneſs for ready money, to accommodate themſelves at low rates with convenient and profitable purchaſes. He was ſo bent upon theſe alienations [7] of the rights and demeſnes of the crown; and made them with ſuch a profuſion, that it looked as if he had no thoughts of ever returning again to *England:* and when ſome of his moſt intimate friends remonſtrated againſt theſe proceedings, as leſſening the power of the crown and ruinous to its revenue, he told them that he would ſell *London* itſelf, if he could find a proper purchaſer. *Ralf de Glanville* [8], whoſe poſt of chief juſticiary put him at the head of the exchequer, was probably one of thoſe honeſt miniſters that repreſented to him the ill conſequences of his meaſures: and when he found *Richard* would not hearken to any advice, and that every thing was done in the moſt unthrifty and improper manner, reſigned his poſt, and obtained leave to engage in the expedition to *Jeruſalem*. He was ſucceeded in it by *Hugh* biſhop of *Durham* [9] and *William de Mandeville* earl of *Eſſex* and *Albemarle*; the former whereof gave a thouſand marks for that civil employment, and the latter died ſoon after on *Nov.* 14, in *Normandie*.

By this means the king raiſed more ready money, than any of his predeceſſors were ever known to poſſeſs: and yet he had other ways of bringing it into his coffers, which he did not fail to make uſe of; though they were really a prejudice to the very expedition, that was the principal motive for all his meaſures. [10] He obtained

[1] *Ibid.* p. 553. [2] *Coldingham Hiſt. Dunelm.* c. 8, 9. *Neubrig.* l. iv. c. 5. *Benedict.* p. 568. *Hoveden.* [3] *Rot. Pip.* 2 *Rich.* 1. [4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ibid.* [6] *Hoveden.* [7] *Neubrig. ib.* [8] *Ib.* c. 4. *Benedict.* p. 568. [9] *Diceto*, col. 650. [10] *Hoveden.*

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from Pope *Clement* a bull, impowering him to acquit ſuch as had taken the croſs, and were proper to be left at home for the guard of the kingdom, from their obligation to go to *Jeruſalem*: and having in virtue thereof allowed the biſhop of *Durham* to ſtay, and divert the eleven thouſand pounds he had levied for that expedition, he raiſed immenſe ſums by granting a like indulgence to others. In the midſt of theſe preparations for his voyage, *Rotrou*[1] count of *Perche* came over in *November*, with ſome other noble embaſſadors from the king of *France*, to notify the reſolution of this prince and his barons, who had ſworn in a general council of that realm held at *Paris*, to be all by the cloſe of *Eaſter* at *Vezelay*, and to ſummon *Richard* and his people to be there at the general rendezvous, in order to ſet out together on their *Croiſade*. The king hereupon called a great council of all the prelates, earls, and barons of *England* at *London*: and as *Philip* had declared his reſolution in an inſtrument, to the performance whereof *Rotrou* ſwore in his name, *Richard* drew up the like engagement in writing, and the earl of *Eſſex* ſwore for him, that he would be at the place of rendezvous on the day appointed. He had already made ſome proviſion againſt the inroads of the *Welſh*[2]: who upon the death of the late king had begun to be troubleſome; *Rees ap Griffith* prince of *South-Wales* and his ſon *Maelgon* having taken the caſtles of *Tenby*, *S. Clair Abercorran*, and *Lanſtephan*, built that of *Kydwelly*, and over-run a good part of *Pembroke* and *Caermarthen* ſhires. *Rees* had indeed, under the protection of a ſafe conduct from prince *John*, commonly ſtiled by cotemporary writers count of *Mortain*, come to the king's court at *Oxford*, to make his ſubmiſſion: but *Richard* having refuſed to ſee him, the *Welſh* prince had returned home, full of indignation, and meditating revenge for ſo groſs an affront. [3] To repreſs his attempts, *John* was directed to march into *Wales* with an army: and a ſcutage, at the rate of ten ſhillings a knight's fee, was levied throughout *England*, to defray the charges of the expedition.

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THERE was ſtill another affair to be ſettled, before the king went abroad. The monks of *Chriſt-church* in *Canterbury* ſerved for a chapter to that ſee, and[4] had always been very troubleſome, as well to the crown in the elections of archbiſhops, as to theſe prelates; who as ſuch were both their metropolitans and abbots. To humble then, and prevent any ill efforts from their refractorineſs, the late king and archbiſhop *Baldwin* had formed a ſcheme for leſſening their power, by founding a ſociety of ſecular canons, and erecting a college for them upon *St. Stephen's* churchyard at *Hakington*, about half a mile from *Canterbury*. It was to conſiſt of twenty canonries; one of theſe to be founded by the king, and the reſt by each of the ſuffragans of the province; the vacancies, which ſhould happen from time to time, being to be filled up by the reſpective founders; and the archbiſhop to be at the charge of building the church and college. The ſecret deſign of this project, was to draw the election of an archbiſhop, from the monks of *Chriſt-church*, to this new ſociety; the canons whereof being likely to be influenced by their patrons, the election of a primate would by that means be reſtored effectually to the ſuffragan biſhops of the province, to whom in the primitive ages of the goſpel it originally belonged. To put a better colour on the matter, the foundation was ſaid to be in honour of *Becket*: and the king's paying the penſion of a canonry, was repreſented as a perpetual pennance on the crown for that prelate's murder. The Pope, caught by theſe appearances, had impowered *Baldwin* to purſue a magnificent plan he had formed for the building, which was begun and carried on with great application: and ſeveral eſtates were actually ſettled for the maintenance of the canons, before the monks diſcovered the real deſign. When they ſaw the danger they were in of loſing that

[1] *Hoveden. Benedict.* p. 570. [2] *Ib.* p. 575. *Powel's Hiſt. of Wales*, p. 241, 242. [3] *Rot. Pip.* 2 *Rich.* 1. [4] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1481, *& ſeq.* 1494. 1518. 1548. 1552, *& ſeq.*

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part of their power which rendered them moſt conſiderable, they made heavy complaints to the court of *Rome* of the injury deſigned them, and the archbiſhop's turning out their prior, and putting in a new one by his own authority: as his predeceſſor *Theobald* had done, when he depoſed the priors *Jeremy* and *Walter*; an authority, which the monks had, in a manner, confeſſed, by dropping their appeal in thoſe inſtances. The Pope eſpouſing their cauſe, and ſending a legate to take cognizance of the matter, and determine the diſpute, the king thought it proper to prevent ſuch an exerciſe of the papal authority in his dominions: and laboured to get the monks to refer the controverſy to his deciſion. This was obtained not without difficulty: and *Richard*[1] coming, on *November* 27, to *Canterbury*, with a vaſt number of his prelates and nobility, made, by their advice, an award two days afterwards; by which the new foundation was to be demoliſhed, and *Roger le Norreis*, whom *Baldwin* had appointed prior, was to be removed, but in all other points, the monks were to ſubmit to the archbiſhop, who put in another prior. *Roger* was immediately made abbot of *Eveſham:* but the noble deſign of the college was defeated; for though *Baldwin* propoſed ſtill to carry it on at *Lambeth*, and had, with that view, given the church of *Rocheſter*, the manor of *Dertford* in exchange for it, and removed the materials thither from *Hakinton*, he died before the work was finiſhed; and the project was entirely diſappointed.

The cardinal of *Anagni*, the Pope's legate *a latere*, had been ſtopped near a fortnight at *Dover*, by orders from[2] the king not to proceed further without his leave: but when this tranſaction was over, he was ſent for to *Canterbury*, and honourably received; though not allowed to exerciſe any part of his legatine powers, except in releaſing the interdict which archbiſhop *Baldwin* had on prince *John's* marriage laid on his lands; for it was without *Richard's* leave, that he confirmed *Geffrey* archbiſhop of *York's* election. Whilſt the king was in that city, *William* king of *Scotland*[3], eſcorted from the *Twede* by archbiſhop *Geffrey*, the high ſheriff and barons of *Yorkſhire*, came thither with his brother *David* earl of *Huntingdon*, to make an agreement with *Richard*, in the height of his fury for ſetting out on the expedition to the *Holy Land*, and for amaſſing money at any rate, in order to make it with all poſſible magnificence. A ſum of ten thouſand marks[4] ſterling prevailed with the king to reſtore the caſtles of *Berwick* and *Roxburgh*; to releaſe *William* of all the engagements he had entered into with the late king, when he was freed from his captivity; to deliver up the inſtruments containing the profeſſions of allegiance made by the barons of *Scotland*; and to receive *William's* homage on the ſame footing, it had been made by his predeceſſor *Malcolm*. This agreement, ſo advantageous to the king of *Scotland*, and ſo flattering to his ſubjects notions of the independency of their country, was ſigned by *Richard* on *December* 5: and he had nothing more to do in *England*, but to provide for the adminiſtration of the re[illegible] during his abſence; in which he ſeems to have acted as much of his own head, as he did in other affairs[5]. It was againſt the ſenſe of all his nobility, that he left *William Longchamp* biſhop of *Ely* (a man of low original, and in a manner unknown; ſprung from a peaſant of the *Beauvoiſis*, that had quitted *France* for treaſon, whom he had made chancellor and chief juſticiary) guardian of the kingdom[6]; joining the biſhop of *Durham* with him in the poſt of juſticiary, to act in the counties north of the *Humber*; giving to the former the cuſtody of the tower of *London*; to the latter, that of the caſtle and foreſt of *Windſor:* and appointing *Hugh Bardolf*, *William Mareſchal*, *Geffrey Fitz Piers*, and *William Briwere* to be their aſſiſtants and councellors in the exerciſe of the government. The king having thus ſettled matters, more to his own mind, than agreeably to the ſenſe of his coun-

[1] *Hoveden.* [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Benedict.* p. 575, 576. [4] *Ib.* p. 181. *Rymer* i. 64. [5] *Dicето*, col. 650. *Neubrig.* l. iv. c. 5. [6] *Hoveden.*

cil, or for the good of the nation; and taken the legate with him [1], ſet ſail from *Dover* on *Monday*, *December* 11: and landing the ſame day near *Gravelines*, was there met by the count and nobility of *Flanders*, who attended him into *Normandie*. RICHARD I. *A. D.* 1190.

It was an artifice, too mean for a king to practiſe, which *Richard* made uſe of, when he was got into that country, to extort money from thoſe, to whom he had made grants of eſtates, liberties, and offices in *England*. He had left, with the biſhop of *Ely*, one of his ſeals, to be affixed to ſuch mandates as were neceſſary to be iſſued in the courſe of the government [2]: and had carried the great ſeal with him abroad. This he pretended to have loſt: and having, in a method uſual on ſuch occaſions, cauſed it to be proclaimed through the kingdom, that no credit ſhould be given to inſtruments ſealed with it, ordered every body that had received grants from him to bring them in, that they might be ſealed with the new ſeal, which he had got made, and be thereby rendered authentick. He muſt doubtleſs have paſſed a vaſt number of grants, to make it worth while to ſtoop to a trick ſo much below his dignity, and which nothing but a mean, griping, avaritious temper, or the extremeſt neceſſity for money, could ſuggeſt: it ſerved however to raiſe a large ſum of money; many that had received very beneficial grants, not thinking themſelves ſafe without coming over to *Normandie*, to procure a confirmation thereof, and paying new fines, ſuch as he thought fit to demand on that occaſion. Nor [3] was this the onely way he contrived for making the *Engliſh* contribute more than the heavy tenth laid upon them on account of the *Croiſade*; for having got the Pope to make the biſhop of *Ely* legate of all *England*, *Wales*, and the parts of *Ireland* ſubject to prince *John*, this prelate, ſupported by the papal, as well as the royal authority, forced every abbey, and every manor of the crown, to furniſh a palfrey and ſumpter horſe, and every city in the kingdom, double the number, for the expedition.

LIV. It was high time for the kings of *France* and *England* to adjuſt every thing neceſſary for it, to prevent any diſpute when they met at the rendezvous; which had been appointed at the latter end of *March*, but was afterwards, by the ſickneſs and death of the queen of *France*, deferred till *Midſummer*. They [4] had for this purpoſe a conference, about a week after *Chriſtmas* holidays, at *Gué S. Remi*, attended by the prelates, earls, and barons of both kingdoms; where they all ſwore mutually to maintain peace, and defend each other's territories: and if either of the princes died in the voyage, the other was to have his men and money to carry on the ſervice. *Richard* ſoon after ſent for his mother *Eleanor*, *Adelais* of *France* ſiſter to king *Philip*, his brother *John*, the two archbiſhops, and other *Engliſh* biſhops, to come over into *Normandie*; and made *John* and his natural brother *Geffrey* archbiſhop of *York*, ſwear, that they would not ſet foot in *England* for three years; by the end of which term he propoſed to return from the *Croiſade*: but he ſoon, at his mother's inſtances, releaſed the former of that obligation, and not long after gave the latter a licenſe to return thither [5]. He had ſent officers to all the ports in his dominions, to make choice of ſhips of the greateſt burden; and had equipped a large fleet, well manned, victualled, and ſupplied with all neceſſaries for the expedition: and he now gave orders for its ſailing, in order to meet him and his land forces at *Marſeilles* [6]. On this occaſion, he took the advice of his prelates and nobility in making ſeveral ordinances for preventing quarrels and bloodſhed on board the fleet: and appointed five juſticiaries to put them in execution, and make ſuch other regulations, as ſhould become neceſſary. The time of the rendezvous drawing near, the king [7] received the ſcrip and ſtaff, the uſual badges of pilgrims, from the archbiſhop of *Tours*: and marching to *Veze-* His voyage to the *Holy Land*.

[1] *Ib. Benedict.* p. 579. [2] *Ibid.* p. 579, 580. *M. Paris.* [3] *Benedict.* p. 585. [4] *Ib.* p. 583. [5] *Hoveden.* [6] *Ib. Benedict.* p. 589. [7] *Hoveden. Vineſauf.* l. ii. c. 9.

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lay, ſet out from thence, after two days ſtay, on *July* 1, for *Lion*; where, their troops, computed at an hundred thouſand men, being too numerous to march together without great inconvenience, the two kings parted; *Philip* going ſtraight to *Genoa*, and *Richard* to *Marſeille*. In this place the king of *England* found a great [1] numbers of pilgrims; who having waited long for a paſſage to the *Holy Land*, and ſpent all their money, offered him their ſervice. He accordingly retained many of them: and having in vain waited a week with great impatience for his fleet, hired three large buſſes, with twenty well-armed galleys, to carry his houſhold; and going on board *Auguſt* 7, coaſted along *Italy* in his way to *Sicily*. *Baldwin* [2] archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Ralf de Granville*, *Hubert* and *John* biſhops of *Sarum* and *Norwich*, had attended him to *Marſeille*: and the laſt of theſe, going on to *Rome*, got the *Pope* to abſolve him from his engagement; and returning home, paid the king a thouſand marks to be excuſed from the voyage. The three others ſtaid behind, till they found an opportunity of ſailing directly to the *Holy Land*; where the two firſt died ſoon after at the ſiege of *Acon*. The fleet came to *Marſeille* on *Auguſt* 22: and after a week's ſtay for repairing ſome damages ſuſtained by bad weather, proceeded to *Meſſina*; where it arrived on *September* 14: and two days after the king of *France* put into the ſame harbour, and was lodged within the town in king *Tancred's* palace. The king of *England* had ſtaid at *Salerno*, till he heard his fleet had paſſed by the coaſt: but upon that advice, ſailing from thence, he arrived at *Meſſina* on the twenty-third of the ſame month, and took up his quarters in the ſuburbs; the inhabitants of the place thinking themſelves ſufficiently crouded by the *French* troops, who had been received into the city [3]. As *Richard* propoſed to paſs the winter there, and his ſiſter *Jane*, relict of the late king of *Sicily*, came thither to ſtay with him, he thought it neceſſary, for his own ſecurity, to ſeize two ſtrong caſtles lying on the *Far*; aſſigning one for the accommodation of his ſiſter and her retinue, and erecting magazines in the other for the ſuſtenance of his forces [4]. This ſtep gave the citizens of *Meſſina* a jealouſy, as if he intended to make himſelf maſter of the iſland: and on *October* 3, they took a ſlight occaſion to quarrel with the *Engliſh*; drove out ſuch as were in the town; ſhut up their gates; and lined the walls with armed men; which the *Engliſh* attempting to force, were with difficulty called off by the king from the aſſault. The next day the king of *France*, with ſeveral of his prelates and nobles, and others of *Sicily*, met at *Richard's* lodgings to make up the quarrel: but whilſt they were conſulting on the ſubject, a [5] great multitude of the citizens ſallying out of the town, with intentions of ſurprizing him, killed ſeveral of his men and horſes, and attacked *Hugh le Brun's* quarters. The king of *England*, enraged at this inſult, armed immediately: and putting himſelf at the head of his troops, repulſed the citizens: and following them to the gates, attacked the city (into which *Philip* had retired without any moleſtation) with ſuch reſolution, that he entered it in deſpight of all the oppoſition made by the *French*, as well as by the inhabitants, and planted the ſtandard of *England* on the bulwarks. [6] This the king of *France* reſented as an high affront and indignity; though his own conduct more juſtly merited cenſure; he having aſſiſted in the defence of the place, and ſlain with [7] his own hand three of the aſſailants, by means of a croſs-bow.

The two kings had hitherto agreed very well together: but though *Richard* acted with great modeſty and decorum on this occaſion [8]; quitting the city after he had taken it; leaving the king of *France's* quarters free; and encamping his own forces within a fortification, which he erected without the walls, *Philip* conceived,

[1] *Benedict.* p. 590. [2] *Ib.* 593, 603. [3] *Neubr.* l. iv. c. 12. [4] *Benedict.* p. 606, & ſeq. [5] *Diceto*, col. 656. [6] *Vineſauf.* l. ii. c. 16. [7] *Rymer*, i. 99. [8] *Neubrig. Ib. Benedict.* p. 609, & ſeq. 621.

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from this time, a rancour againſt him, that was implacable. It did not however break out immediately: and they ſtill agreed in making certain ordinances to be obſerved by both their troops; to prevent exceſſive gaming, clipping of money, and dearneſs of proviſions; to provide for the wholeſomeneſs of victuals; to regulate the markets, and moderate the gain of merchants. *Richard* [1] likewiſe, conſidering the diſaſters attending voyages at ſea, and moved with compaſſion to the ſufferers, paſſed at this time a charter, giving up throughout *England*, as well as his other dominions, the right which the crown had to all wrecked goods, the owner whereof was known; provided he was living, or left either ſons or daughters, brothers or ſiſters. He put himſelf, about this time [2], into a courſe of penance for his ſins: and it was probably, in this fit of devotion, that he granted to the church of *Normandie* the liberties mentioned by *M. Paris* and *Ralf de Diceto*; by which the clergy were exempted from impriſonment by the ſecular power, except for murder, theft, burning, or ſuch enormous crimes; and in theſe caſes they were to be delivered to their ordinary upon demand, in order to be tried in the eccleſiaſtical court; to which was likewiſe appropriated the cognizance of all ſuits about breaches of faith or oath, eleemoſynary poſſeſſions, dower, and marriage ſettlements, ſo far as they related to perſonal eſtates. The effects of inteſtates were to be diſtributed by the eccleſiaſtical authority, as well as eſtates diſpoſed of by will, without the ſubſtraction of a tenth as formerly: and the goods of the clergy, though reputed uſurers, and dying inteſtate, or in any other manner, were to be diſtributed by the biſhop in works of charity. The gifts and benefactions of lay-men, deemed uſurers, if made in their life-time, were not to be revoked after their deceaſe; though the goods of which they died poſſeſſed, were ſtill forfeited to the crown as uſual. Such were the contents of this charter, which provided further, that all conventual ſocieties in *Normandie* ſhould have the choice of their reſpective ſuperiors, with the aſſent of the biſhop of the dioceſe.

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HIS [3] quarrel with the *Meſſineſe*, who had been plundered on the town's being taken, was not yet made up, though the prelates of *Sicily* uſed their endeavours to accommodate it, as well as ſome diſputes he had with the king of the iſland; to whom they proved very inconvenient; an hundred thouſand pagan ſlaves having ſeized the opportunity to quit their maſters; and retire to the mountains, whence they made incurſions all over the plain country. [4] *Roger* II, king of *Sicily*, leaving two ſons, and a daughter named *Conſtance*, was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon *Roger*, in the dutchy of *Puglia*, and his other dominions in *Italy*; and by his younger ſon *William* in the kingdom of *Sicily*. This *William* had only one child, *William* II, kingof *Sicily*; who married *Jane*, king *Richard's* ſiſter: and dying the year before in *November* without iſſue, bequeathed to the late king *Henry* a golden table, with a vaſt quantity of gold and ſilver plate, beſides an hundred galleys with all their equipage, and provided with all neceſſaries and proviſions for two years, to ſerve him in the *Croiſade* he had undertaken. He had before declared his aunt *Conſtance* to be his heir in the crown of *Sicily*; had married her with that expectation to *Henry*, ſon of the late emperor *Frederic*; and had made all the *Sicilian* nobility ſwear to maintain her ſucceſſion: but before ſhe could come to take poſſeſſion of the throne, *Tancred*, an illegitimate ſon of the laſt named *Roger*, by a daughter of *Robert* count of *Lecce*, had been invited by the *Sicilians*, and was acknowledged king of the country. His right to the crown was diſputed by a very potent adverſary, *Henry* VI, now emperor of *Germany*, and huſband to *Conſtance*: he had no occaſion to draw upon himſelf more enemies [5], and was very glad to come, on *November* 11, to an accommodation with the king of *England*, obliging himſelf to pay *Richard*, as heir

[1] *Benedict.* p. 622. *Chron. Dunſtaple.* [2] *Ib.* p. 629, 630. *Diceto*, col. 657. [3] *Vineſauf.* l ii. c. 19, 20. [4] *Benedict.* p. 580, 688. [5] *Ib.* p. 612, 613, 618, & ſeq. *Rymer*, i. 69.

to

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to his father, twenty thouſand ounces of gold in lieu of the late king's legacies, and as much to his ſiſter *Jane* in ſatisfaction of her dower. He agreed likewiſe to give one of his daughters in marriage to *Arthur* duke of *Bretagne* [1], nephew to *Richard* (who, on this occaſion, if he died without iſſue, declared that young prince his heir and ſucceſſor in all his dominions) as ſoon as they came to be of a proper age: and paid down the ſame ſum of twenty thouſand ounces of gold for her fortune; which however was to be paid back, in caſe the marriage did not take effect. This treaty of peace was confirmed by the oaths of the chief prelates and nobility, as well of *Richard's* as *Tancred's* dominions, who ſwore as proxies in the name, and on *the ſouls*, of their reſpective princes, that they ſhould obſerve the articles thereof; it not being cuſtomary in that age [2] for king's to take any corporal oath, except at their coronation, and in the caſe of *Croiſades*.

Messina was a very populous city, having, on a general computation, within its walls at leaſt fifty thouſand inhabitants, faithleſs, cruel, being a mongrel race of *Greeks*, *Lombards*, and *Saracens*, termed generally, by the hiſtorians of the age [3], *Griffons*. To guard againſt their treachery, *Richard*, who had reſtored all the plunder of the place, when he drew his forces thence, pulled down the gates; obliged the citizens to deliver hoſtages for their peaceable behaviour: and on an high mountain that overlooked the town, and commanded the poſtern at which his troops had forced their entrance, he built a ſtrong caſtle, which he called *Mategriffon*. In this caſtle he kept *Chriſtmas day* in a moſt ſplendid manner, having *Hugh* duke of *Burgundy* [4], and moſt of the *French* nobility with him at dinner; when a fray happening between his ſeamen and thoſe of ſome *Piſan* and *Genoeſe* ſhips, he was obliged to riſe from table, and run with his company armed to put a ſtop to the tumult. It was renewed the next day upon a *Piſan's* ſtabbing one of the *Engliſh* ſeamen in the time of divine ſervice, at the church of the knights hoſpitallers, and many were ſlain on both ſides: but the kings of *France* and *England*, coming up with their troops, put an end to the combat.

There happened not long after, on *Saturday*, *February* 2, a mock encounter, which hiſtorians [5] take notice of as a ſerious affair, between *Richard* and *William de Barres*, a *French* knight; whom he had, between two and three years before, taken priſoner in a ſkirmiſh near *Mante*, and who after giving his parole, had made his eſcape. The king had been riding out after dinner, with ſome *Engliſh* and *French* knights in company; and in their return towards *Meſſina*, meeting a man coming from thence with an aſs laden with canes, ſuch as the *Moors* uſe for their diverſion, they took ſome of them, and ran at one another, darting them in the *Mooriſh* manner. In this way of joking, *William* tore the king's outward coat; which nettled him ſo, that he ran at the other with ſuch force, that he made him ſtagger, but did not throw him down as he propoſed; and the ſaddle of his own horſe turning round with the ſhock, he was forced to alight. Mounting a freſh horſe, he ran again at *William*; who ſaving himſelf from a fall, by clinging to his horſe's neck, *Robert Fitz Parnel* of *Leiceſter* attempted to ſeize and diſmount him: but *Richard* forbidding him, ordered *de Barres* to be gone, and never appear more in his preſence. *William* was reckoned one of the beſt knights of *France*; and his maſter, with all the *French* prelates and noblemen, interceded in his behalf: but *Richard*, not forgetting his former conduct, which the laws of the *Croiſade* hindered him from revenging, and incenſed at this new provocation, was not eaſily perſuaded to drop his reſentment. He did however at laſt conſent to his ſtay, and proceeding with the reſt of the pilgrims in their expedition [6]; during which he promiſed

[1] *Diceto*, col. 657. [2] See the letter of *William* II, king of *Sicily*, in *Rymer*, t. i. p. 42. [3] *Vineſauf.* l. ii. c. 21. [4] *Benedict.* p. 633. [5] *Hoveden*, p. 645, 687. *Benedict.* p. 516, 638. [6] *Vineſauf.* l. iv. c. 10.

to do nothing to his detriment: and *William* diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much by his valour in the *Holy Land*, that he entirely recovered the king of *England's* favour. RICHARD I. A. D. 1190.

THE king of *France* all this while concealed his animoſity with ſo much care, that *Richard* had no ſuſpicion of it[1], and made him a preſent of ſeveral of his *Engliſh* ſhips, as a mark of his friendſhip; diſtributing at the ſame time his treaſures among the *French* knights, as well as his own, with ſuch profuſion, that none of his predeceſſors ever gave away ſo much in a year, as he did in the ſingle month of *February*. *Richard*[2] carried his generoſity ſo far, that he gave that king half of the money he had received in conſequence of his treaty with *Tancred* king of *Sicily*, though he had done every thing he could in a clandeſtine way to obſtruct it; not excepting even what was paid for his ſiſter's dower; which could not poſſibly be deemed any part of thoſe acquiſitions, which were to be equally divided between the two kings, in conſequence of their joint undertaking of the *Croiſade*. Theſe actions, which raiſed the king of *England's* glory, did not leſſen the other's envy: and *Richard*, ſetting out on *Friday* the firſt of *March*, to have a conference with *Tancred* at *Catana*, a place twenty leagues diſtant from *Meſſina*, was there received with the greateſt honours by that prince; and had an opportunity of being informed of *Philip's* malevolence. *Tancred* offered him noble preſents of gold and ſilver plate, horſes, and apparel: but he would receive nothing of that kind, beſides a ſmall ring; in return whereof he gave him a ſword, reputed to be the *Caliburne* of the famous *Arthur*, in teſtimony of their mutual friendſhip. He was leſs ſcrupulous in reſpect of what might be of ſervice in the *Croiſade*; readily accepting four large ſhips called *Wiſſers*, proper for tranſporting horſes, and fifteen gallies: and gained, by the frankneſs of his temper, and the nobleneſs of his carriage, ſo much upon the king of *Sicily*, that in his return, this prince accompanied him two days journey, as far as *Taverne*. When they were to part, *Tancred* took leave of *Richard* with ſtrong profeſſions of eſteem: and gave him a letter, which he had received from the king of *France*, by the duke of *Burgundy*; containing aſſurances, that the king of *England* would not keep faith with him, and intended to deprive him of his crown; as well as offers to aſſiſt him with all his power, to deſtroy *Richard* and his forces, if *Tancred* would fall upon him ſuddenly with his army. *Richard* could ſcarce think it poſſible for *Philip* to act a part ſo full of falſhood and treachery; till he had read the letter, and *Tancred* offered to bring one of his own dukes to atteſt, that the duke of *Burgundy* had delivered him thoſe letters, ſealed with the king of *France's* ſignet. *Richard* knew not how to diſſemble; and after his return to *Meſſina*, eſtranged himſelf ſo much from the king of *France*, that the latter could not help taking notice of it: and enquiring into the reaſon of ſuch an alteration in his behaviour (the count of *Flanders* going between them on this occaſion) *Richard* gave him the abovementioned letter to peruſe; and the count giving the king of *France* an account of the contents, *Philip* was at firſt quite confounded, and continued for a time ſpeechleſs. At laſt recollecting himſelf, he pretended it was a trick of the king of *England's* (the man in the world the moſt incapable of ſuch an artifice) to get rid of his ſiſter *Adelais*, whom he ought to marry: and threatened, that if he left her, and married any body elſe, he would be his enemy as long as he lived. A. D. 1191.

RICHARD'S reſidence in *Guienne* had afforded him many opportunities of knowing[3] the beauty and amiable qualities of *Berengaria*, daughter of *Sanchez*, king of *Navarre*: and he had been in love with her many years, from the time that he firſt entered upon the government of that dutchy. The match propoſed for him with *Adelais* of *France*, was a political affair, grounded on reaſons of ſtate, without any inclinations on *Richard's* part; who was never affianced to her, nor appeared to approve it at any time, but when it ſerved to diſtreſs his father, and to unite himſelf the more cloſely with her brother, in which point they probably

[1] *Benedict.* p. 640, & ſeq. *Hoveden.* *Vineſauf.* l. ii. c. 23. [2] *Ib.* c. 19, 21. [3] *Ib.* l. ii. c. 26.

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underſtood one another. But being, by his father's death, and the poſſeſſion of the throne of *England*, become entire maſter of his own actions, he engaged his mother *Eleanor*, when he ſet out on the *Croiſade*, to go into *Guienne*, and make a treaty for his marriage with *Berengaria*. The young princeſs, being accordingly affianced to him, came from her own country with *Eleanor* over land to *Naples*; having been joined on the road by the count of *Flanders*. [1] *Richard* had ſent, in *February*, ſeveral of his galleys to fetch them thence to *Meſſina:* but as this place was much crouded already, and their train was exceeding numerous, the governors of *Meſſina* remonſtrated againſt their coming to a place, where there was not room to receive them; and the galleys returning only with the count of *Flanders*, the two ladies went to *Brindiſi*. The king of *France* knew all this very well: and in all probability never expected that *Richard* would marry his ſiſter; ſince in the peace which they made immediately after *Henry's* death, there was no notice taken of their marriage, and a demand, inconſiſtent with it, was made of *Giſors*, and its dependencies. A ſum of four thouſand marks put off the demand at that time: but it was now to be ſettled, and all other matters in diſpute between them; to put an end to their mutual animoſity, that they might proceed in their ſacred expedition with an unanimity and friendſhip neceſſary for the good ſucceſs of their enterprize. This accommodation was made on terms ſo favourable to the king of *England*, that it is natural to think, *Philip* had either very little reaſon to complain of his conduct, or was aſhamed of his own, and deſirous to regain his confidence and amity by an unuſual complaiſance on this occaſion.

By the articles of this peace [2], "*Philip*, notwithſtanding the convention for the "marriage of his ſiſter *Adelais* (who was to be ſent back to *France* within a month "after *Richard's* return from the *Holy Land)* freely allowed him to marry what "wife he pleaſed, and quitted to him and his heirs male begotten on her, *Giſors*, "*Neaufle*, *Neufchatel de S. Denis*, and all the *Vexin Normand:* but in caſe *Richard* "died without any ſuch heir male, theſe places were to revert to *Philip*, and his "iſſue male; and in caſe this laſt prince died without ſuch male iſſue, they were "to be reunited, with all their dependencies, to the *domaine* of *Normandie*. If the "king of *England* had two or more heirs male, the elder was to hold the lands, "belonging to him on the continent, of *Philip in capite*, and another to hold of him "likewiſe one of the three baronies *(viz.) Normandie*, *Anjou*, and *Maine*, or elſe "*Guienne* and *Poitou:* and on theſe accounts *Richard* was to pay *Philip* ten thouſand "marks of ſilver, of the weight of *Troyes*, at four different payments, on the feaſt "of *All-Saints* in the four next enſuing years; three thouſand at each of the two "firſt, and two thouſand at each of the latter, payments. *Richard* quitted to him "the fiefs of *Yſſoudun* and *Graſſay*, with all that he claimed in *Auvergne:* and *Philip* "gave up to *Richard*, *Cahors* with all *Quercy*, except the two royal abbeys of *Figeac* "and *Souillac*; the latter engaging to ſeize no more of the count of *Toulouſe's* terri-"tories, unleſs the count declined ſtanding to juſtice in the king of *France's* court, "in which caſe *Philip* was to give him no aſſiſtance. *William* II, count of *Pon-*"*thieu*, was the principal ſurety and hoſtage given by *Philip* for the performance "of this treaty: and was to put himſelf (as the others alſo were) with all his fiefs "into the hands of *Richard* within three weeks after ſummons, if the king of "*France* failed in any of the articles, and to render him the ſervices ſpecified in a "particular inſtrument, till this convention was duely executed by *Philip*." It is proper to obſerve, that this count, who was preſent at this treaty, and ſwore to obſerve it, afterwards married *Adelais:* and as he could not but know all that paſſed in that tranſaction, it doth not appear to me reaſonable to think, there was any real foundation for the ſcandalous aſperſion thrown upon that young princeſs, by the idle

[1] *Hoveden. Benedict.* p. 640. [2] *Rymer*, i. 68.

conjectures

conjectures or malice of ſome writers on this occaſion; and the [1] rather becauſe *Philip* urged afterwards *Richard's* refuſal to marry her, as an excuſe, to Pope *Celeſtine*, for having invaded *Normandie*, whilſt that prince was in *Paleſtine*. RICHARD I. *A. D.* 1191.

THIS treaty being ſigned in *March* at *Meſſina*, the king of *France* ſailed thence on *Saturday* the thirtieth of that month for the *Holy Land:* and on *Saturday April* 20, arrived with his forces at *Acon*. [2] *Richard* with his principal nobility attended him out of port: but after ſailing ſome time with him, tacked about with his galleys, and going to *Regio*, brought his mother and betrothed wife the ſame day to *Meſſina*. *Eleanor* parted thence four days after on her return to *England*; *Berengaria* ſtaying with his ſiſter, the queen of *Sicily*, to accompany the king in his voyage. He had not yet great veſſels enough ready for the tranſport of his horſes: but all things being at laſt provided, he demoliſhed the fort of *Mategriffon*, and ſailed on *Wedneſday April* 10, from *Meſſina*, with a hundred and fifty great ſhips and fifty-three galleys. On the *Friday* following the fleet was diſperſed by a ſtorm; which obliged the king to put into the iſle of *Crete* (from thence he paſſed to *Rhodes*) and drove three of the great buſſes on the iſle of *Cyprus* near *Limiſſo*; where two of them were ſtranded; *Roger* a clergyman, his vice-chancellor, whoſe corpſe was found with the king's ſeal hanging about his neck, and ſeveral of his knights, being drowned. Such as made a ſhift to get on ſhore, were immediately ſeized, ſtripped of their all, and impriſoned by *Iſaac* the tyrant, ſtyling himſelf emperor of *Cyprus*; who would not ſuffer the third, which had the queen of *Sicily* and *Berengaria* on board, to enter the harbour. *Richard* having advice of their condition, came up with his galleys and the reſt of his fleet to their relief; found them lying at anchor before the port, expoſed to the wind and weather; and ſent in a rage to the emperor to demand his pilgrims and all their effects, which had been ſeized: but receiving an haughty anſwer, landed his men, defeated *Iſaac* in an engagement, and taking the town, brought his fleet into the port of *Limiſſo*. A ſecond defeat of the enemy the next day determined the fate of the iſland; all the caſtles and towns ſurrendered; the emperor himſelf ſubmitted at diſcretion: and *Richard*, on *Sunday May* 12, married *Berengaria*, and had her crowned the ſame day at *Limiſſo*, by *John* biſhop of *Evreux*, aſſiſted by the archbiſhops of *Apamea* and *Auch*, and the biſhop of *Bayonne*. The king being obliged to ſtay ſome time in *Cyprus*, to ſettle his new conqueſt, and receive the homage of the nobility, ſent the two queens, and the emperor's daughter and heir, before him, with the beſt part of his fleet and forces, to the ſiege of *Acon*; where they arrived on *June* 1, the day on which *Philip* count of *Flanders* died. The reduction of that rich iſland was a very important acquiſition for the ſervice of the *Chriſtians* employed in the ſiege, who might eaſily be thence ſupplied with proviſions; from the want whereof they had ſuffered grievouſly, whilſt it was in the hands of the late emperor. The inhabitants of *Cyprus* had been horribly oppreſſed by that tyrant: and glad to be rid of him at any rate, gave a moiety of their goods to their deliverer *Richard*; who having confirmed their laws, cuſtoms, and privileges, and left *Richard de Camville* and *Robert de Turnham* governors of the iſland, ſailed thence for *Paleſtine*. He met in his route a prodigious large buſs, fitted out by *Saladine* at *Barut*, and manned with ſeven admirals, and fifteen hundred of the choiceſt of his troops, going with proviſions and ammunition to the ſuccour of the garriſon of *Acon:* and having deſtroyed it, appeared on *Saturday June* 8, before the place, to the great joy of the *Chriſtian* army, and to the terror of the defendants, who were equally diſmayed at the loſs of the buſs, on which they had a great depend-

[1] *Rymer*, i. 99. [2] *Benedict.* p. 644. *& ſeq. Hoveden. Vineſauf.* l. ii. c. 26. *& ſeq.*

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ance, and at the ſight of ſo numerous a fleet as made them deſpair of ever receiving any further ſupplies, and willing to ſurrender the place, if they might be ſuffered to quit it with life and liberty.

His actions in the *Holy Land.*

LV. The ſiege had languiſhed for ſome time: but the king of *England's* arrival giving ſpirit to the army of the beſiegers[1], it was now carried on with vigour. His diſtinguiſhed liberality to the common ſoldiers, that wanted pay, made every body ſing his praiſes, and extol his magnificence; only the king of *France*, either envious of his glory and the figure he made, which eclipſed his own, or elſe greedy of money, ſought occaſions of diſpute. [2]They had agreed at *Meſſina* to divide equally between them, what acquiſitions they made by their joint forces upon the *Saracens* in the *Holy Land*, during their expedition: and *Richard* had given him a moiety of the booty he had taken in the great buſs, with half of the priſoners. *Philip*, not ſatisfied with his ſhare in a prize taken, not in the country but on the ſea, by the king of *England's* forces alone, demanded likewiſe a moiety of the realm of *Cyprus*, and of the booty he had made in that iſland: but was anſwered, that if he would give him the half of *Flanders*, and of what he had got by the death of the count of *Flanders*, and of the *Caſtellan* of *St. Omers*, who had both died before the walls of *Acon* (and whoſe treaſure and effects *Philip* had ſeized) he would give him the like ſhare of his acquiſitions in *Cyprus*, though they were not included within the agreement, which did not relate to conqueſts upon *Chriſtians*, and was confined to *Paleſtine*. The king of *France* hereupon retracted his demand: and they renewed their convention about acquiſitions in the *Holy Land*; appointing the knights templars and hoſpitallers to make the partition, whenever an occaſion offered; as there did ſoon after by the ſurrender of *Acon* on the 12th of *July*.

[3]Philip, deſirous of ſeizing the opportunity, which the death of the late count of *Flanders* afforded him for the ſubduing of that country, had from that time been very uneaſy at his ſtay before *Acon*; though he could not with decency return home before the place was taken. [4]But as ſoon as that objection was removed, and he had taken poſſeſſion of his ſhare of the town, as ſet out by the arbitrators, he propoſed on *July* 22 to *Richard*, that he would conſent to his returning home; pretending that the air of the country did not agree with him, and that he ſhould die if he ſtaid any longer. All the princes of the army exclaimed ſo vehemently againſt his going away, before the buſineſs he came came for was finiſhed, that he did not renew his motion for a few days; and in the mean time took occaſion to quarrel with *Richard*, reviving the demand of half *Cyprus*; which was refuſed. *Philip*, impatient to be gone, to purſue his views in *Europe*, preſſed on the 29th of the ſame month ſo earneſtly for leave, that *Richard* at laſt conſented, upon his ſwearing on the Goſpels before all the world, that he would neither do any harm, nor ſuffer any to be done, to the king of *England*, or his vaſſals or territories, but would protect them from all hoſtile attempts and invaſions, with as much care as he would his own city of *Paris*. Two days after this oath, the king of *France*, leaving moſt of his troops under the command of *Hugh* duke *Burgundy*; and obtaining, upon his requeſt, from *Richard*, two of his beſt galleys, ſet out from *Acon* on his return home. As he paſſed by *Rome* he complained to Pope *Celeſtine* III, and the cardinals, that he could not ſtay or do any thing in the *Holy Land*, becauſe of the king of *England*: and deſired the Pope's licenſe to revenge himſelf upon him in *Normandie*, and his other territories. [5]*Celeſtine* gratified *Philip*, in abſolving him from his vow of pilgrimage, though he had not performed it, but not from that which

[1] *Vineſauf.* l. iii. c. 4. *& ſeq.* [2] *Neubrig.* l. iv. c. 21. *Benedict.* p. 654. [3] *Hoveden.* p. 692.
[4] *Benedict.* p. 660, 667. *Neubr.* l. iv. c. 22. [5] *Ib.* p. 720, 721, 727.

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he had taken to do no harm to *Richard* or his territories; forbidding him abſolutely to invade them, under pain of being excommunicated and of an interdict on his dominions. It was only to remove a ſqueamiſhneſs he apprehended in ſome of his vaſſals, that he aſked ſuch a licenſe; being himſelf too much devoted to his intereſts, to mind either religion or honour, when they ſtood in his way: and notwithſtanding the Pontif's menaces, he purſued his journey; reſolved on the meaſures he had propoſed; and arrived by *Chriſtmas* day at *Fountainbleau*. RICHARD I. A. D. 1191.

PHILIP's departure occaſioned many [1] thouſands to follow his example, and threw all the charge of the war in the *Holy Land* upon the king of *England*; who carried it on with great vigour, notwithſtanding the difficulties in which he was left involved. Theſe aroſe chiefly from the diſpute between *Guy de Lezignan* (who had been ſet at liberty by *Saladine* to promote it) and *Conrad* marquis of *Montferrat*, for the crown of *Jeruſalem*; the former having been poſſeſſed of it in the life of his wife *Sibylle*, and the latter claiming it upon her death, in the right of his own wife, who was *Sibylle's* ſiſter. This laſt was violently ſuſpected, and openly accuſed, of a treacherous correſpondence with *Saladine*, nor durſt he ſtand a trial on that head: but being ſupported by the king of *France*, an accommodation had been made between them by the award of all the princes of the *Croiſade*; who adjudged "the kingdom to *Guy* for his life, and the ſucceſſion to *Conrad* and his "wife, and their heirs; the revenue thereof being in the mean time to be equally "ſhared between them; *Conrad* to enjoy *Tyre* with its dependencies, and *Geffrey de* "*Lezignan* (who had done eminent ſervices in the war) the counties of *Joppa* and *Cæſarea* by hereditary right, but in vaſſalage of the crown of *Jeruſalem*. *Conrad* however ſtill perſiſted in concerting meaſures with *Saladine*, and never would, upon any ſummons, or in the moſt preſſing exigence, join the king of *England*; who having repaired the walls and fortifications of *Acon*, marched from thence on *Auguſt* 22, towards *Joppa* along the ſea-coaſt, to be ſupplied from his fleet with proviſions; *Saladine* hovering with his army upon the mountains, ready to attack him upon any advantage. A [2] river near *Cæſarea* affording this infidel prince what he ſought, he diſputed the paſſage of it with the *Chriſtians:* but was routed on *September* 16, with the ſlaughter of forty thouſand of his men, chiefly by the valour and good conduct of the king of *England*. *Saladine*, upon this diſaſter, ordered *Cæſarea*, *Joppa*, and *Aſcalon*, to be demoliſhed: and *Richard* taking poſſeſſion of the two firſt, repaired their fortifications, and re-peopled them with twenty thouſand men, which he choſe out of the inhabitants of *Acon*. When this work was finiſhed, he advanced towards *Jeruſalem* [3] and in the week before *Chriſtmas* defeated *Saladine* again in the plains of *Rama:* and might have taken the city, if the templars (who were of the *French* party) had not perſuaded him to neglect it, in order to re-fortify *Aſcalon*, which he did at his own expence.

LVI. WHILST *Richard's* zeal for *Chriſtianity*, or his furious inclination to war, kept him thus employed in the eaſt, his affairs in *England* were in great confuſion, through the arbitrary and oppreſſive meaſures of *William* biſhop of *Ely*; to whom he had left the principal care of the government. [4] He had indeed joined *Hugh* biſhop of *Durham* with him as a collegue, and had aſſigned the counties north of *Trent* for the particular exerciſe of his authority of juſticiary: but as ſoon as *Hugh* came into *England*, and had delivered the king's letters, *William* ſeized upon his perſon, till he had delivered up the caſtle of *Windſor*, *New Caſtle upon Tine*, the manor of *Sadberg*, and county of *Northumberland*, and given his ſon *Henry de* Paſſages in *England* and *Normandie*, during his abſence.

[1] *Ibid.* p. 671, 673. *Vineſauf.* l. iv. c. 1. *Benedict.* p. 668. *Neubrig.* l. iv. c. 23. [2] *Ib.* p. 676.
[3] *Ib.* p. 721. [4] *Ib.* p. 587, 588. *Hoveden.*

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Puſey and *Gilbert de la Ley* for hoſtages. *Hugh*, thus obtaining his liberty, went to his ſeat of *Hovedene:* but would have been there taken again into cuſtody by *William d'Eſtouteville* and *Oſbert de Longchamp* (whom his brother the biſhop of *Ely* had made high ſheriff of *Yorkſhire)* if he had not ſubmitted to give ſecurity, that he would not ſtir from thence without the chancellor's, or the king's, licenſe. *Hugh* complaining of this treatment, *Richard* ſent orders from *Marſeilles*, that *Newcaſtle*, *Sadberg*, and *Northumberland* ſhould be reſtored to him: but the chancellor refuſed to execute thoſe orders; pretending that he knew the king's mind better, than it could be expreſſed in writing. *Richard* had placed too much power in the hands of his favourite [1], by getting the legatine authority added to what he enjoyed before as chancellor and chief juſticiary: and *William*, raiſed from nothing to an height which turned his head, exerciſed all theſe [2] powers in the moſt tyrannical manner, and as if he thought himſelf abſolute lord of the kingdom. When he went to make a progreſs, or to viſit religious houſes, he did it with a party of fifteen hundred horſe, *French* or *Flemings*, and ſuch a train of knights, clergy, and other attendants, beſides an infinite number of minſtrels, dogs, and horſes, that the convent where he lodged could ſcarce, in three years, recover the expence of one night's entertainment. He put every thing to ſale, to reimburſe himſelf the money he had laid out in the purchaſe of his poſts: and turned both clergy and laity out of their churches, lands, and poſſeſſions, to beſtow them on his own relations, chaplains, and dependents. He diſpoſed of the king's revenue, as if it had been his own, ſquandering it away, or employing it in purchaſes for himſelf; there not being an eſtate to be ſold, but he bought it; nor a church, or an abbey vacant, but he kept it in his own hands, or gave it to ſome of his creatures; to whom he committed likewiſe the cuſtody of caſtles, which he extorted from others by terror, or the force of money. All the nobility of the realm crouched before him, and were glad to marry his nieces and relations to make their court to him: nor did prince *John* eſcape without ſome indignities from him; which put him upon applying to the king his brother for redreſs.

Richard had received the like complaints from other great men, and diſpatched *Walter* archbiſhop of *Roüen*, and *William Mareſchal* earl of *Strigul*, on *February* 23, from *Meſſina*, with orders [3], that nothing ſhould be done in the government of the realm without *Walter's* advice, and the joint aſſiſtance of the earl of *Strigul*, *Geffrey Fitz Piers*, *Hugh Bardolf*, and *William Briwere*. But when they arrived in *England*, they durſt not deliver theſe orders to the chancellor; who ſtill went on to diſſeize every body he did not like of their poſts and commands, eſpecially ſuch as had the cuſtody of caſtles, and turned out *Gerard de Camville*, high ſheriff of *Lincolnſhire*. *Gerard* refuſing to deliver [4] up the caſtle of *Lincoln*, of which he was hereditary caſtellan, in the right of his wife *Nichola*, eldeſt daughter of *Richard de la Haye*, the chancellor marched with a body of troops to inveſt it: but receiving at once, news of the *Pope's* death, which ſunk one part of his power, and a meſſage from prince *John* (who had ſeized the caſtles of *Notingham* and *Tikehill)* that if he did not quit the ſiege, he would come with an army to raiſe it, he thought fit to draw off his forces. He was the rather induced to this retreat, becauſe he found moſt of the nobility with him, better affected towards the prince; and the foreign troops he had ſent for, were not yet arrived. Several biſhops interpoſing to make up the quarrel, a regulation was made, in relation to the cuſtody of caſtles through the kingdom; in which *John's* intereſts [5] and views were particularly conſulted, by a proviſion that they ſhould be delivered to him, in caſe the king ſhould die with-

[1] *Neubrig.* l. iv. c. 15. [2] *Ib.* p. 680. *M. Paris. Benedict.* p. 626, 640, 701, 702, 706. *Neubrig.* l. iv. c. 14. [3] *Diceto*, col. 659. [4] *Benedict.* p. 723. *Neubrig.* l. iv. c. 16. *Hoveden*, p. 700. [5] *Benedict.* p. 694. *Neubrig. ib.*

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out iſſue, and by the prelates and nobility ſwearing upon that contingency to his ſucceſſion. This was what *John* had moſt at heart, and the chancellor complying in it, was allowed to retain his power: but there happened ſoon after another affair which put an end to his adminiſtration. RICHARD I. A. D. 1191.

GEFFREY archbiſhop of *York* had got leave from the king to return into *England:* and queen *Eleanor*, when ſhe left *Meſſina*, in order to go to *Rome*, had received orders from *Richard* to ſollicite the *Pope* to confirm *Geffrey's* election, and give directions for his conſecration [1]. The reaſon was, that archbiſhop *Baldwin*, claiming the right of conſecrating the archbiſhops of *York*, had diſcharged all the ſuffragans from conſecrating *Geffrey*. *Celeſtine* had accordingly ordered the archbiſhop of *Tours* to perform the office, and the abbot of *Marmoutier* to deliver the pall to *Geffrey:* who obtained likewiſe a bull of privilege for his church of *York*; exempting all the province from the juriſdiction of any legate, but ſuch as reſiding ordinarily in the court of *Rome*, were ſent *a latere* by the *Pope* into *England*. *Geffrey* having been conſecrated, and received the pall at *Tours* on *September* 1; loſt no time in coming over to take poſſeſſion of his ſee; the temporalties whereof were ſtill detained in the chancellor's hands (who had made a terrible havock on all his lands) notwithſtanding the king's orders for putting the archbiſhop in poſſeſſion. The chancellor had been formerly a retainer in *Geffrey's* family, and bound to him by an oath of fealty and homage: and ſuch was the latter's kindneſs for him, that he had made him his official in the archdeaconry of *Roüen*, to the great indignation of his father *Henry*, who could not bear the man, and looked upon him as a traitor. The archbiſhop propoſed to embark at *Witſand:* but when he came to the caſtle of *Guiſnes*, he found that the counteſs of *Flanders* had, at the chancellor's inſtances, given orders to prevent his paſſage. This reſtraint not extending to his retinue, they paſſed over before him in a *Boulogne* ſhip: and he meeting [2] with a ſmall *Engliſh* veſſel, got on board privately, and landed, on *September* 14, at *Dover*; where the orders given ſome time before, for keeping him in cuſtody till the chancellor ſent directions about him, were immediately put in execution. The caſtle of that place was in the hands of *Matthew de Clare*; who had married *Longchamp's* ſiſter, and got the archbiſhop ſeized at his landing by a party of the garriſon: yet he made a ſhift to get out of their hands, and take refuge in the church of *St. Martin*. This being a privileged place, belonging to the monks of *Chriſt-Church, Canterbury*, was inveſted: and guarded ſo ſtrictly, that no proviſions could enter. He was there required to take an oath of fealty to the king; which he declined as needleſs, having taking it already; though he was willing to repeat it before the prelates and nobility of the realm, if they thought it adviſeable: and on the *Thurſday* following, being taken violently from the altar in his pontifical veſtments, by a party of *Flemiſh Brabantins*, he was dragged out of the church, and impriſoned in *Dover caſtle*; his baggage being plundered, and his horſes ſeized at the ſame time, and ſent to the chancellor.

THIS treatment of an archbiſhop [3], generally beloved and eſteemed, raiſed an univerſal clamour both among the clergy and laity throughout the kingdom: the biſhops all took the alarm; *S. Hugh* of *Lincoln* excommunicated all concerned in it, a ſentence confirmed ſoon after by all the biſhops that met at *Reading*; and thoſe of *London*, *Coventry*, and *Norwich*, threatned an interdict, if he was not ſet at liberty. *John* count of *Mortain* made the ſame demand; and the chancellor, ſeeing the whole kingdom in a commotion, was forced to allow *Geffrey* to come firſt to *London*, and then go to *Reading* [4]; where *John* had ſummoned an aſſembly of the prelates and nobility of the realm on *Saturday*, *October* 5, and where

[1] *Hoveden*, p. 689. *Anglia Sacr.* ii. 387, 388, 389, & ſeq. [2] *Chr. Gervaſ.* col. 1576. [3] *Ib.* p. 392, 394, 395, & ſeq. *Benedict.* p. 697, & ſeq. [4] *M. Paris.*

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those who had been joined with the chancellor in the regency, were preſent. There the king's letters abovementioned in favour of *Walter* archbiſhop of *Roüen*, *William Mareſchal*, *Geffrey Fitz Piers*, *Hugh Bardolf*, and *W. Briwere*, as well as others appointing *Geffrey* to aſſiſt in the council of ſtate, and *Walter* to take care of the election for filling up the ſee of *Canterbury* (which the chancellor had hindered him from doing) were read: and *Walter* propoſing that he ſhould, for acting without conſulting any of them, be turned out of the government, according to the tenour of other letters of the king's, which he produced, it was reſolved to ſummon the chancellor, who was then at *Windſor*, to meet them the next day, *October* 8, near *Lodbridge*, between that place and *Reading*. The chancellor promiſed to meet them at the place of conference; and had he done ſo, he would probably, out of regard to the king, have been ſtill left in the due exerciſe of his power, with the concurrence of his collegues: but when he had advanced two miles of the way thither, with an armed force, his heart failed him; and turning back to *Windſor*, he fled thence in all haſte to *London*, where he ſhut himſelf up in the tower. He had fortified it with a deep ditch, into which he had drawn the water of the *Thames:* but not having time to ſupply it with victuals for himſelf and his forces, before it was inveſted by the nobility and the citizens of *London*, he tried firſt to gain over prince *John* by great promiſes; and that method failing, through the influence of the prelates of *York* and *Coventry*, he was forced to ſubmit to the ſentence of the biſhops and nobility. He appeared before them the next day: and after a full hearing, they adjudged him to be deprived of his poſts of chancellor and juſticiary, and of all the caſtles, the cuſtody whereof he had uſurped ſince the king's departure; leaving him however thoſe which he had enjoyed before *(viz.) Dover*, *Cambridge*, and *Hereford*[1]. *Walter* archbiſhop of *Roüen* was made chief juſticiary in his ſtead, purſuant to the king's orders: and being a man of great prudence, modeſty, and integrity, acted with the advice of his collegues in all the buſineſs of the government, to the general ſatisfaction, and the great tranquillity of the kingdom. The biſhop of *Ely*, retiring to *Dover* caſtle, endeavoured to make his eſcape thence beyond ſea, in a woman's dreſs: but being diſcovered by the awkward figure he made, and his inability to ſpeak *Engliſh*, he was ſeized by a rabble of people, to whom he was extremely odious; and after various indignities, impriſoned at laſt in a dark cellar. The reaſon of his attempting an eſcape in ſuch a clandeſtine manner was, that he had promiſed not to quit the realm without licenſe, and to deliver all the caſtles he had uſurped before he went: and he had not yet performed that engagement. The archbiſhop of *Roüen* however, pitying his caſe, and fearing the count of *Mortain* might get into his hands the caſtles which had not yet been delivered, if he knew that the biſhop of *Ely* was taken, diſpatched an order for his releaſe, with liberty to go beyond ſea[2]: which this prelate did on *October* 29, being treated wherever he paſſed in *Normandie*, as an excommunicated perſon, by the ſame archbiſhop's orders, and divine offices ceaſing wherever he abode.

The biſhop of *Ely's* character of legate had ceaſed upon the death of Pope *Clement*, on *Wedneſday*, *April* 10: yet he was ſo fond of pomp, that he continued to carry his legatine croſs, till he was deprived of the government; though all the world knew his powers were expired, and he found the want of them, in his attack of the archbiſhop of *York*, as well as in his own proſecution. To remove this defect, as ſoon as he got abroad, he applied to Pope *Celeſtine* to renew his legation; and complained, by letters both to him and the king, of his being turned out of the government by the faction of *John* count of *Mortain*, who had a deſign upon the kingdom. The *Pope* readily appointed him legate of *England*; and wrote to

[1] *Neubrig.* l. iv. c. 18. [2] *Diceto*, col. 665.

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the biſhops of the realm to excommunicate the count, and all that were concerned in turning out that prelate, and to put their lands under an interdict[1]. The new legate, ſending the Pope's mandates to *Hugh* biſhop of *Lincoln*, required him to ſee them executed, and to excommunicate the biſhops and others mentioned in a liſt, which he ſent, of perſons againſt whom the Pope and himſelf had denounced thoſe cenſures; among which was *Benedict* abbot of *Peterborough*, the hiſtorian; who, from the time of the chancellor's being turned out, had the cuſtody of the king's ſeal, till his majeſty ſhould appoint a ſucceſſor. He ſent the like letters to other biſhops; but none[2] of them would execute either his or the Pope's mandates: and the juſticiaries ordered all the rents of the ſee of *Ely* to be ſeized for the uſe of the king, to make ſatisfaction for the two years receipts of the royal revenue, which he had embezzled or ſquandered; not having left a penny in the exchequer. Finding his mandates and cenſures ſlighted, and imagining this aroſe from a maxime in law[3], that a prelate cannot exerciſe any juriſdiction till he hath been in his province, he reſolved to go over into *England*, and to make a parade with his legatine croſs, in the very place which had been the ſcene of his late diſgrace. He had prepared the way for his reception, by gaining the favour of *John* count of *Mortain*, either by a preſent of five hundred marks, or by greater promiſes[4]: and landing, about *April* 1, at *Dover*, ſtaid in the caſtle till the return of meſſengers which he ſent to the queen mother (who being returned from *Sicily*, had lately come over to *London*) with letters, notifying his legation and arrival. A council of the prelates and nobility was held on this occaſion: and though *John* acted ſuch a part in his behalf, as merited a reprimand from *Eleanor*, yet being bought off by a grant of two thouſand marks of the king's money, it was at laſt reſolved unanimouſly, that appeals ſhould be made to the Pope, both by the ſpiritual and temporal nobility, againſt his legation, and that *Longchamp*, being declared a diſturber of the realm, and a publick enemy, ſhould be ordered with the ſevereſt menaces to quit *England*. The legate, that he might not ſeem to have come over for nothing, and without exerciſing any of his powers, put his own dioceſe under an interdict: and returned in great confuſion to *Normandie*; where he omitted no means to incite the court of *Rome*, and the king of *France*, to do all the miſchief they could to the king of *England's* miniſters and dominions.

RICHARD I. *A. D.* 1192.

THE king of *France* had no need of being inſtigated to what he always deſigned, and had already attempted. He[5] had ſcarce allowed himſelf a few days reſt after his long journey, when he invited *William Fitz Ralf*, ſeneſchal of *Normandie*, and the nobility of that dutchy, to a conference, on *January* 20, between *Giſors* and *Trie*, and demanded from them his ſiſter *Adelais*, with the caſtle of *Giſors*, and the counties of *Eu* and *Aumale*; pretending that they ought to be delivered to him, purſuant to his treaty with *Richard* at *Meſſina*. The *Normans*, alledging that they had no orders on that ſubject, refuſed to deliver them; which produced menaces on his part; and on their's, preparations for a vigorous defence. *Philip* finding this artifice did not take, tried next to debauch *John* count of *Mortain* from his duty: and ſent to him to come over to *France*, that they might have a conference together; offering him his ſiſter *Adelais*[6] for a wife, and to put him in poſſeſſion of all *Richard's* dominions on the continent, as ſoon as the marriage was ſolemnized. *John* was ready for any meaſures, being incenſed at his brother's declaration in favour of his nephew *Arthur*[7]; whom *Richard* had appointed for his ſucceſſor, not only by his

[1] *Benedict.* p. 710, & ſeq. 734.
[2] *Ib.* p. 716, 706.
[3] *Angl. Sacr.* ii. 402. *Neubr. ib. Benedict.* p. 731, 732.
[4] *Hoveden.*
[5] *Benedict.* p. 727, 728, 729. *Hoveden.*
[6] This was no very tempting offer, if there had been any truth in the ſtory of this lady's being publickly proved at *Meſſina* to have had a child by *John's* father; and how little religion ſoever *Philip* had, he could never certainly have either propoſed, or been able to effect, ſuch an inceſtuous alliance.
[7] *Neubrig.* l. iv. c. 14.

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treaty with *Tancred* king of *Sicily*, but by letters alſo to *England*; in conſequence whereof, the late chancellor had entered into a negotiation with the king of *Scotland*, for his aſſiſtance to ſecure that ſucceſſion; which coming to *John's* knowledge, was the firſt occaſion of their enmity. It is not unlikely that the biſhop of *Ely*, a man who ſtuck at nothing to gratify his avarice, and ſerve his ambition, had entered into this conſpiracy with the king of *France* and the count of *Mortain*; and that his promiſes of promoting the latter's views, were the motives of his eſpouſing this prelate's cauſe in the council of *England*. However this was, queen *Eleanor*, getting intelligence of *Philip's* offers, left *Normandie* in haſte: and going over into *England*, found her ſon *John* ready to croſs the ſea, in order to the conference propoſed. Her remonſtrances, and the threats of the juſticiaries and council of regency, that they would ſeize all his lands and caſtles, if he went, put a ſtop to his intended voyage: and a great council of the prelates and nobility of the realm being ſummoned to meet at *London*, they all renewed their oaths of fealty to *Richard* on this occaſion. *Philip*, diſappointed of his expectations from *John*, reſolved however to invade *Normandie*: but he could not get his own nobility and vaſſals to join him in an attempt, contrary to the oaths they had taken, of not invading the king of *England's* lands, whilſt he was engaged in the *Croiſade*, and venturing his life for the ſervice of God in *Paleſtine*. The Pope too had a regard to this conſideration, in repealing the ſentences[1] of interdict upon *Normandie*, and the excommunication of the ſeneſchal of that dutchy, and his abettors; iſſued on occaſion of their not ſuffering the two cardinal legates, that he had ſent to make up the difference between the archbiſhop of *Rotien* and the biſhop of *Ely*, to enter the country; becauſe their lord not being returned from his pilgrimage, his territories were privileged and exempted from any legatine juriſdiction. The legates were *Octavian* biſhop of *Oſtia*, and *Jordano* abbot of *Foſſa Nova*: but the cenſures were denounced only by the former, the latter abſolutely refuſing to join in them; which provoked *Philip* to ſuch a degree, that he drove him out of his kingdom.

His acts in *Paleſtine*, return, and captivity.

LVII. The king of *England* in the mean time was ſtruggling with difficulties[2] in the *Holy Land*; his army being much diſtreſſed for want of victuals, whilſt he was repairing *Aſcalon*; the *French* retiring to other places, to paſs their time in luxury; *Conrad* refuſing to join him with his forces; and quarrels ariſing between the *Piſans* and *Genoeſe*. [3] The prior of *Hereford*, ſent by the biſhop of *Ely* to give an account of his being deprived of the government, and of prince *John's* deſigns upon the crown, arrived at the cloſe of *Eaſter*: and *Richard* holding a council the next day, it was the general opinion, that as his return was abſolutely neceſſary, it was impoſſible for the *Chriſtians* to ſtand their ground in the country, without accommodating the diſpute between *Guy* and *Conrad*; a thing impracticable, whilſt the poſſeſſion of the crown was in the one, the ſurvivance in the other, and the inheritance in his wife's deſcendants. There was no likelihood of an union, till the jealouſy ariſing from theſe jarring intereſts was removed: and no means appeared ſo proper for that end, as to place *Conrad* on the throne of *Jeruſalem*. All the difficulty in this caſe was, to provide an equivalent for *Guy*: and this was removed by *Richard's* generoſity, who made him a preſent of the kingdom of *Cyprus*, which his poſterity enjoyed till *A. D.* 1472; when the widow of the laſt of his deſcendants, being of the family of *Cornaro*, diſpoſed of it to the ſtate of *Venice*. *Conrad* was ſent for, to be inveſted with the royalty; and, tranſported with his elevation, was preparing to ſet out for *Aſcalon*; when, coming on *April* 28 from an entertainment made him by the biſhop of *Beauvais*, he was ſtabbed by two aſſaſſins, who, for the ſurer executing of their deſign to murder him, had inſinuated

[1] *Benedict.* p. 729, 742, 746. [3] *Vineſauf.* l. v. c. 3, 6, 8, 9, 10, 14, 20. [2] *Ib.* c. 22, 23, 24.

themſelves

themſelves ſome time before into his ſervice. [1] They were ſubjects of a *Saracen* prince of a ſmall territory, lying in the mountains of *Phœnicia*, or perhaps *Armenia Minor*, called the *Scheic* [2], or *lord of the mountain*; who ſeems to have been abbot, or ſuperior of a conventual ſociety, the members whereof he ſtyled brethren, or friers, and inſtructed in learning, particularly in a great variety of languages, that they might be able, in any part of the world, to execute his commands, which it was their firſt principle to obey implicitely. If he ordered them to diſpatch any prince or great man whatever, they readily undertook the commiſſion, whatever danger there was in the attempt: and ſcarce ever failed of executing it, becauſe they deſpiſed death and torment; being poſſeſſed with a ſuperſtitious notion, that they ſhould enjoy immortal pleaſures in another world, if they died for executing the orders of their ſuperior. It was dangerous for the greateſt potentate, to inſult the lord of ſuch deſperate enthuſiaſtical ſubjects, ſo that he generally lived unmoleſted by any of his neighbours [3]; nor did he uſe to do miſchief to others, or employ the dreadful miniſters of his vengeance, unleſs he was provoked by ſome heinous injury. One of his *confreres*, on board a ſhip of *Satala*, had been driven by a ſtorm into the port of *Tyre*: and *Conrad* had ordered him to be killed, and ſeized all his money. The *Scheic* ſent meſſengers to demand reſtitution of the money, and ſatisfaction for the death of the perſon killed, which *Conrad* laid upon *Reginald*, lord of *Sydon*: but this appearing to be falſe, and the *Scheic*, having undoubted information that *Conrad* had been the author of the murder, ſent another meſſenger, one *Euriſus*, to him for ſatisfaction. It was with difficulty that *Conrad* was diſſuaded from drowning *Euriſus* in the ſea: and the *Scheic*, finding he could have no redreſs, reſolved (according to his uſual cuſtom, which, after denial of ſatisfaction, allowed no injury to paſs with impunity) no longer to delay his revenge, and ſent the two aſſaſſins to murder *Conrad*. They were both taken, and confeſſed that they did it by the order of their prince, *the lord of the mountain*; who afterwards avowed the fact, and aſſigned the abovementioned reaſon for it, in his manifeſto's, or letters to the king of *France*, the duke of *Auſtria*, and other *European* princes, in order to do juſtice to truth, and to clear king *Richard* from a vile aſperſion, raiſed by the *French*, and encouraged by *Philip*, as if he had, underhand, employed the aſſaſſins that ſtabbed *Conrad*.

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UPON this prince's death [4], *Henry* count of *Champagne* marrying his widow, and being made king of *Jeruſalem*, perſuaded the *French* to march to the aſſiſtance of *Richard*; who had, in the mean time, taken the ſtrong fortreſs of *Darum*; the onely one left undemoliſhed by the infidels in the plains of *Paleſtine*. The whole force of the *Chriſtians* being now united, it was reſolved to march to *Jeruſalem* [5]: but when they drew near the place, it was not thought proper to beſiege it, by reaſon of the difficulty of being ſupplied with proviſions; and the duke of *Burgundy* (who is ſaid to have had orders from *Philip* to obſtruct *Richard's* ſucceſs) retiring with the *French* troops to *Tyre*, in order to return home, there were no hopes left of any further conqueſts. The king of *England's* troops were exceedingly waſted by continual fatigues and engagements; in which the king diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſuch prodigious acts of valour, as rendered him the admiration and terror of the enemy: and *Saladine*, with an infinite number of forces, poſſeſſed the hills, ready to fall upon the towns along the ſea-coaſt, as ſoon as *Richard* quitted the country. [6] Thus *Joppa* had been inveſted on *July* 26, the very day the king with his forces got to *Acon*, in order to embark; the town was taken, and the caſtle was reduced to extremity:

[1] *Vineſauf.* c. 26. *Neubrig.* l. iv. c. 24. l. v. c. 16. [2] An *Arabic* word anſwering to *Senior* or *Dominus*. *Du Freſne Gloſſ. v.* SENEX. [3] *Rymer*, i. 71. *Diceto*, col. 680. [4] *Hoveden. Vineſauf.* l. v. c. 28, 39, 43, 47, & ſeq. [5] *Ib.* l. vi. c. 1, 2, 8, 9, 26. *Neubrig.* l. iv. c. 22. [6] *Vineſauf. ib.* c. 13, 14, 15, 16, 21, 22, 23, & ſeq.

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when ordering his forces to march by land, he paſſed thither by ſea with an handful of men, and raiſed the ſiege by the terror of his name, and by a ſeries of daring actions, in which he expoſed his perſon to an infinity of dangers. [1] He was called home by repeated expreſſes; the *French* would not join him, and were preparing to return to their own country: and ſeeing no other way of ſaving the country, he agreed, in theſe circumſtances, on a truce for three years with *Saladine*; upon the conditions of demoliſhing *Aſcalon*, and leave for the *Chriſtians* to fortify *Joppa* and inhabite ſecurely the adjoining territory and all the plains on the ſea-coaſt, whilſt the mountainous part of *Paleſtine* remained to the *Saracens*. [2] *Richard*, having ſettled matters as well as he could in that part of the world, embarked on *Oct.* 9, at *Acon*: and as he could not paſs with ſafety through *France*, or the count of *Toulouſe's* territories, ſailed to *Raguſa*, in order to travel home privately through *Germany*. But being diſcovered in a ſmall village near *Vienna* [3], was there ſeized on *Dec.* 20, by *Leopold* duke of *Auſtria*, who had received his pay in the *Holy Land*; either in revenge for a ſlight affront he pretended to have received there, or in hopes of getting a large ſum of money for his ranſome. This laſt was probably the real motive, ſince he made a ſtipulation for fifty thouſand marks, when he delivered him on *March* 21 next following to the emperor *Henry* VI; who looked upon *Richard* as his enemy, on account of the alliance he had made with *Tancred* king of *Sicily*, by the contract of marriage between his nephew *Arthur* and the daughter of that prince; whoſe crown he claimed in the right of the empreſs *Conſtance*.

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Attempts on *England* and *Normandie*, during his captivity.

LVII. THE emperor, in a tranſport of joy at the news of *Richard's* being ſeized by *Leopold*, communicated it immediately to the king of *France*: who had obliged him much in refuſing an alliance with *Tancred* [4]. *Philip*, to improve that event to his own advantage, diſpatched agents into *England*, to aſſure *John* count of *Mortain*, that his brother would never get out of captivity, and to offer him his ſiſter *Adelais* in marriage, with all *Richard's* dominions on the continent, and promiſes of aſſiſtance to put him on the throne of *England*. He ſent embaſſadors likewiſe to *Canute* V, king of *Denmark*; deſiring his ſiſter [5] *Ingeburge* in marriage, and aſking no other fortune with her, but an aſſignment of the *Daniſh* claim to *England*, and the aſſiſtance of a fleet and army for the conqueſt of that kingdom. The princeſs was granted him with a portion of ten thouſand marks; and he was married to her at *Amiens*: but whether the *Danes* [6] were diſcontented at his turning her off the day after the conſummation of his marriage (which was followed by the formality of a divorce, upon the oaths of the biſhops of *Beauvais* and *Chartres*, atteſting the falſe pretence of a conſanguinity between her and *Philip's* former queen) or were deterred from the enterprize by the greatneſs of the expence, the little likelihood of its ſucceſs, and the danger of leaving their own country expoſed in the mean time to the irruptions of their enemies the *Vandals*, he met with no aſſiſtance from that quarter. [7] *Philip* ſucceeded better in his negotiation with the count of *Mortain*; who, elated at the news of his brother's captivity, and flattering himſelf with hopes of mounting the throne of *England*, embarked haſtily in the meaſures propoſed, and went over in *January* to *Normandie*. The ſeneſchal and barons of the country, having no ſuſpicion of his treaſonable deſigns, invited him to a meeting at *Alençon*, to conſult about his brother's affairs and ranſome: but *John* telling them plainly, that unleſs they would ſwear fealty to him, as their lord, he would not join with them in any meaſures againſt the king of *France*, they rejected his propoſals, and

[1] *Ibid.* c. 26. 30. [2] *Diceto*, col. 667, 668. [3] *Neubr.* l. iv. c. 23. *M. Paris. Diceto*, col. 670.
[4] *Rymer*, ii. 70. *Hoveden.* [5] *Neubr.* l. iv. c. 26. [6] *Diceto*, col. 671. [7] *Diceto*, col. 668.

prepared as well as they could for the defence of the dutchy. [1] *John* immediately entered into a treaty with *Philip*; and, being to receive from him, with his ſiſter *Adelais*, the county of *Artois* (which had fallen to the crown of *France* upon the death of the late count of *Flanders*) made [3] over to him all *Normandie* north of the *Seine* (except *Roüen* and two leagues about it, *Vaudreuil*, *Cheſnebrun*, *Evreux*, with all the country on the *French* ſide of the *Iton*, *Vernueil*, *Tours*, with its dependencies, *Loches*, *Montbaſon*, *Chatillon ſur Indre*, and the homages of *Montrichard* and *Amboiſe*. There were ſome other articles in favour of the counts of *Blois* and *Perche* and of the church of *St. Martin* of *Tours*: and [3] *John* having ſigned the treaty, and done homage for all his brother's foreign dominions, and (as it was ſaid) for *England* too, repaired to this laſt country, to raiſe diſturbances there, whilſt the king of *France* fell upon *Normandie*. RICHARD I. *A. D.* 1193.

RICHARD, though he had quitted the *Holy Land*, yet propoſing to return thither after the expiration of the truce with *Saladine* (as he had ſignified to that *Mahometan* prince) ſtill wore the badge of the *Croiſade*: and his dominions were privileged from an invaſion, as well on that account, as by the oaths of the king and barons of *France*, engaging not to attack them in any manner, till a certain number of days after his return home from *Paleſtine*. [4] This had reſtrained the *French* nobility from joining *Philip* in the attempt he propoſed the year before: but *Conrad* having been aſſaſſinated, ſince that time, he thought, it afforded him a good opportunity to get over their ſcruples, by repreſenting *Richard* in an odious light, as the author of that aſſaſſination. For this purpoſe, affecting to be afraid of a like treatment, he inſtituted a company of guards, armed with brazen maces, to be day and night about his perſon, never ſtirring abroad without them, nor ſuffering any unknown body to come into his preſence. Whilſt every body was amazed at a conduct ſo different from that of his predeceſſors, and from what he had hitherto obſerved himſelf, he called an aſſembly of his nobility at *Paris*; acquainted them with his fears of an aſſaſſination: and charging the king of *England* with the murder of *Conrad*, and with having ſent aſſaſſins from the Eaſt to treat him in the ſame manner, preſſed them to join him in taking revenge on ſo treacherous an enemy. The wiſer part of the aſſembly thought it proper to wait for ſome proof of the fact and deſign, and to ſuſpend, till *Richard's* return, a revenge which would appear very diſhonourable in the eyes of all *Chriſtians*, who knew he was abroad on account of the *Croiſade*, and might draw upon them the Pope's cenſures. But others, flattering their monarch's paſſions, and applauding the precautions he took for his ſafety, declared themſelves ready to join in his revenge: and *Philip* entered *Normandie*, where he expected to find little reſiſtance, by reaſon of the intelligences which he and his ally *John* had in the country [5].

PACEY and *Ivry* made no oppoſition to his armes; *Gilbert de Vaſcueil*, governor of *Giſors*, *Neufchatel*, and *Neaufle*, delivered up thoſe caſtles, and joined him, with *Hugh de Gournay*: and the counties of *Aumale* and *Eu* being reduced with the ſame facility, *Philip*, who owed thoſe conqueſts to treachery, advanced to beſiege *Roüen*; hoping to gain admittance by terror, and threatening to put all the inhabitants to the ſword, if they offered to make any reſiſtance. *Robert* earl of *Leiceſter*, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by many extraordinary acts of valour in the *Holy Land*, was juſt returned thence, and animated the citizens to a brave defence; which obliged *Philip* to raiſe the ſiege, after being repulſed in various aſſaults [6]. This diſappointment and the ill ſucceſs of his application to the emperor for putting his vaſſal *Richard* into his hands; offering in that caſe ſums even greater than could be expected

[1] *P. Daniel's Hiſt. de France, A. D.* 1192. [2] *Rymer*, i. 85. [3] *Hoveden.* [4] *Neubr.* l. iv. c. 25.
[5] *Hoveden. Vineſauf.* l. ii. *Rob. de Monte.* [6] *Neubrig.* l. iv. c. 34. *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1582.

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for a ranſome, and ſufficient to have bribed *Henry*, if the princes of the empire had not oppoſed ſo ſcandalous a contract; diſpoſed *Philip* to hearken to a truce. This was agreed to on [1] *July* 8, upon the promiſe of paying twenty thouſand marks to the king of *France* at different terms, commencing after the king of *England's* being ſet at liberty, and upon the delivery of the caſtles of *Driencourt*, *Arches*, *Loches*, and *Chatillon ſur Indre*, as pledges for the payment.

Some other cauſes probably concurred to this agreement [2]; particularly the Pope's menaces of excommunicating *Philip*, and putting his realm under an interdict, if he did not withdraw his troops from *Normandie*; and *John's* being able to do little in *England*. This prince had, at his coming over, ſeized the caſtles of *Windſor* and *Wallingford*; and going to *London*, pretended that his brother was dead, and required *Walter* archbiſhop of *Roüen* and the other juſticiaries to take an oath of fealty to him, and to perform the ceremony of his coronation. They giving him no credit, and refuſing his demand, he made it his buſineſs to ſolicite all the nobility to eſpouſe his cauſe; fortified his caſtles; and waſted his brother's lands in an hoſtile manner. He had brought [3] over a great number of foreigners with him, and expected further ſupplies of *French* and *Flemings*; a great fleet being prepared at *Witſand* for their tranſportation: but the juſticiaries ſecured the ports ſo well, and drew ſuch a force down to the ſea-coaſt, that they durſt not attempt to land in the kingdom. They beſieged and took *Windſor*; an army was raiſed in the north by *Geffrey* archbiſhop of *York*, *Hugh Bardolf*, and *William d'Eſtouteville*; who fortified *Doncaſter*: and the caſtle of *Tikehill* was on the point of ſurrendering to *Hugh* biſhop of *Durham*. *John*, finding his party too weak to ſupport him, was glad to make a truce till *Michaelmas*; delivering up the caſtles of the *Pec* and *Wallingford*, that he might keep thoſe of *Nottingham* and *Tikehill*. This truce, before the expiration whereof, *John* retired to *France*, was made ſoon after *Hubert Walter* biſhop of *Saliſbury's* [4] arrival in *England*; who coming over on *April* 20, with the king's letters in his favour, was on *May* 29 following, by the unanimous ſuffrages of the biſhops and monks, choſen archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

His ranſome, coronation, and acts after his return to *England*.

LIX. This prelate had been with *Richard* in the *Holy Land*: and in his return thence, hearing of his prince's diſaſter in *Germany*, had viſited him there, and came from him with a commiſſion to raiſe money for his ranſome, and to procure hoſtages in *England* for the ſecurity of its payment. The king had been treated ſo very harſhly at firſt, that he could not tell to what extremities the emperor might proceed: and to prevent any ill effects of orders that might be extorted from him, he had taken the precaution of writing to the archbiſhop of *Roüen*, to obey none but ſuch as were for his honour and the good of the kingdom. He found however afterwards, that this uſage was only deſigned to make him more eager for liberty, and the readier to comply with the demand of an exorbitant ranſome: which was at laſt, by the mediation of the princes of the empire, in the diet of [5] *Wormes*, which opened on *July* 13, fixed at one hundred fifty thouſand marks of ſilver, *Cologne* weight; upon the payment of two thirds of which ſum, and hoſtages given for the reſt, the king was to be ſet at liberty. In all parts of the world, where the feudal law prevailed, every military tenant was, by the grant and tenure of his land, obliged to give an aid for the ranſome of his lord out of captivity: and [6] accordingly in *England* a ſcutage was raiſed, at the rate of twenty ſhillings a knight's fee, upon the greater fees, and twelve ſhillings and ſix pence on the leſſer, ſuch as thoſe of the honour of *Mortain*. There was on the ſame occaſion likewiſe due from

[1] *Rymer*, i. 81, 82, 83. [2] *Hoveden*. [3] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1581. [4] *Ib.* 1582, 1583. *Neubrig.* l. iv. c. 35. [5] *Diceto*, col. 668, 670, 671. *Rymer*, i. 84. [6] *Rot. Pip.* 6 *Rich.* i.

cities,

cities, burroughs, and manors, that were either demeſnes of the crown, or in the king's hands by eſcheat, an aid called *Talliage* (and ſometimes *Hydage)* which was aſſeſſed by the juſtices itinerant: but beſides theſe payments of obligation, great ſums were raiſed by the voluntary contributions of the prelates and nobility. There was ſuch a zeal in [1] all orders of men to procure the king's liberty, that by a general conſent, the parochial clergy gave a tenth of their tythes; the biſhops, abbots, and lay-nobility, a fourth part of their rents; the *Ciſtertians* all their wool (in which their revenue chiefly conſiſted) for one year; the pariſhes alſo melted down their ſacred chalices; the cathedrals and monaſteries ſold their plate and treaſures, amounting to the value of thirty thouſand marks, which they had a promiſe of being reimburſed. In this manner was the money raiſed for the king's ranſome: and the time of paying the hundred thouſand marks approaching, queen *Eleanor*, and *Walter* archbiſhop of *Roüen*, ſet out a little before *Chriſtmas* for *Germany*; leaving *Hubert* archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (who had been inthroned on *November* 5) guardian of the kingdom. RICHARD I. *A. D.* 1193.

It was, on *February* 4, at *Mentz*, that *Richard* [2] was by the emperor ſet at liberty, with great ceremony, in the preſence of the archbiſhops of that city and *Cologne*, the duke of *Auſtria*, and others of the *German* nobility: and leaving the archbiſhop of *Roüen*, *Baldwin Wak*, and others as hoſtages for the remainder of his ranſome, ſet out for *Cologne*, and, after a ſhort ſtay there, paſſed to *Antwerp*. The king of *France* had been very uneaſy, from the time that the agreement had been firſt made for his ranſome in the diet of the empire; and, to tempt the emperor [3] to recede from it, had propoſed an alliance with him, by marrying his couſin-german, the onely daughter of his uncle the elector *Palatine*; and it was with this view, that he had repudiated *Ingeburge*. This ſcheme was agreeable enough to *Henry*; but was defeated by the young lady's mother; who did not care to marry her daughter to a man that had caſt off the princeſs of *Denmark* in ſo ſhameful a manner: and choſe rather to diſpoſe of her to *Henry*, ſon of the duke of *Saxony*, king *Richard's* nephew [4]. *Albert* biſhop of *Liege* had been lately aſſaſſinated, and a like attempt, deſigned upon his brother the duke of *Louvain*, had been diſcovered: the emperor was ſuſpected of being the author of both theſe conſpiracies; and a ſtrong party had been formed againſt him in the empire. This rendering the king of *France's* friendſhip neceſſary to him, they had a conference at *Vaucouleurs* on the *Meuſe:* and it was generally thought, that a reſolution was there taken, to find out new pretexts to defer ſetting *Richard* at liberty. The emperor had no regard to his faith or honour: but whether he was afraid of the *German* princes, who, out of their affection and eſteem of the king of *England*, were zealous for procuring his releaſe, or whether he was minded to touch his money, before he merited [5] as large a ſum, which *Philip* and *John* offered for detaining him, though it was but for one year longer, he did not ſend orders for ſtopping him; till he was got to the port of *Swyne*, at the mouth of the *Scheld*, ready to embark for *England*. *Richard* was apprized of thoſe offers before he left *Mentz*; and had immediately taken the precaution of ſending for ſhips from *England* to tranſport him thither: but had been hindered ſeveral days by contrary winds from putting to ſea; when he received, from a friend about the emperor, advice of the order ſent to ſtop him, and of a deſign formed to keep him for ever in priſon. This made him get haſtily on [6] board, and put off from the ſhore: nor was it long before a favourable gale wafted him over into his own country, where he landed, on *Sunday March* 20, at *Sandwich*. *A. D.* 1194.

The emperor, vexed at miſſing his blow, vented his rage upon the innocent hoſtages; whom he had treated before with much civility: but now confined with

[1] *Diceto, ib.* [2] *Diceto*, col. 672. [3] *Neubrig.* l. iv. c. 32, 37. *Hoveden.* [4] *Diceto, ib.*
[5] *Neubrig.* l. iv. c. 40, 41. *Hoveden.* [6] *Diceto, ib.*

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great rigour: and the king of *France*, in his fury upon the ſame occaſion, breaking the late truce, fell with his forces into *Normandie*, though it was winter, and took *Evreux*, with ſeveral caſtles in the neighbourhood. *Richard* was, on the *Wedneſday* after his landing, received in *London* by the citizens with extraordinary rejoicings, and ſuch an oſtentation of wealth, that the *German* noblemen who came with him [1] were amazed: and one of them ſaid, he would have paid much dearer for his ranſome, if the emperor could have imagined, there had been ſuch an affluence of riches in *England*. There were very few of the *Engliſh* nobility in town; they being, as well as the biſhops, employed in their ſeveral countries in reducing the caſtles of the count of *Mortain*, and his adherents, the garriſons whereof had lately made incurſions over the countries adjoining. *Marlborough*, *Lancaſter*, and *S. Michael's mount* had been taken: [2] but the ſtrong caſtle of *Notingham*, fortified with all neceſſaries to ſuſtain a year's ſiege, and that of *Tikehill*, ſtill holding out, the king, after three days ſtay in *London*, marched to beſiege them; and the garriſons of both ſurrendered at diſcretion.

Richard was now ſenſible of the miſtake he had committed, in giving his brother ſo many earldoms and honours, that he was maſter of near a fourth part of the realm, and had ſuch a multitude of dependants, that he was able to diſtreſs his government: and a little before his arrival, *John* had ſent his chaplain, *Adam de S. Edmund*, over, with orders to all his friends and vaſſals to fortify his caſtles, and attack his enemies. *Adam*, full of vanity, could not forbear bragging openly of his maſter's intimacy with the king of *France*, and talked ſo much of his own commiſſion, that he was taken up, and his papers ſeized; which diſcovering all *John's* inſtructions and deſigns, the juſticiaries and council had given orders for the beſieging all his caſtles, and diſſeizing him of all his poſſeſſions; and the biſhops had excommunicated him and all his adherents. The king approved of theſe meaſures: and calling a great council of the prelates and nobility of *England*, on *Wedneſday March* 30, at *Notingham*, deſired judgment as well againſt *John*, who, in breach of his allegiance, had ſeized his caſtles, waſted his lands, and entered into a league with his enemy the king of *France*, as againſt *Hugh Nonant* biſhop of *Coventry*, one of his accomplices. They were both cited peremptorily to appear within forty days, and ſtand to juſtice; in failure whereof, the ſentence [3] of the nobility declared all *John's* eſtate in the kingdom forfeited, and decreed a proceſs againſt *Hugh*, before the biſhops in what related to his order, and before lay-judges, in what concerned his poſt of high ſheriff. It was in this council, that every plough-land throughout *England* was charged with two ſhillings; an impoſt, called by ſome [4] writers *Carucage* and *Temantale*, but in the *Pipe-rolls* termed *Hidage:* and it being reſolved, the king ſhould be crowned again, *Low Sunday*, *April* 17, was fixed for the performance of that ceremony at *Wincheſter*.

The reaſon of this ſecond coronation was, according to [5] *Neubrigenſis*, to wipe off the ignominy of his captivity; and as, among the old *Romans*, ſuch a misfortune carried with it an extinction of all civil rights, it was not an improper method to be taken in a country, where the maxims of the civil law were in great repute, and had a conſiderable influence on the notions of the people. But the king ſeems to have had another view in it [6]; at leaſt it afforded him a pretence for ordering his realm a-new; for repealing whatever he had done after his firſt coronation; for reſuming all his former grants; and for annulling all the ſales and contracts he had made before his expedition to the *Holy Land*; alledging that the grantees had received profit enough by them already, that they were unreaſonable and detrimental to the crown, and no ſubjects ought to make an advantage of their king's neceſ-

[1] *Neubrig.* l. iv. c. 42. [2] *Hoveden.* [3] *Neubrig.* l. iv. c. 42. [4] *Rot. Pip.* 6 *Rich.* i. [5] L. iv. c. 42. [6] *Ib.* l. v. c. 1.

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ſities. No body durſt diſpute his will; not even the biſhops, who were beſt able to do it, on account of their privileges and ſpiritual powers. *Hugh* biſhop of *Durham* reſigned his earldom of *Northumberland*[1]; *Godfrey* biſhop of *Winton* gave up the ſherifalty of *Hampſhire*, the caſtle of *Wincheſter*, and the two manors he had bought before the expedition of *Jeruſalem*: and every body, following their example, parted quietly with their grants and purchaſes. Richard I. A. D. 1194.

The time of this general reſumption was not a proper ſeaſon for *William* king *Scotland* (who had attended the king at the great council of *Notingham*, and ſtaid with him, till he went abroad) to move for a grant of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Weſtmorland*, and *Lancaſhire*, under the pretence that his anceſtors had formerly enjoyed thoſe counties. This prince ſeems to have preſumed on the eaſineſs, he had formerly found in *Richard*, to alienate the poſſeſſions of his crown for ready money, and on his own late merit in refuſing to join with *John* in his rebellion; when he made a requeſt ſo very unreaſonable, that it could not be granted without expoſing the realm of *England* to continual dangers. When this petition was rejected by advice of the council, he offered fifteen hundred marks for the county of *Northumberland* alone; and the king would have granted it, with a reſervation of the caſtles to himſelf; a condition, which did not ſuit *William's* deſigns. All that he could obtain, was a charter for bearing his expences in coming, ſtaying, and returning, when he was ſummoned to attend the great councils of *England*: but this was ſo little in compariſon of what he had aſked, that he went home much diſſatisfied[2]. *Richard*, having perſuaded the *Ciſtertians* to grant him another year's wool, or a compoſition for it in money, went, on *April* 23, to *Portſmouth* in order to embark for *Normandie*: but was detained by contrary winds till *Thurſday*, *May* 12; when he ſet ſail with a good body of forces, on board a fleet of an hundred ſhips, and landed at *Barfleur*.

LX. The king[3], going thence to his place of *Bures*, near *Bayeux*, found the *next morning*, at his levee[4], his brother *John*; who, throwing himſelf at his feet, aſked pardon of his offences, and, at the interceſſion of his mother, was received to mercy: but not reſtored to any of his lands till the next year, when his good behaviour procured the reſtitution of the counties of *Mortain* and *Glouceſter*, and the honour of *Eye* (except the caſtles) and the grant of eight thouſand pounds *Angevin* a year, in lieu of his other poſſeſſions. From thence *Richard* paſſed to *L'Aigle*, where he had appointed the rendezvous of his forces: and advanced, on *Whit-Sunday*, *May* 29, towards *Vernueil*, which had been beſieged eighteen days by the king of *France*; intending to try the next day the fate of an engagement. But *Philip* having quitted the camp the night before, and the *French* army retiring from before the place, he carried his point without any hazard; having nothing to do but to purſue a flying enemy, and to repair the breaches made in the fortifications; and this done, he marched to the caſtle of *Mont-mirail*, which he found taken and demoliſhed by the *Angevins*. Paſſing from thence to *Tours*[5], he received from the citizens a free gift of two thouſand marks (ſuch as *York*, and other cities in *England* made him, though in leſs ſums, to expreſs their joy at his return home) and march- War with *France*, and leave given for turnaments.

[1] *Hoveden.* [2] *Neubrig. ib.* [3] *Diceto*, col. 673. *Hoveden. M. Paris. Ypodig. Neuſtr.* p. 456. *Chron. Joh. Abb. Petriburg. Rad. Niger.* f. 65.

[4] This circumſtance ſhews the falſhood of the calumny thrown by ſome *French* writers upon *John*, in relation to the murder of three hundred of the *French* officers and ſoldiers in *Evreux*. According to their accounts, this affair happened on the eve of *Penteco ſt*, or the day before, fifteen days after *John's* ſubmiſſion: but it ſeems pretty clear, that the burning of *Evreux*, in revenge of the inſurrection of the citizens (who perhaps might kill ſuch *French* as were in the place) immediately preceded the action of *Fretteval*; and the order of events (ſo miſerably perverted in their relations) which happened afterwards, is undeniably ſettled by king *Richard's* letter of *July* 22, preſerved in *Hoveden*.

[5] *Rot. Pip.* 6 *R.* i. *Diceto*, col. 674. *Hoveden.*

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ing to *Loches*, one of the cautionary towns delivered for the late truce, took it by ſtorm on *June* 13. The king of *France* had, in the mean time, propoſed a conference for a truce at *Pont de l'Arche*: and, whilſt *Richard's* commiſſioners were there expecting in vain the coming of the *French*, took and demoliſhed the little caſtle of *Fontaines*, near *Roüen*; and in his retreat ſurprized the earl of *Leiceſter*, near *Gournay*. The treaty for a truce not ſucceeding, *Philip* burnt the town of *Evreux*, becauſe the inhabitants had returned to the obedience of their lord the king of *England*: and went from thence to *Fretteval*. Whilſt he lay there, *Richard* advanced to *Vendoſme*: and intending the next morning (*July* 5.) to attack his enemy, found *Philip* retiring with his army in ſuch confuſion, that it was eaſily broke, great numbers being ſlain; the king of *France* himſelf narrowly eſcaping; his ſeal and portable chapel, all his baggage and treaſure taken; with the inſtruments, ſigned by the king of *England's* rebellious ſubjects, obliging themſelves to ſtand by *Philip* and *John* againſt their own ſovereign. It was, till this accident, uſual in [1] *France* for the chancellors [2] to keep in their hands authentick copies of all grants and patents that paſſed the ſeals in their time, and for the kings of that realm to carry theſe with them into the field, and in all their journeys, either for the deciſion of diſputes, or if they were minded, to reward the ſervices of a brave ſubject, that they might do it without interfering with any former grant: but upon this diſaſter, when all the patents paſſed in *Philip's* time were taken, meaſures were contrived, not only for repairing that loſs by requiring all the originals to be produced, but alſo for a better keeping of the records of that kingdom; which have ever ſince been carefully preſerved. It is not unlikely, that this accident ſuggeſted the taking of a like method in this country, for the publick benefit, and the convenience of perſons intereſted in charters; who would be on many occaſions great ſufferers, if there was not a known and certain place for the preſerving of enrolled copies, to which they might have recourſe for the proof of their rights, in caſe the originals ſhould be loſt: and yet it is certain, that we have no records in *England* ancienter than the time of *Richard*, except *Domeſday*, the *Red book of the Exchequer*, and the ſheriffs accompts, all relating to the royal revenue, rather than to the ſubject.

The king [3] of *England*, after this victory near *Fretteval*, marched with wonderful expedition into *Guienne* againſt the count of *Engouleſme* and *Geffrey de Rancone* lord of *Pons*; who had taken armes in favour of his enemies: and in the ſpace of ſixteen days reduced *Chateauneuf*, *Engouleſme*, *Montignac*, *la Chaize*, *Marcillac*, *Taillebourg*, and all their caſtles; making three hundred knights and forty thouſand common ſoldiers priſoners. This rapidity of ſucceſs forced thoſe noblemen to a ſubmiſſion: and was followed by a truce, which being concluded on *July* 23, was to continue till the feaſt of *All Saints* in the year following. [4] *Philip* would fain have had it for three years: but *Richard*, though he wanted an intermiſſion of an expenſive war, to recruit his treaſure and forces, did not care to leave him ſo long in poſſeſſion of ſeveral places in *Normandie*; every thing by this treaty being to remain for the term agreed on in its preſent ſtate, and no demoliſhed fort to be repaired in that

[1] *Droits du Roy, par Dupuy*, p. 1005. *Gul. Brito, Phillipiad.* l. iv.

[2] The ſame method ſeems to have prevailed in *England*. Thus in the cauſe between the abbot of *Croyland*, and the prior of *Spalding*, about the marſh of *Croyland*, *Hubert* archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (who was chief juſticiary, *A. D.* 1194, when *Richard* ſent his letters of *January* 22, from *Spire* to him, for giving the abbot ſeizin of the marſh, and thoſe of *September* 30, in the ſame year, for pardoning his default of appearing in the king's court during his captivity) certified to the chief juſticiary and others of the ſame court in king *John's* time, *A. D.* 1202, theſe facts: and tranſmitted authentick copies thereof. *Euſtace* alſo biſhop of *Ely*, who had been vice-chancellor, and had the keeping of the king's ſeal in *Normandie A. D.* 1194, ſent to the court a like certificate with regard to the laſt. (*Hiſt. Croyland Contin.* p. 465, 468.) This ſhews very plainly, that there was not, in *A. D.* 1194, any fixed place for enrolling ſuch acts of our kings, but that they were then kept in the hands of the officers, who either iſſued them, or to whom they were directed.

[3] *Neubrig.* l. v. c. 2. *Hoveden*, p. 741.

[4] *Neubrig.* l. 5. c. 3.

time; only the king of *England* might, if he pleaſed, fortify *Neubourg*, *Driencourt*, *Conches*, and *Breteuil*. In this interval of war, which did not laſt ſo long as was propoſed, *Richard* thought proper to provide againſt its being renewed, by examining into the ſtate of his revenue; which he had reaſon to think had been much neglected or embezzled, during his abſence in the Eaſt, and the troubles raiſed in *England* by his brother. The [1] juſtices itinerant, going their circuits in *September*, were charged to enquire into the management of the demeſnes of the crown, the lands of wards, eſcheats, and forfeitures, on account as well of *John's* inſurrection, and the maſſacre of the *Jews*, as of all other miſdemeanors: and into the wealth of the *Jews*, which afforded the crown a ſure ſupply in any exigence; they being obliged to deliver true inventories of all their eſtates real and perſonal on pain of forfeiture and impriſonment, and not entruſted with the keeping of pawns, bonds, or other ſecurities for their own money, which, to prevent their frauds and moderate their uſury, were always to be lodged in a publick office. He made himſelf a like enquiry abroad: and finding the officers of his revenue in *Anjou* and *Maine* guilty of great miſmanagement, and unjuſt exactions on the people, he put them to great fines for their corruption. Going into *Normandie*, he found great fault with the truce concluded during his captivity, by which four ſtrong fortreſſes had been put into the hands of his enemies. *William* biſhop of *Ely*, his chancellor, had been the principal perſon concerned in it, and on that account had the ſeals taken from him: and a new great ſeal being made, all that had any charters paſſed under the former, were ordered to renew them on this occaſion; the fees of the ſeal being conſiderable enough, to render this an expedient for raiſing money. The biſhops and nobility of *England* had, before the king's return home, ſent remonſtrances to the court of *Rome* againſt that prelate's exerciſe of his legatine powers in this kingdom: but without any effect, till this diſgrace happened to him; which ſhewing he was leſſened in his maſter's favour, the *Pope* ſuperſeded his powers, and made *Hubert* archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, his legate over all the realm; notwithſtanding the privilege of exemption granted to the church of *York* by his predeceſſor. RICHARD I. *A. D.* 1194.

It was not ſo much to increaſe his revenue as to gratify his paſſion for another expedition to the *Holy Land* [2], that *Richard*, being at *Ville l'Eveque* on *Aug.* 22, ſignified to archbiſhop *Hubert*, chief juſticiary and guardian of the realm, that he had given leave for the uſe of turnaments in *England*. He had, the very day he was ſet at liberty, diſpatched from *Mentz*, *Salt de Breuil* with letters to *Henry* king of *Jeruſalem*; aſſuring him that he would return thither with an army for his ſuccour by the time the truce was expired: and as the war was carried on in that country chiefly by horſe ſervice [3], he thought the uſe of turnaments would make his knights more adroit and expert in the management of their lances, and other military exerciſes. It was for this reaſon, that the *Roman* [4] youth exerciſed themſelves in the the *Quaintaine* and the courſes and circular movements of horſes after the *Trojan* manner: and [5] the *Goths* in the time of *Totila* were trained to the uſe of ſpears and tilting on horſeback; ſlaves being excluded among the firſt, and none but gentlemen of noble birth admitted in the laſt of theſe diverſions; which being deſigned purely for a trial of ſtrength, and to qualify perſons for the ſervices of their country, none were called to an account for any ſlaughter that happened in them, when allowed by publick authority. The firſt inſtance that we have of turnaments being ſo authoriſed [6] was in *A. D.* 934, when the emperor ſurnamed *Auceps*, inſtituted a very pompous one at *Magdeburg*: and appointed the forms and regulations thereof

[1] *Neubrig.* p. 744. [2] *Diceto*, col. 676. *Hoveden.* [3] *Neubrig.* l. v. c. 4. *M. Paris.*
[4] *Vegetius De re milit.* l. i. c. 11. & 14. *Tacit. Annal.* l. xi. [5] *Procop. Hiſt. Goth.* l iii. c. 3. *Laccen. Antiq. Suevo-Goth.* l. iii. c. 3. [6] *Munſter, Coſmog.* l. iii.

to

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to be drawn up by *Conrad* count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, *Herman* duke of *Suabia*, *Bertold* of *Bavaria*, and *Conrad* duke of *Franconia*; which laſt, about eight years after, celebrated another at *Rotenburg*. This practiſe was ſoon after copied in *England*[1], where king *Edgar* inſtituted a gild or ſociety of knights, for the like ludicrous encounters with pointleſs lances, giving them a piece of ground in the eaſt of *London*, where *Portſoken* ward and *Eaſt-Smithfield* now ſtand, for their exerciſes: and they continued to enjoy it till the time of king *Stephen*, when they conveyed it to the priory of the *Holy Trinity*. They began in the next century to be uſed in *France*; *Geffrey* lord of *Pruilly* in *Anjou*, with ſeveral other barons, being, *A. D.* 1066, killed in one of theſe turnaments, of which the *Chronicle* of *Tours* repreſents him to be the inventor: and the *French* grew extremely fond of them, becauſe they ſerved to diſtinguiſh the nobility of their race; proclaiming them very frequently, and celebrating them with the greateſt magnificence; eſpecially after the wars of the *Holy Land* had introduced coats of armes, devices, and other illuſtrious diſtinctions. They were ſo adroit in theſe exerciſes, that *Philip*, thinking he ſhould have an advantage in putting the matters in diſpute between him and *Richard* upon the iſſue of a combat between five of his own, and as many of the latter's knights, made the propoſal at this time, as an expedient for ſaving the effuſion of *Chriſtian* blood: but *Richard* agreeing to it upon condition, that he ſhould be himſelf one of the five on his own part, and the king of *France* on the other, *Philip* thought fit to drop the party. In *England*, during the lawleſs government of *Stephen*, there were ſome exerciſes of this nature, but without the warrant of publick authority: and *Henry* II was ſo ſtrict in prohibiting them all his reign, that his ſon *Geffrey*, being deſirous after his knighthood to ſhew his addreſs therein, was forced to go abroad to gratify his paſſion in that reſpect on the frontiers of *France*; where turnaments were almoſt continually exhibited; notwithſtanding the canons of ſeveral councils under[2] the Popes *Innocent* II, *Eugenius* III, and *Innocent* III, forbad them, and all that died in them were denied *Chriſtian* burial. The *Engliſh* nobility thought it a grievance to be debarred of a liberty, which their neighbours enjoyed: and *Richard* obliged them much in allowing them to hold turnaments in five places[3], at the expence of twenty marks for an earl, ten for a baron, four for a knight that had lands, and two for one that had none; no foreigner being ſuffered to appear therein, nor any that did not pay theſe ſums; of which *Theobald Walter*, the firſt chief butler of *Ireland*, was appointed treaſurer. Oaths were taken by the combatants, and regulations made to prevent breaches of the peace, and waſte in the king's foreſts, by the great trains which uſed to attend noblemen to theſe exerciſes: but there were none to put any reſtraint upon the luxury and profuſeneſs, to which the vying with one another in equipage, habits, liveries, deviſes, decorations, and entertainments, naturally diſpoſed the adventurers.

It was at an exerciſe of this kind[4], that *Leopold* duke[5] of *Auſtria*, amuſing himſelf on *S. Stephen's day* with his knights, that had reſorted to his court to keep *Chriſtmas* with the uſual ſolemnity, had the misfortune to have his foot maſhed to pieces by a ſudden fall of his horſe, as he was wheeling about in the ſnow that covered the ground: and was forced to cut it off, in hopes of ſtopping a gangrene, which enſued. This remedy did not prove effectual: and there being no hopes of recovery

[1] *Regiſter. S. Trin. London. penes J. Anſtis. arm. Stow's Annals*, p. 138. [2] See *Concil. Lateran. A. D.* 1179 can. 30.

[3] Theſe places were between *Saliſbury* and *Wilton*, between *Warwick* and *Kenilworth*, between *Brackley* and *Mixbury*, between *Blythe* and *Tykehill*, between *Stamford* and *Waringsford* (now pronounced *Wansford.*)

[4] So all writers ſay, except *Gervaſe*, who repreſents the fall as occaſioned by his riding up a hill of ſnow raiſed by boys, who were endeavouring to beat it down. Col. 1588, 1589.

[5] *Neubrig.* l. v. c. 8. *Diceto*, col. 678. *Hoveden.*

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he ſent for the biſhops, who had come on occaſion of that feſtival to *Gratz*, and deſired to have the excommunication taken off, which the Pope had iſſued againſt him for his injuſtice to the king of *England*. He was obliged, and his nobility with him, to take an oath to ſtand to the judgment of the church, with regard to the ſatisfaction he ought to make in that point, before he could get abſolution: and then declaring [1] *Richard* releaſed of all conventions between them, he ordered the money he had received for his ranſome to be reſtored, and the *Engliſh* hoſtages to be ſet at liberty. One of thoſe conventions was, that *Richard's* niece *Eleanor*, ſiſter to *Arthur* duke of *Bretagne*, ſhould be given in marriage to *Leopold's* ſon: and *Baldwin de Bethune* was actually on the road, conducting her towards *Vienna*; but when he heard of this accident, he returned with his charge to *Bretagne*. The young duke of *Auſtria* did not care to execute his father's order, and ſuffered his corpſe to lie a week unburied, before he would releaſe the hoſtages: but the biſhops perſiſting in their refuſal to uſe the *Chriſtian* rites of burial, till this was done, he diſmiſſed them at laſt, and offered them four thouſand marks to be reſtored to *Richard*. The dangers of a long journey, and the inſecurity of the roads they were to paſs, deterred them from charging themſelves with the money: but their return, and the late duke's releaſe before his death, freed the king from the payment of the remainder of his ranſome [2], amounting to twenty thouſand marks, according to *Brompton's* computation.

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LXI. THE emperor *Henry* had, by the help of his ſhare [3] of that ranſome, raiſed a great army: and marching into *Italy*, had reduced *Puglia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicily*; being crowned king of thoſe countries in the right of his empreſs *Conſtance*, on *Chriſtmas day* at *Palermo*. Having paſſed the winter in thoſe parts, and held an aſſembly [4] of the nobility in *Puglia*, at which *Conſtance* (who had, in the *Chriſtmas* holidays, been delivered of a ſon named *Frederic*, at *Eſi*, in the *Marca d'Ancona*) was preſent, here turned in the ſpring to *Germany*, elated with his ſucceſs, and full of projects for reducing all the countries of *Europe*, that had been formerly members of the weſtern empire into a ſtate of vaſſalage. It was with this view that he had offered *Richard*, whilſt his priſoner, the kingdom of *Provence*, and the provinces about the *Rhone*, which had been once imperial fiefs, if he would take the trouble of conquering them: and though this prince had declined the offer, yet conſidering the terms on which he ſtood with *France*, *Henry* imagined he might be tempted to attack that country on one ſide, whilſt he invaded it on another, in order to force *Philip* to do him homage. This was the deſign of an embaſſy, which he ſent ſoon after *Midſummer* to the king of *England*, with the preſent of a golden crown, probably meant for that of *Provence*, and to make an offenſive league againſt *France*; which he repreſented as unable to oppoſe two ſuch formidable powers united, or to hinder his recovery of the places, which he had loſt in *Normandie* during his captivity. *Richard* had no reaſon to be ſatisfied with *Philip's* proceedings; the truce had been ill obſerved; *French* parties having committed frequent depredations in his country: and when he was lately at *Chinon*, fifteen *Sarazens*, impertinently ſolicitous to get near his perſon, had been ſeized upon ſuſpicion; and being examined, had confeſſed they had been ſent by the king of *France* to attempt his life. But he knew there was no dependance upon the emperor's engagements, and that he was full of chimerical projects; that he had lately been on a foot of intimate friendſhip with the king of *France*: and he could not tell but this might be a contrivance between them to draw him into ſome inconvenience, and into a breach of the truce, in order to fall upon him with their joint forces [5]. He had found little benefit

A. D. 1195. Treaty with the emperor, and peace with *France*.

[1] *Rymer*, i. 99. [2] Col. 1261. [3] *Hoveden*. [4] *Giannon. Hiſt. di Napoli*, l. xiv. c. 1.
[5] *Hoveden*, p. 734.

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from the penſions he had given the *German* princes for their aſſiſtance againſt *France*: but an alliance with the head of the empire, being much more conſiderable, and not to be lightly rejected, for fear he ſhould enter into one with his enemy, he ſent the biſhop of *Ely* to diſcover *Henry's* views, and to learn the particulars of his propoſal, the number of troops he would employ in it, with the time, place, and manner of its execution. *Philip*, getting intelligence of the treaty, tried in vain to intercept the biſhop, as he paſſed through ſome part of his territories [1]: and made uſe of it as a pretext, to declare the truce at an end, to make incurſions into *Normandie*, and to demoliſh ſeveral of the caſtles which he held in that province, too much expoſed, and too numerous to be eaſily defended. Among others, that of *Vaudreuil* was deſigned to be ſo treated: but *Richard* advancing with an army to the place, *Philip* thought fit to amuſe him with a conference, till his deſign was executed. In the midſt of their diſcourſe [2], a great part of the walls of the caſtle being undermined, fell down with an horrible noiſe; which made *Richard* in a fury break off the conference, and put himſelf at the head of his army to fall upon the *French*; who thought fit to retreat beyond the *Seine* in ſo much hurry, that *Philip* had like to have been drowned in paſſing a bridge, which broke under him and the croud of his followers. Several *French* knights were left and taken in *Vaudreuil*, no longer tenable: and the king of *England*, advancing thence into *France*, deſtroyed the corn and vines, and made terrible ravages in the open country.

In the mean time, advice coming of the king of *Caſtille* being routed and beſieged in *Toledo*, by a prodigious army of *Moors*, which threatened to over-run all *Spain*; and that king applying for immediate ſuccours in his diſtreſs, a new treaty was ſet on foot, and a ſcheme of peace between the two crowns was drawn up: but as *Richard* did not yet know the emperor's reſolution, and it behoved him to manage a prince, who had in his cuſtody ſeveral of his hoſtages, the concluſion of it was deferred till the octave of *All Saints*, but with ſuch expectations of its then taking effect, that *Adelais* was now delivered to her brother *Philip*, who married her immediately to the count of *Ponthieu*. The two kings came, on *November* 8, to the neighbourhood of the place appointed for their meeting near *Vernueil*: but *Philip*, by an artifice (in which the archbiſhop of *Reims* was his inſtrument to tell *Richard* he came too early, and to keep him from being on the ſpot at the preciſe hour fixed for it) eluded the conference; apparently for no other reaſon, but that his troops might the more [3] ſecurely (whilſt the king of *England* was in that quarter) have their revenge in ravaging another part of *Normandie*, and burn, on *November* 10, the town of *Dieppe* (which *Richard* had lately new built) and all the ſhips that lay in the harbour. Thus was the war renewed: but did not prove of long continuance [4]. A body of the king of *England's Brabantins* having taken the count of *Auvergne*, and ſurprized *Yſſoudun*, and *Philip* haſting thither with a ſmall army to beſiege it, this drew *Richard* from *Vaudreuil*, which he was fortifying, to relieve the place: and a peace was again propoſed. The biſhop of *Ely* was now returned: and had found no ſolidity in the emperor's promiſes, nor any certainty in his meaſures; only that he was deſirous *Richard* ſhould continue the war againſt *France*, till he had recovered the places loſt during his captivity; and to encourage him therein, offered to [5] remit him ſeventeen thouſand marks which remained unpaid of his ranſome. The king of *England* choſe rather to pay that money than enter into *Henry's* meaſures: and though by his unexpected and expeditious march with a good body of troops, he had an advantage againſt *Philip*, who could not retreat without great danger, thought fit to hearken to the treaty which this laſt propoſed. The terms of peace were accordingly ſettled in a conference of the two kings alone on *December* 5, the

[1] *Hoveden*, p. 757, & ſeq. [2] *Neubrig.* l. v. c. 15. [3] *Hoveden.* [4] *Neubrig.* l. v. c. 15, 17. [5] *Neubrig.* l. v. c. 27.

ève of *S. Nicholas*, between *Yſſoudun* and *Charoſt*: and were afterwards ratified, on *January* 14, in a meeting at *Louviers*, between *Vaudreuil* and *Gaillon*, in the preſence of great numbers of the nobility of both kingdoms. RICHARD I. *A. D.* 1195.

BY the articles of this peace [1]; "*Giſors* and *Neaufle*, with the *Vexin Normand*, "*Neufmarché*, *Gaillon*, *Vernon*, *Pacey*, *Ivry*, and *Nonancourt*, with their depen- "dencies, were to remain to the king of *France*; who was to give back to *Richard* "the counties of *Aumale* and *Eu*, with the caſtles of *Arques* and *Driencourt*, and "what elſe had been taken from him ſince his captivity, except the places before "mentioned. *Andely*, belonging to the archbiſhop of *Roüen*, was not to be for- "tified: and the limits of *France* and *Normandie* between *Vaudreuil* and *Gaillon* "were to be marked by a line drawn from the river *Eure* to the *Seine*. The king "of *England*, giving up what he had claimed in *Auvergne*, was to retain *Yſſoudun*, "*Graſſay*, with all the fiefs belonging to them, and thoſe of *la Chatre*, *S. Chatelet*, "*Chateau Meillant*, and *Seillac*, with their dependencies in *Berry*: but *Philip* was "allowed to fortify *Villeneufve ſur Cher*. The priſoners were to be releaſed on "both ſides; the count of *Toulouſe* was to be left in the ſame ſtate he was in on "*September* 5: and the counts of *Perigord* and *Engouleſme*, being reſtored to their "lands, were to do their homage and ſervices to *Richard*." Theſe were the principal articles of the treaty [2]; to which *Hoveden*, *Neubrigenſis*, and others, add a particular convention, for the forfeiture of fifteen thouſand marks by the party, that firſt broke the conditions, and began hoſtilities.

LXII. WHILST the king was engaged in war abroad, *Hubert* archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was exerciſing in *England*, the legatine character lately given him, in triumphing over the rival church of *York*, and his authority of chief juſticiary and guardian of the realm, in preſerving the peace of the kingdom. *Geffrey* archbiſhop of *York* ſeems [3] to have been of his father *Henry's* principles with regard to the court of *Rome*: he diſcountenanced all appeals thither, and impriſoned ſuch as made them; he minded no privileges granted by the Pope; ſlighted all decrees made by the papal authority; and when any of his clergy had by application procured ſuch decrees in their favour, he inſiſting on the old cuſtoms and laws of the realm, deprived them of their dignities and benefices. There could not be a greater offence committed againſt the court of *Rome*: and this prelate having at the ſame time a diſpute with his chapter about putting in a dean of *Yorke*, to which dignity he claimed a right of collating, and they of electing, and being in diſgrace with the Pope, if not under a ſuſpenſion for neglecting to appear at *Rome*, upon ſummons to anſwer ſome groundleſs articles exhibited by them againſt him, it was a very favourable juncture for *Hubert* to exerciſe his legatine juriſdiction over that province. In this ſituation of affairs, no body in *Geffrey's* abſence ventured to oppoſe his viſitation, notwithſtanding the exemption of that church from the legatine juriſdiction, which *Celeſtine* ſuperſeded on this occaſion: and the legate held in *June*, as well a *Court Chriſtian*, in which he deprived *Robert* abbot of *St. Maries*, as too old and infirm for government, as a ſynod of the dioceſe, in which he made ſeveral canons agreeable to the determinations of former councils. Tranſactions in *England*, and ſedition in *London*.

IN his adminiſtration of the government, *Hubert* took care [4] to ſuppreſs the robbers, which ſheltered by the foreſts ſpread in all parts of the realm, infeſted the country; iſſuing a proclamation againſt them and all that harboured them; and obliging all perſons of the age of fifteen and upwards to take an oath to diſcover, and do their beſt to ſeize them, and to keep the king's peace themſelves. By this means many being taken, and the reſt flying, the nation was freed from thoſe diſturbers of its quiet;

[1] *Rymer*, i. 91. [2] P. 765. l. 5. c. 18. [3] *Hoveden*, p. 762. [4] *Hoveden*. p. 757, 774.

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quiet; and king *William* found the regulation ſo uſeful, that he ſoon after eſtabliſhed the ſame in *Scotland*. *Hubert* had a more difficult work in ſuppreſſing the ſquabbles and tumults that frequently happened between the rich and poor citizens of *London*, and in preventing [1] the miſchiefs threatned by a dangerous conſpiracy and aſſociation carried on there, by one *William*, called *Longbeard*, from his letting it grow to an exceſſive length, to render himſelf the more remarkable by that diſtinction. The man was a lawyer by profeſſion; had very quick parts, ſome learning, and a very fluent tongue; was forward, impudent, and enterprizing, a libertine, and capable of any iniquity: and had falſly accuſed his elder brother of treaſon, becauſe he would not ſupply his extravagance. He hoped to make his fortune by being popular; and working himſelf into the affections of the common people, had got into a ſhare of the magiſtracy of the city; ſetting himſelf up for an *advocate*, or (as he ſtyled himſelf) the *king*, or *ſaviour of the poor*, on all occaſions. The king's ranſome and foreign wars having cauſed ſome taillages to be raiſed on the city, he maintained that theſe were laid unequally: and as they ought to be aſſeſſed according to the eſtates and abilities of the citizens, he complained that the poorer ſort were over-rated; and going abroad to the king, procured them a redreſs of that grievance. This ſucceſs eſtabliſhing his credit with the populace, and affording him a pretence to brag of the king's favour, he grew intolerably inſolent: and animated his accomplices to inſults, ſo that the better ſort of citizens were forced to ſtand upon their guard night and day, and tumults frequently happened even in the church of *St. Paul*. Whether any endeavours were uſed to propagate this ſeditious ſpirit, into other places, *Hubert* put forth a proclamation forbidding the poorer citizens to ſtir out of *London:* but it was there riſen to ſuch an height, that fifty-two thouſand perſons had ſet their names to an aſſociation for obeying all the orders of *William*; who made no ſcruple of committing murders, and had provided great plenty of iron tools for breaking open the houſes of the wealthy citizens. The evil was grown to ſuch an height, that it was generally apprehended it would end in the deſtruction of the city; and it was high time for the government to interpoſe with its authority: but as the faction was ſo very ſtrong, the archbiſhop thought it beſt to proceed by degrees, and begin in a gentle manner. A common hall being convened, *Hubert* harangued the citizens: and complaining in mild terms of the diſorders daily committed, and of the plots and meaſures imputed to them by common report, perſuaded them to give hoſtages for keeping the peace, in order to avoid any ſiniſter interpretation of their conduct, or ſuſpicion of their deſigns. When this was done, *William* was ſummoned before the council to anſwer to an accuſation brought againſt him: but he came attended with ſuch numbers, that his accuſers durſt not give in their teſtimony, and the trial was put off, till he might be found without his mob, and be ſeized without a tumult. The people were grown more quiet, ſince they had given hoſtages for their behaviour: and two of the chief citizens finding a convenient opportunity, *Hubert* ſent a guard with them to ſeize *William*; who killing one of them with an halbert, got from his houſe to the neighbouring church of *S. Mary le Bow*, with his concubine, and ſome of his accomplices, who had ſlain the other citizen. This church he made uſe of as a garriſon, rather than a ſanctuary; fortifying himſelf there with armes and proviſions, and expecting to be joined by the populace; who were concerned for him, but durſt not attempt to reſcue him, either out of regard to their hoſtages, or for fear of the military forces, that inveſted the church, and were well armed, as well as numerous. *Hubert*, to be ſure of his point, had taken the precaution to ſend for theſe out of the provinces: but though they patrolled about the ſtreets, and ſurrounded the

[1] *Ibid.* p. 765. *Neubrig.* l. v. c. 20, 21, 22. *Diceto*, col. 691. *M. Paris. Gervaſ.* col. 1591.

church,

church ſo, that it was not poſſible for *William* to eſcape thence, he refuſed to come out and ſubmit to a trial; ſtill feeding himſelf with vain hopes of being relieved by the conſpirators. The archbiſhop ordering the church to be forced, *William* was obliged to retire into the ſteeple; where he kept garriſon till he was almoſt ſuffocated by the ſmoke of a fire made to drive him thence; and being then neceſſitated to quit his retreat, was taken, tried, and condemned by the king's court to be drawn at an horſe's tail from the tower, through the ſtreets of the city to the elms, and to be hanged in chains with nine of his accomplices. Endeavours were uſed to repreſent this murderer and libertine as a martyr; impudent reports were ſpread of miracles wrought by him; the gibbet was ſtole, in order to be honoured like the croſs; the turf about the place it ſtood on, was carried off for the cure of the ſick: there was an infinite reſort of people to the place, either out of curioſity or devotion; and notwithſtanding his crimes, he might have paſſed for as good a martyr at *London*, as *Becket* did at *Canterbury*, if the archbiſhop had not ſet a guard on the place to keep off the ſenſeleſs multitude, and uſed ſome other wholeſome ſeverities; which, in a few days, ſtifled the falſhoods that were given out, and put an end to the ſuperſtition, into which the credulous populace was running. RICHARD I. *A. D.* 1196.

THIS[1] happened in *Lent*, a few days after the deceaſe of the abbot of *Caen*, a notable man in worldly affairs; who had inſinuated himſelf into the king's favour, and perſuaded him that a great part of the revenue of the crown was embezzled by the frauds of his officers; and it might, by an honeſt and careful management, be eaſily doubled, without any grievance to his ſubjects. The king ſending him over to execute his ſcheme, with powers to call all the ſheriffs and officers of his revenue to an account, orders were ſent to them throughout *England* to come at *Eaſter* to *London* with their accompts, to lay them before the abbot; who, to their great ſatisfaction, died before the day appointed. Archbiſhop *Hubert* was neither pleaſed with his commiſſion, though he had given the neceſſary orders for its execution, nor ſorry for his death: and perhaps the different events of the abbot's arrival and deceaſe, might give occaſion to the different reſolutions, which *Hubert* is repreſented to have[2] formed about this time; having firſt deſired leave of *Richard* to reſign his civil poſts, as too great a burden for him to bear, and when he had got leave, offering, notwithſtanding his age, to continue in his employments. As chief juſticiary and guardian of the realm, he had the chief management and direction of the crown revenue, which all paſſed through his hands: and to engage *Richard* to continue him in the government, perhaps to remove the late abbot's ſuggeſtions out of the king's head, he ſent him word, that he had looked over all his accompts, and found he had, in the two laſt years, remitted him eleven hundred thouſand marks out of *England*. There needed nothing more to engage the king to continue ſo good a manager of the patrimony of the crown, and a man ſo uſeful for his ſervice in the poſts, which he had hitherto filled with dignity, and had exerciſed the powers annexed to them with great prudence, judgment, and capacity.

HE had been employed in the beginning of this year to treat with *William* king of *Scotland*, for the marriage[3] of his eldeſt daughter *Margaret* with *Otho*, a younger ſon of *Henry* the *Lion*, duke of *Saxony*; to whom that king, having no male iſſue, when he was ill the year before at *Clac-man-nan*, had propoſed to give her, and make him his ſucceſſor in the throne of *Scotland*. Earl *Patric*, and others of the *Scotch* nobility, being deſirous that *David* earl of *Huntingdon* ſhould ſucceed his brother, declared themſelves againſt this ſettlement of the crown on a foreigner; alledging that it did not uſe to deſcend to a daughter, when the king reigning had ſo near a male relation as a brother: but *William*, upon his recovery, ſtill perſiſted

[1] *Neubrig.* l. v. c. 19. [2] *Hoveden*, 767. [3] *Ib.* p. 757.

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in the ſame reſolution. It was either to conſider of meaſures to baffle the efforts of the oppoſers, or to procure ſuch advantageous terms from *Richard* in favour of his nephew *Otho*, as might reconcile the *Scots* to his ſucceſſion [1], that *Hubert* came at *Chriſtmas* to *York*, to confer with the king of *Scotland*. The terms agreed on were, that *William* ſhould give all *Lothian* with his daughter to *Otho*, and *Richard* ſhould grant to them and their heirs all *Northumberland* and the county of *Carliſle*; and that the king of *Scotland* ſhould have the cuſtody of theſe two laſt counties; and the king of *England* that of *Lothian*, with the caſtles therein reſpectively. Before this agreement could be executed, the queen of *Scotland* became pregnant of a ſon, which put a ſtop to the whole ſcheme: and it was perhaps to comfort *Otho* under the diſappointment, or by way of acknowledgment for ſervices done him during his captivity in *Germany*, that before this year expired, *Richard* gave him the county of *Poitiers* [2], by which, in the language of that age, is uſually meant the dutchy of *Guienne*. *Hubert* had, not long after, an occaſion of exerciſing the military talents he had acquired in the wars of *Paleſtine* [3]; for *Rees* prince of *South-Wales*, having burnt *Caermarthen* and the caſtle of *Clun*, taken that of *Radnor*, and defeated *Roger Mortimer* and *Hugh de Saye* in battle [4]; and *Wenwynnyn* prince of *Powis* infeſting the borders of *Shropſhire*, he marched with an army againſt the latter, took his caſtle of *Poole*, and manned it with a ſtrong garriſon. It was indeed recovered after his return to *England:* but *Rees* dying on *May* 4, the year following, and his ſons drawing *Wenwynnyn* and others of the *Welſh* nobility into their quarrel about his ſucceſſion, *Hubert* had an opportunity of getting *Griffith*, the eldeſt ſon of *Rees*, into his hands: and by making an accommodation between the parties, reſtored the peace of the country.

War again with *France*.

LXIII. The peace which the king of *England* had made with *France*, was, in a little time, violated by the latter, on occaſion of ſome diſturbances in *Bretagne*. *Conſtance*, the heireſs of that country, after the death of her huſband *Geffrey*, to whom her father *Conan* had, by the articles of their marriage, conſigned the dutchy, was married to *Ralf Blundeville* earl of *Cheſter*; who had, upon that account, poſſeſſion given him of the honour of *Richmond*, and under the late king adminiſtered the affairs of *Bretagne*. This nobleman did not agree well with his wife; nor was his government agreeable to the *Bretons* [5]: they had driven him the year before out of the country, and he had retired to his lands in *Normandie*. A little after *Eaſter* this year, the king, deſirous to make peace between them, ſent for *Conſtance:* but ſhe being ſurprized by her huſband on the road at *Pontorſon*, and confined in his caſtle of *S. James de Bevron*; *Andrew de Vitré* and other *Breton* noblemen ſent to her for directions about the conduct proper for them to obſerve, either for procuring her liberty, or for ſecuring the intereſts of her ſon *Arthur*. This young prince was now ſcarce nine years old: and the king claimed his guardianſhip, as well becauſe he was his father's brother, as in the right of ſuperiority, which the dukes of *Normandie* had over the fief of *Bretagne*. *Conſtance*, provoked probably by her impriſonment, ſent them inſtructions by *William* ſeneſchal of *Rennes*, to take care of the perſon of her ſon, to do homage to him, and ſupport his intereſts. Theſe would certainly have been beſt promoted by keeping well with his uncle [6]; to whom he was preſumptive heir, and who had already ſhewn his affection to him, by declaring him his ſucceſſor in all his dominions: but ſeveral of thoſe lords, into whoſe hands *Arthur* fell, were in the *French* intereſt; and when *Richard* came to *Rennes*, in hopes of finding his nephew, and of being received for his guardian, they had conveyed him away to *S. Paul de Leon*, in the lower *Bretagne*, and applied

[1] *Hoveden*, p. 579. [2] *Ib.* 766. [3] *Powel's Hiſt. of Wales*, p. 247, 248. [4] *Gervaſ.* col. 1596.
[5] *Hiſt. de Bretagne par d'Hozier*, p. 201, 202, 203, 204. *Hoveden*, p. 766. [6] *Neubrig.* l. v. c. 18.

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to *France* for assistance. *Philip* was now sorry that he had given up so many for- RICHARD I.
tresses in *Normandie* by the late peace: and seeing that *Richard* had been forced *A. D.* 1196.
to send *Marchadée* with his *Brabantins*, and *Stephen de Turnham* with the forces of *Poitou*, *Anjou*, and *le Maine*, and a party of *English* and *Normans* into the further parts of *Bretagne* (where a bloody battle was fought near *Caerhaes*, in the diocese of *Cornouaille*, between them and the *Bretons*, with some disadvantage to *Richard's* forces) he resolved to embrace an opportunity, that appeared so favourable, to renew the war with advantage. This exposed the [1] abbots of *S. Denis*, *Marmoutier*, and *Cluny*, and the prior of *la Charité* to the payment of fifteen thousand marks forfeited by the infringer of the peace, for which they had been his sureties: and to make good the money, *Richard* seized the lands belonging to those convents in *England*.

IT was some time after midsummer, that the king of *France*, fell with a great army into *Normandie*, and invested *Aumale*; one of the castles which he had delivered up at the late peace, and which had been since well fortified by *Richard*, and supplied with men and provisions. The king of *England* was not prepared for this invasion; most of his forces being employed in *Bretagne:* yet drawing a small body together, he took *Nonancourt*; and having ravaged the borders of *France*, made an attempt to relieve *Aumale*. The party which he proposed to throw into the place being defeated, the garrison, after a brave defence of seven weeks, during which great numbers of the besiegers had fallen in various unsuccessful assaults, was at last forced to surrender; the castle was demolished: and it cost *Richard* three thousand marks to ransome the prisoners. *Philip* not long after recovered *Nonancourt*, and the king of *England* took *Gamages:* such were the little actions, which passed in this year's campagne; at the latter end whereof, *Richard's* affairs were greatly amended. He had by wasting the lands [2] of the *Breton* lords, forced them to a submission, to comply with his terms, and to give hostages for their fidelity; *Constance* being set at liberty, and her son committed to her care, under an obligation to do nothing without the king of *England's* advice. He had secured the quiet of *Guienne*, and put an end to a quarrel, which had lasted near forty years with the count of *Toulouse*, by agreeing to the latter's marriage with his sister *Jane*, relict of *William* II, king of *Sicily*. [3] *Raimond* VI, had seen that fair widow, as he passed with queen *Berengaria* in their return from the *Holy Land*, through his father's territories to *Bourdeaux:* and was much taken with her beauty and amiable qualities. They were married in *October:* and in consideration of this marriage, of homage, and the service of five hundred horse for a month, at the count's expence, whenever there should be a war in *Guienne*, *Richard* restored all the castles he had formerly taken from his father, and gave him the *Agenois* and *Quercy*.

THUS secure on the side of *Guienne*, the king proposed to strengthen the frontier of *Normandie:* and as the isle of the *Seine* near *Andely* afforded the *French* an easy passage into the country, he resolved to fortify *Andely* to stop their incursions. *Robert de Monte* placeth the erecting of this fortress in *A. D.* 1198: but it was probably begun at the latter end of this year; since *Walter* archbishop of *Roüen* opposing the work [4] and agreeing to refer the matter to the Pope, went to *Rome*, and *Richard's* agents set out after *Christmas* holidays on their journey thither; *William* bishop of *Ely*, one of the number dying on *Jan.* 31, *A. D.* 1197, at *Poitiers*. *Andely* belonged to the see of *Roüen:* and the archbishop taking no care to fortify

[1] *Hoveden*, p. 765. *Neubrig.* l. v. c. 18, 25. [2] *Hoveden. Rob. de Monte. Neubrig.* l. v. c. 30.
[3] *Catal. Hist. des Comtes de Toulouse*, p. 223. *Chron. Anon.* p. 160. *Bern. Guido de Com. Toloſ.*
[4] *Neubr.* p. 39. l. v. c. 29. *Hoveden. Angl. Sacr.* i. 632.

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it, the king, for the ſecurity of the country, reſolved to be at the expence of ſo neceſſary a work; offering to make ſatisfaction for the damages the church would ſuſtain. That prelate, too ſtiff in the point of eccleſiaſtical rights to comply in the leaſt article for the ſake of the publick good [1], rejected the equivalent propoſed; appealed to the Pope for redreſs of the pretended injury: and put all *Normandie* under an interdict. The Pope, upon hearing the cauſe, ſaw clearly the reaſonableneſs of the king of *England's* proceedings: and ordered *Andely* to be conveyed to him, in exchange for lands of an equal value. [2] *Richard* gave the church of *Roüen*, the towns of *Dieppe*, *Louviers*, and *Bouteilles*, with other poſſeſſions, worth above five hundred a year more than the revenue of *Andely:* and the inſtrument containing this exchange being executed on *Oct.* 17, the fortifications of the laſt named place were compleated, and the famous *Chateau-Gaillard* erected; which ſerved on that ſide for the bulwark of *Normandie*.

There had been, for five years together, in the weſt of *Europe* [3], ſuch inclement ſeaſons, continued rains, and bad harveſts, that there was a great dearth of all ſorts of grain, and it was very difficult to ſupport an army in the field: in *England*, particularly, the poor died of want, or were carried off in vaſt numbers by a plague, the natural conſequence of a famine. This was perhaps the reaſon, why the war between the two crowns was carried on chiefly by ſmall enterprizes and ſudden incurſions. In one of theſe, as ſoon as *Eaſter* holidays were over [4], *Richard* entering *Picardie*, took on *April* 15, the town of *S. Valery* on the *Somme*; deſtroyed the caſtle; ſeized all the ſhips in the port, many whereof were richly laden; and having hanged up the maſters of five *Engliſh* veſſels, who had brought corn and proviſions for the relief of the enemy, returned with a great booty into *Normandie*. Not long after, the caſtle of *Milly* in the *Beauvoiſis* was inveſted by *John* count of *Mortain*, and *Marcadée* general of the *Brabantins:* and being taken by aſſault, was demoliſhed. *Peter de Dreux* [5], couſin german to the king of *France* and biſhop of *Beauvais*, had advanced with *William de Merlou*, and a body of troops to raiſe the ſiege: but falling into an ambuſcade on *Monday May* 19, they were routed and both taken priſoners. The biſhop, who had more in him of the ſoldier than the prelate, was kept cloſely confined with fetters on his feet at *Roüen:* and two of his clergy coming to petition for a milder treatment, *Richard* told them, he did it by way of retaliation for many injuries he had received in the Eaſt, as well as in *Germany*; where having been treated with decorum till *Peter's* arrival and conference over night with the emperor, he was loaded the next morning with as many irons as an horſe could carry; the effect of that prelate's inſtances. The biſhop applied to the Pope, in hopes he might interpoſe for his releaſe: but the Pontiff declining to make ſuch a demand in favour of a man taken in armes, the king would not releaſe him, unleſs he paid ten thouſand marks for his ranſome. *Richard* afterwards having taken *Dangu*, a place conſiderable by its ſituation [6] on the frontiers of the *Vexin Normand*, near *Giſors*, marched into *Auvergne*, where he reduced ten caſtles: but in his abſence, *Philip* recoved *Dangu*; and having demoliſhed it, was called away with his forces into *Flanders*.

The king of *France* had, from his firſt entrance upon government, made it his buſineſs to retrench the privileges, and cruſh the power of his nobility, who had acted in former reigns, as if they had been independent on the crown: and the greater a fief was, the more was it the object of his jealouſy and encroachments. This had cauſed a general diſcontent among the great lords; and whilſt all expected daily ſome defalcation of their power, *Richard* found means to gain ſome of them

[1] *Neubrig.* l. v. c. 28. [2] *Diceto*, col. 700. *Rymer*, i. 97. [3] *Neubrig.* l. v. c. 26, 31. [4] *Hoveden. Neubrig.* l. v. c. 31. *Diceto*, col. 696. [5] *Ib.* col. 697. *Hoveden*, p. 768. [6] *M. Paris. Neubrig.* l. v. c. 32.

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over to his intereſt. The moſt conſiderable of theſe were the princes [1] of the houſe of *Champagne*, and *Renaud de Dammartin* count of *Boulogne*, in right of his wife *Ida*, the eldeſt daughter of *Matthew*, brother to *Philip* late count of *Flanders:* but neither of them ſo powerful as *Baldwin*, the preſent count of *Flanders* and *Hainault*; who could not but reſent the loſs of a third part of his territories, which had been ſeized by the king *France* upon the death of his predeceſſor. *Richard* entered [2] into a league with this prince, deſigned to be perpetual in peace and war, and to be obligatory on their heirs as well as themſelves; engaging to aſſiſt and defend one another on all occaſions; to carry on the war jointly againſt *France*; and not to make either truce or peace with *Philip*, without their mutual conſent. *Baldwin* was, in conſequence of this treaty, ſupplied by the king of *England* with five thouſand marks, levied a great army: and, having taken *Douay*, *Aire*, and ſeveral other fortreſſes, ſat down before *Arras*. *Philip*, to ſtop his progreſs, advanced with his forces into *Artois:* and upon the news of his approach, *Baldwin* raiſed the ſiege; retiring with his troops to tempt the enemy to purſue him the more eagerly. [3] But when *Philip* was got far into the country, without having taken proper precautions to ſecure the bridges on the rivers he had paſſed, the count took care to break them, to open the ſluices, and to ſeize paſſes behind him; ſo that about the middle of *Auguſt*, the *French* army could neither be ſupplied with proviſions, nor make a retreat without the utmoſt danger. In theſe difficulties, [4] *Philip* ſent to treat with *Baldwin*, to put him in mind of his duty as a vaſſal of *France*, and to aſſure him of the reſtitution of what had been taken from him, if he would break with the king of *England*, the great enemy of the *French* monarchy. The count [5], flattered with the proſpect of getting quietly all that he deſired, declared, that having given hoſtages for the performance of his treaty with the king of *England*, he could not quit him abruptly, nor abſolutely conclude a peace in form without his conſent, which he would do all he could to obtain; but ſignified withal to *Philip*, that he might retire with his forces, without any apprehenſions of being attacked. Thus the *French* army got off in ſafety; and *Philip* having gained his ends, forgot, according to his ordinary practice, all the ſtipulations he had made, and for the performance whereof he had given hoſtages to *Baldwin:* who acting the part of a mediator, perſuaded the king of *England* to agree to a conference on *Wedneſday*, [6] *September* 17, between *Gaillon* and *Audely*. The animoſities of the two kings were as yet too keen to allow them to agree on terms of peace: but the nobility on both ſides, the ſervices of whoſe tenures were the principal ſinews of the war in thoſe days, and the clergy, being ever deſirous of putting an end to hoſtilities, their inſtances prevailed ſo much upon their lords, that a truce was concluded for a year; with ſtipulations for a liberty of commerce between the two nations, and that the priſoners on both ſides ſhould be releaſed, upon paying a reaſonable ranſome.

RICHARD I. *A. D.* 1197.

LXIV. RICHARD ſaw plainly, that there was no depending on the count of *Flanders:* and it was not ſo much his inſtances that prevailed with him to come into this truce [7], as the perſuaſions of *Hubert* archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; whom he had ſent for over into *Normandie*, and who continued with him from the middle of *June*, to the beginning of *November*. It [8] was on the twentieth of this month, that (by the advice of the prelates and barons, as *Walter de Coventry*, *Brompton*, and others, ſay) he iſſued a proclamation, ordering one coin only to be current, and one ſet of weights and meaſures to be uniformly obſerved throughout *England*, with ſome regulations to ſecure them from being falſified, to fix the breadth of woolen

Regulations in *England*, and truce with *France*.

[1] *Neubrig.* l. v. c. 32. [2] *Rymer*, i. 94. *Diceto*, col. 697. [3] *M. Paris. Gervaſ.* col. 1597. [4] *Hoveden*, p. 770. [5] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 1597. *Hoveden*, 770. [6] *Gervaſe* ſays this conference was on *September* 8. [7] *Gervaſ. ib. Diceto*, col. 700. [8] *Hoveden*, p. 775.

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cloths at two ells within the liſt, and to prevent ſome frauds made uſe of to impoſe on buyers in their goodneſs. He afterwards made a progreſs into the marſhes of *Wales*, changing the governors of the caſtles of *Hereford*, *Ludlow*, and *Bridgenorth*: and going thence to *Coventry*, turned the ſecular canons out of the priory, and reſtored the monks, who had been expelled by *Hugh Nonant*, biſhop of the dioceſe. This was done in purſuance of a mandate from Pope *Celeſtine*; who dying at the time of this progreſs on *January* 8, *Hubert* found his authority much abridged; his character of legate ceaſing by that event [1], and he not being able ever to get it renewed by *Innocent* III, a young cardinal, thirty ſeven years of age, now raiſed to the papacy. Whether this Pope had any particular prejudice to the archbiſhop, or was diſpleaſed at his going on with the chapel of *Lambeth*, a work begun by his predeceſſor *Baldwin*, ſuſpected by the monks of *Chriſt-Church Canterbury* to be carried on with the ſame deſign, as the late collegiate church of *Hakinton*, and therefore ordered ſoon after by *Innocent* to be demoliſhed [2], he thought fit to hearken to the complaints of thoſe monks on another ſubject; in which not being themſelves particularly intereſted, they could have no deſign, but to leſſen the power of a man, whom they conſidered as too potent an enemy. They wanted to remove *Hubert* from his poſt of chief juſticiary: and as the eccleſiaſtical canons forbade all clergymen to take upon them civil employments, *Innocent* found thence a pretence to order the archbiſhop to reſign his poſt; in which he was ſucceeded by *Geffrey Fitz Piers*, who in the right of his wife *Beatrix de Saye*, had ſucceeded to the barony of *W. de Mandeville*, the late earl of *Eſſex*.

It was [3] in the time of this new juſticiary, who had been before a juſtice of the king's court, that the inſtructions, mentioned by *Hoveden*, were given to the itinerant juſtices, and the aſſize of the foreſt was publiſhed by *Hugh de Nevil*, chief juſticiary of the foreſts of all *England*, and his aſſociates; which there is no occaſion to ſpecify, becauſe agreeable to thoſe in the reign of *Henry* II, except in one inſtance. This was a declaration in the king's name, that offenders, who committed waſte in his foreſts, or deſtroyed his veniſon, ſhould no longer have the benefit of the mild regulations of his father; who inflicted on them moderate fines, or a ſhort impriſonment; but ſhould, as in the reign of *Henry* I, be puniſhed capitally. It was under this juſticiary's adminiſtration, though it be uncertain whether it was not begun by *Hubert*, and only [4] enhanced by *Geffrey*, that the talliage, mentioned by hiſtorians, was collected, at the rate, firſt of two ſhillings, but afterwards raiſed by the additional payment of three ſhillings more, for every carucate or hide of land through the kingdom; the quantity of each hide being ſettled at an hundred acres [5]. This rate of five ſhillings on ſix ſcore acres (ſuch was the uſual computation of an hundred) was deemed a very heavy tax in thoſe days, and was indeed the higheſt that had been laid, ſince the reign of the *Conqueror*: it fell not on the gentry who held by knight's ſervice, but on ſocage tenants and farmers. The king had a power of laying talliages on all the demeſnes of the crown: nor were cities and burghs, though incorporated and endowed with various privileges, exempted from this branch of power; no charter of the crown, or grant of a fee-farm to corporations, ever giving up the royal prerogative in this reſpect. But this tax ſeems to have been laid by the conſent and authority of the lay-barons; as well, becauſe it was charged on their tenants and copy-holders, as becauſe the vaſſals of the prelates are not mentioned; and there is an expreſs exception in favour of the free fiefs of pariſh churches [6]. It appears likewiſe from the ſame hiſtorian, that the clergy refuſed at firſt to concur in this grant: but having, on account of their refuſal, been put out of the protection of the king's courts, and diſabled to recover any debt or forfeiture,

[1] *Chron. Gervaſ.* col. 601, & ſeq. [2] *Hoveden*, p. 779. [3] P. 783, & ſeq. [4] *Ib.* p. 778.
[5] *Selden's* notes on *Hengham*, t. vi. p. 1918. [6] *Ib.* p. 785.

whilſt

whilſt every body was encouraged to ſue them, they were at laſt, by this diſcipline, conſtrained to conſent to the like tax of five ſhillings an hide on their lands, as had been granted before by the laity. The money was collected by the bailiff, and two legal knights of each hundred; who anſwered for it to the ſheriff of the county: and this officer accounted for it to the exchequer. *Greffrey's*[1] adminiſtration was likewiſe ſignalized by an expedition into *South-Wales*, to raiſe the ſiege of *Caſtle Payne* in *Radnorſhire*; where *William de Braouſe* was attacked by *Gwenwynwyn* lord of the higher *Powis*, in revenge of the murder of his couſin *Trahern Vaughan*, who had been treacherouſly put to death by *William* the year before. The juſticiary brought with him a good body of forces, and was joined by the lords of the marches with theirs: but *Gwenwynwyn* rejecting all overtures of peace, *Geffrey*, not thinking himſelf yet ſtrong enough to fight him, ſet *Griffith ap Rees* at liberty, in order to raiſe his followers, and have his revenge on a man, who had done him great injuries, and uſurped ſome of his territories. This *Welſh* prince joining the *Engliſh* with his forces, a battle enſued, on[2] *Aug.* 13; in which *Gwenwynwyn* was routed; above three thouſand of his army were ſlain on the ſpot, abundance of priſoners taken: and *Geffrey*, after this victory, returned home with great honour. RICHARD I. A. D. 1198.

THE king in the[3] mean time had been ſummoned to attend a *German* diet, called to meet at *Cologne* on *April* 24, for the election of an emperor, in the room of *Hen.* VI, who had died the year before on *St. Mathew's* eve, at *Meſſina*. The method then taken in the election was, that the prelates and nobility of the empire, being met together, choſe twelve perſons, and preſented them to the archbiſhops of *Mentz* and *Cologne*, the duke of *Saxony*, and the count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*; and theſe four making choice of one of thoſe twelve, he was declared king of *Germany*, and crowned at *Aix la Chapelle*. The reaſon, why *Richard* was ſummoned, ſeems to have been, either on account of the late emperor's grant to him of the kingdom of *Provence*, or becauſe the lands which he poſſeſſed in *France*, had been formerly part of the empire; and had, upon *Philip's* invading them, after notifying to him that he rejected his homage and renounced him for a vaſſal, done homage for them, whilſt in dureſs, to the late emperor. He did not care to go in perſon, for fear either of ſome ill uſage from the friends of the late emperor, whoſe corpſe ſtill lay unburied on his account, for want of the reſtitution of his ranſome, or of being teazed for money by others, to whom he had made promiſes during his captivity: but ſent embaſſadors to the diet, with inſtructions (ſince his eldeſt nephew *Henry* duke of *Saxony*, who was alſo the count *Palatine*, could not be choſen by reaſon of his abſence in the *Holy Land)* to ſollicite the election of this prince's younger brother *Otho*; who was accordingly one of the twelve returned to the principal electors. *Philip* duke of *Suabia*, brother to the late emperor, was another of the twelve; but the archbiſhops of *Mentz* and *Cologne* made choice of *Otho*, who was afterwards approved by his brother *Henry*. *Otho* thus legally elected[4], married afterwards a daughter of the duke of *Lovain:* and was crowned on *July* 12, at *Aix la Chapelle*, by *Adolph* archbiſhop of *Cologne*, in the preſence of his father-in-law, the duke of *Limburgh*, the counts of *Flanders*, and *Namur*, and abundance of other princes and prelates of the empire. His right was diſputed for ſome years by *Philip:* yet had *Richard* lived longer, this would not have hindered his receiving conſiderable ſervices from an alliance with *Otho* and the princes of his party.

IN this conteſt between the houſes of *Saxony* and *Suabia* for the empire, the king of *France* took part with *Philip:* and[5] on *June* 29, made a league with him

[1] *Gervaſe* of *Canterbury*, col. 1614, aſcribes this expedition and victory to archbiſhop *Hubert*; adding, that upon his return from it in *Auguſt* he reſigned his guardianſhip of *England*, to *Geffrey*.
[2] *Diceto*, col. 704. [3] *Hoveden*, p. 776.
[4] *Diceto*, col. 703. [5] *Rymer*, i. 107.

againſt

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againſt the emperor *Otho*, the king of *England*, the archbiſhop of *Cologne* and the count of *Flanders*; whilſt this count[1], with the duke of *Lovain*, the counts of *Braine*, *Bologne*, *Guiſnes*, *Perche*, *Blois*, and *Toulouſe*, adhered to *Richard*; engaging upon oath to make no peace with *France*, but by common conſent. The truce between the two crowns expiring at the end of harveſt, and *Philip* having kept none of his ſtipulations with the count of *Flanders*[2], *Baldwin* entered *Artois*, with an army; and inveſting *S. Omer*, on *Sept.* 6, took it after a ſiege of three weeks. The king of *France* began the war about the ſame time on the frontiers of *Normandie*; but in a more cruel manner than had ever been known before; putting out the eyes of ſuch as he had taken priſoners; which provoked *Richard*, much againſt his will, to a retaliation. The two kings came ſoon to an action between *Gamages* and *Vernon*, in which the king of *France* was routed with a conſiderable loſs, and purſued by *Richard* to the gates of *Vernon*; from whence the former retired to *Mante*, to recruit his forces. The king of *England* after this victory reduced the caſtles of *Cerifontaine*, *Bouris*, and *Courcelles*; all of them very conveniently ſeated to ſtraiten *Giſors*, eſpecially the laſt, which was taken by ſtorm: but *Philip*, being ignorant of that event, reſolved to attempt its relief[3]. With this view, he marched on *Sept.* 28, from *Mante*, at the head of four hundred knights, with a thouſand eſquires on horſeback, and a large body of the *French* militia: but when he was advanced near *Courcelles*, finding the place was taken, he wheeled off towards *Giſors*. *Richard* was at *Dangu*, when he received intelligence of their march; and imagining that *Philip* was coming directly to fight him, drew up his army on the banks of the *Epte*, on the *Dangu* ſide of the river: but finding, by the alteration of his route, that he had no ſuch deſign; and being perhaps better informed of his numbers, he paſſed the ford with a ſmall party of his troops, and attacked him between *Courcelles* and *Giſors* with ſo much reſolution, that the *French* were routed, and fled in great diſorder, to the laſt of thoſe fortreſſes. They could not enter it but by a bridge that lay over the *Epte*; which, as *Philip* was paſſing it, followed by a crowd of runaways cloſe purſued by the enemy, and eager to get into a place of ſafety, broke under their weight: and all that were upon it fell into the river; *Milo de Puſey* count of *Bar ſur Seine*, and *John de Barres*, with about twenty knights, being drowned, and the king himſelf narrowly eſcaping by being ſuccoured immediately. This accident cutting off the retreat of the reſt, they were moſt of them either killed or taken priſoners; there being among the latter an hundred knights of figure and quality; three of which, *Matthew de Montmorency*, *Alan de Rouſſy*, and *Fulk de Gilerval*, were unhorſed by a ſingle lance, and taken by *Richard* himſelf. The names of forty of theſe are particularly mentioned in the letter[4] the king wrote on this occaſion to the biſhop of *Durham:* in which it is further obſerved, that the other knights, eſquires, and foot, made priſoners, were very numerous; and that there likewiſe were taken two hundred charging horſes, ſeven ſcore whereof were covered with plates of iron.

This victory was followed by ravages in ſeveral parts of the *French* territories; the moſt remarkable whereof, was the incurſion made[5] by *Marcadée* with his *Brabantins* into *Picardie*, as far as *Abbeville*; where a fair afforded him an opportunity of taking a great booty, and a number of merchants, whoſe wealth enabled them to pays large ſums for their ranſome. *Richard* erected the fortreſs of *Boutavant* in

[1] *Hoveden*, p. 781. [2] *Diceto*, col. 704. *Gervaſ.* col. 1614. *Hoveden*, p. 781.

[3] *Ib.* p. 712. *Diceto*, *ib.* *Brompton.* col. 1276.

[4] In this letter the king aſcribes the victory, not to his own valour or conduct, but to God and to his own right, which is generally thought to be the original of the motto, Dieu et mon droit, in the armes of *England*.

[5] *Hoveden.* p. 783, 786.

an isle of the *Seine*, whilst the king of *France*, raising a new army, took his revenge by burning again the town of *Evreux* and seven villages in the neighbourhood: but being weary of the war, overtures were made for a peace; in which he offered to restore to the king of *England* all the territories and castles he had taken since the expedition of the *Holy Land* except *Gisors*; and as to their right in this place, he was ready to submit it to the judgment of six *Norman* barons, to be chosen by himself; and as many *French* to be named by *Richard*. This proposal was equitable; and a peace would probably have ensued, if *Philip* had consented that the count of *Flanders*, and the other *French* counts and barons, that had adhered to the king of *England*, should be included in it: but his refusal of a condition, on which *Richard* peremptorily insisted, broke off the treaty of peace, and they could only agree on a truce from *November* to the feast of *St. Hilary* next following. *Philip* was with reason very uneasy at the strong alliance, which this last prince had formed: and wanted to break it at any rate; having no hopes of gaining any advantage by war, till this was effected. It was not to be done without a long peace or a truce; and no way appearing so likely to bring this about as the *Pope's* interposition, he applied to the court of *Rome*, to use its good offices for making up his quarrel with the king of *England*. *Innocent*, intent upon procuring relief for the *Christians* of the *Holy Land* in their distressed condition, and thinking a peace between the two crowns absolutely necessary for that end, readily complied with his request: and sent cardinal *Peter* of *Capua* into *France*, to act the part of a mediator.

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THIS legate's coming and business were not agreeable to *Richard*; who was angry at the *Pope* for not having either obliged the king [1] of *France* to restore the places he had seized during the *Croisade*, or excommunicated him for his refusal; a neglect which had put him under a necessity of recovering them by force, and at an infinite expence. He complained of this conduct, and expressed an unwillingness to enter into a treaty, to which *Philip* perhaps might not be disposed: but *Peter*, acquainting him that he was sent at that king's special instance, prevailed at last for a conference on the feast of *St. Hilary*. It was held between *Vernon* and *Andely*, *Richard* being in a boat on the *Seine*, and the king of *France* on horseback upon the bank of the river: but nothing more was done in it, than accepting the Pope's mediation, and fixing a day for another conference, in the presence of the legate and a great number of their prelates and nobility. In this second meeting, as the *Pope* had a mighty influence on the affairs of *Germany*, claiming a right of putting the golden crown on the *Emperor's* head, and *Richard* had a mind to oblige him, in order to engage him to do that office for his nephew *Otho*, he agreed, at the legate's instances, to a truce for five years; with a liberty of commerce between their subjects: and upon its being signed, the troops on both sides were dismissed to their respective quarters. *Marcadée*, in marching to his, being to pass over a slip of the territories of *France* that lay in his way, was there attacked on a sudden by four *French* noblemen: and several of his *Brabantins* killed. *Richard* too, in confidence of this cessation of hostilities, having passed into *Guienne*, the king of *France* seized the opportunity of his absence to erect a castle between *Boutavant* and *Gaillon*, and to cut down a forest of his, that lay adjoining to this new fortress. The king of *England* returning into *Normandie*, demanded satisfaction for these breaches of the treaty: and sent his chancellor *Eustace*, bishop of *Ely*, to *Philip*, to declare the truce dissolved, unless the new castle was demolished. The king of *France* disavowed, that he had any hand in what was done against the *Brabantins*; and by the legate's advice promised to demolish the new fort: but this did not satisfy *Richard*; who insisted that there should be no peace unless all matters between them were fully

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[1] *M. Paris. Hoveden*, p. 790. *Knighton.* col. 2413.

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settled. This gave occaſion for more conferences, and a plan of peace, by which the king of *England* was to give his niece *Blanche* of *Caſtille* to *Philip's* eldeſt ſon *Louis*, with *Giſors*, and twenty thouſand marks of ſilver for her portion; all the other places taken from *Richard* were to be reſtored; and to indemnify him in reſpect of *Giſors*, the king of *France* was to convey to him the right of nomination to the archbiſhoprick of *Tours*; a right, which, in the caſe of *Bourges* and other ſees, had been frequently reſerved by the ancient kings of *France*, when they granted away fiefs to dukes and counts, and was then very conſiderable, though now reduced to little more than the confirmation of the perſons elected by chapters. The king of *France* was likewiſe to ſwear, that he would, to the utmoſt of his power, aſſiſt *Otho* in getting entire poſſeſſion of the empire of *Germany*; an article that claſhed with the treaty he had lately made with *Philip* duke of *Suabia:* but he gave himſelf little pain about the obſerving of conventions, when a breach thereof ſerved either his intereſts or convenience. Such were the articles of this plan; the execution whereof in form was deferred, till *Richard's* return from a voyage he was making into *Guienne*.

Richard's death and character.

LXV. France had always found its advantage in the diſſenſions of the royal family of *England:* and in one of the late conferences, *Philip*, to ſow diſcord between the king and his brother, told *Richard*, that *John* had given himſelf to him; and produced a paper to that effect; probably ſome old letter in the time of his defection during his brother's captivity. *Richard* provoked, haſty in his meaſures, and not examining into the matter, ſeized all his brother's lands; who ſurprized at this act of reſentment, and enquiring into the cauſe, was acquainted with the accuſation; and agreeable to the cuſtom of the times, ſent two knights to the court of *France*, to defend his innocence, in whatever manner the king's court ſhould think proper. Neither *Philip*, nor any about him, would undertage either the proof or defence of the accuſation. *Richard*, fully convinced of the falſhood of the ſuggeſtion, never gave any credit afterwards to the king of *France's* aſſurances; and was kinder than ever to his brother *John*; of whom he had no good opinion before; as appears from his telling him, upon his ſubmiſſion, after he had joined with *Philip*, that he wiſhed he might as eaſily forget his offence, as he doubted *John* would his pardon.

A peasant, ploughing a field near *Limoges*, had diſcovered a treaſure, or turned up with his plough, ſome pieces of antiquity; the chief of which was a piece of gold very large and heavy, with the figures of an emperor, his wife and children ſitting at table. *Aymar*, viſcount of that place, and lord of the ſoil, got poſſeſſion of this treaſure: and refuſed to deliver it to the king of *England*; who claimed it as lord paramount; and drawing his forces together, inveſted the caſtle of *Chalus*, where he imagined it was lodged. [1] *Richard*, armed only with a cuiraſs on his breaſt, going on the fourth day of the ſiege with *Marcadée*, about the place to obſerve where the aſſault might beſt be made, was on *March* 28, wounded in the left ſhoulder, by an arrow ſhot from a croſs-bow; an inſtrument of war, which he had either brought into uſe, or had invented himſelf. Notwithſtanding this wound, he mounted on horſeback: and rode to his quarters, leaving orders for the attack of the place, which he conſidered as no longer tenable. *Marcadée's* ſurgeon, too little ſkilled in his profeſſion, trying to pull out the arrow, left the head of it in the fleſh: and in getting it out afterwards, mangled the part ſo much, that it turned to a gangrene. When the king found there were no more hopes of his recovery, he is ſaid to have made a will; bequeathing the kingdom of *England*, and all his other dominions, with three fourth's of his treaſure, to his brother *John:* and making all

[1] *Hoveden*, p. 791. *Brompton*, col. 1277. *Chron. J. Abbot Petriburg.*

his attendants ſwear fealty to him, gave orders that poſſeſſion ſhould be delivered him of all his caſtles. The other fourth part of his treaſure, he divided between his ſervants and the poor: and left all his jewels to his nephew *Otho* king of *Germany*. The caſtle of *Chalus* being taken before his death, he pardoned *Bertram de Gourdon*, the man that had given him the fatal wound; and ordered him to be ſet at liberty, and a ſum of money given him, to retire wherever he pleaſed: but *Marcadée* detaining him unknown to the king, cauſed him to be flead alive and hanged, as ſoon as he expired. *Richard* died on *April* 6, the *Tueſday* before *Palm Sunday*, in the forty-ſecond year of his age, and the tenth of his reign; leaving no legitimate iſſue, and only one natural ſon, named *Philip*, to whom he had given the caſtle and honour of *Cognac* in *Guienne*, and who revenged his death, by [1] killing the viſcount of *Limoges*, who had been taken in the caſtle of *Chalus*. It was purſuant to the king's own orders, that his bowels were interred in the abbey of *S. Sauveur de Charroux* in *Poitou*, his heart, which was ſurprizingly large, in the cathedral of *Roüen* (where it was firſt put in a ſilver ſhrine or box, but afterwards in one of ſtone, when the other was ſold for the ranſome of *S. Louis*) and his body in the church of *Fontevrault*, at the feet of his father.

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Richard [2] is, by writers that knew his perſon, ſaid to have been tall and ſtrongly made; his limbs ſtreight and well proportioned; his armes long; his eyes blew and ſparkling; his hair yellowiſh; his viſage fair and comely; his air and mien graceful, noble, majeſtick, and worthy of empire. He had a very good underſtanding, great penetration, a clear head, and ſound judgment, as appeared in his conduct, when the haſtineſs and impetuoſity of his temper allowed time for reflection: he had a natural eloquence that was very moving, and in ſo eminent a degree, that *Vineſauf* equals him to *Ulyſſes* in eloquence, and to *Neſtor* in prudence. It is in difficulties, that people's talents are beſt diſcovered: and certainly during *Richard's* captivity upon many trying occaſions, in harangues before diets of the empire, in his defences againſt accuſations, in his negotiations with the princes, and in all his behaviour, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in both thoſe reſpects to the admiration of all *Germany*. He had a great deal of ready wit, and was very quick at a repartee: and though he was naturally grave and ſerious, and carried in publick an air of reſerve and moroſeneſs, yet in private, he was affable and pleaſant in converſation, loved to give a looſe to good humour, and a free liberty to jeſts and raillery. The haughtineſs of his mind, and the cholerickneſs of his nature, rendered him obſtinate in purſuing what he undertook, incapable of bending on any occaſion, and impatient of injuries, even of the leaſt and ſlighteſt offences in the caſe of ſudden accidents; and diſpoſed him to revenge, till the offender lay at his mercy, and by that circumſtance, became a fit object for his good nature and clemency. Hence aroſe the roughneſs complained of in his manners, a too great fondneſs for his own humours, a violence in carrying his point, and a ſeverity that might paſs for cruelty in ſome inſtances of perſons that oppoſed his will; which ſeem to have been the moſt remarkable of his defects; except his inordinate paſſion for the fair ſex in general, to which he gave up himſelf, till about four years before his death; when being reclaimed by the remonſtrances of an hermit, and his own reflections in a ſevere fit of ſickneſs, he took his wife *Berengaria* again to his bed, and kept conſtant to her ever after. He was of a frank, open, and generous diſpoſition; incapable of deceiving any body; true to his word; faithful to his promiſes; and in all reſpects a man of ſtrict honour and great probity: an inſtance whereof we ſee in his reſtoring to pariſh churches the ſilver chalices, which had been ſold towards [1] raiſing his ranſome; notwithſtanding the expenſive

[1] *Hoveden*, p. 796. This circumſtance ſhews, that *Richard* gave no orders for putting the garriſon to the ſword, ſince the viſcount was not put to death, till after his deceaſe. [2] *Vineſauf.* l. ii. c. 5. *Topogr. Hibern. Diſt.* iii. c. 50. *Hoveden, ib.*

wars,

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wars, wherein he was neceſſarily engaged, put him in diſtreſs for money[1]. He was remarkable in his early years, when he firſt took upon him the government of *Guienne*, for his love of good order, and continual attention to ſecure the peace of the province: and *Giraldus Cambrenſis* celebrates the equity of his adminiſtration, the conſtant regard he ſhewed to virtue and merit, which he never failed to encourage and promote; the impartiality of his juſtice; and the rigour he exerciſed in puniſhing and ſuppreſſing malefactors. He is charged by ſome, with being covetous and rapacious, becauſe he was not ſcrupulous about the ways of getting money: yet it muſt be owned that his occaſions for it were very urgent; that when he had it, he was liberal to exceſs; that no prince ever diſtinguiſhed himſelf by more and greater acts of bounty and magnificence, properly beſtowed upon brave men in diſtreſs, and for the publick ſervice, in which he did not heſitate in giving up an empire; and that in his greateſt neceſſities, he never had recourſe to the method, ordinarily uſed by moſt of his predeceſſors to raiſe money, by keeping biſhopricks and abbeys vacant. Acts of beneficence were ſo agreeable to his nature, and ſo familiar to him in practice, that he is on that account compared to the emperor *Titus*. The appearances of his goût for money ſeem evidently the reſult of meer neceſſity, ariſing from the vaſt expences as well of the holy war, in which his piety and zeal for *Chriſtianity* engaged him, as of others, in which he was by the conſequences thereof involved: and the charge of avarice, would in probability never have been advanced againſt him, if the religious houſes, more zealous to preach up *Croiſades*, than to contribute to the neceſſary charges thereof, had not been taxed to defray their expences.

He is taxed with ambition by the *French* writers, but very unjuſtly: for he never deſired any thing but his own; and his wars againſt *France* were not to make new conqueſts for himſelf, but to recover his rights; which had been ſcandalouſly and treacherouſly uſurped during his captivity, and the leaving of which in the hands of the invader, he thought diſhonourable, unworthy of his magnanimity, and inconſiſtent with his glory. The love of glory was certainly one of his ſtrongeſt paſſions, and a main principle in all his actions: and he ſought it in the nobleſt manner, in ways which the religion of the age authorized, and in which it was found by the greateſt heroes of antiquity; nor was he inferior to any of them in courage, valour, and intrepidity. Few mortals have ever undergone greater trials, and none ever gave more illuſtrious proofs of thoſe ſhining qualities, than this prince did in the ſudden turns and various circumſtances of his affairs: his firmneſs in adverſity was admirable; captivity ſerved only to exerciſe his fortitude, without leſſening his dignity; which he knew how to preſerve under all diſaſters. Perſevering in his enterprizes under difficulties, which to an ordinary courage would have appeared unſurmountable; undaunted in the midſt of a thouſand dangers, which might well have ſhocked the hardieſt warrior, he well deſerved the glorious appellation of an heroe; looking out ſteadily for the firſt point of poſſibility, and not only capable of attempting, but even of ſucceeding in it; as appeared remarkably in the relief of *Joppa*. No age or hiſtory hath ever afforded an inſtance of an attempt ſo daring, and where there was ſo little likelihood of ſucceſs: yet he ventured with an handful of men to attack the great *Saladine*, at the head of an infinite number of experienced warriors; and carried his point by his perſonal bravery, the irreſiſtible force of his arm, the wonderful ſpirit that gave him vigour to go through fatigues, which cool reaſon would think impoſſible for any human force to ſupport, and the powerful effects of his name, at once the terror and admiration of his enemies. There is ſomething of a romantick taſte in the generous preſent, which, in the midſt of the dangers and glories of that day, *Saladine*,

[1] *Trivet. A. D.* 1194.

amazed

amazed at his valour and great actions, made him of two fine *Arabian* horſes, for which he nobly rewarded the meſſenger: all the Eaſt rang with his fame (wherein his country found at the ſame time her glory) and long retained the memory of his exploits; the *Sarazens*[1] for ſome ages ſtilling their children's cries with the name of *Richard*. He ſeems to have had a great genius and abilities, as well as inclinations, for war: and theſe being cultivated and improved by experience, rendered him ſuperior to all the princes of his age, in all points of military ſkill; as well in the diſpoſition of an army in a day of battle, as in the beſieging of towns, the buſineſs of an engineer, and the art of fortification; of which he left a noble ſpecimen in the fortreſs of *Chateau-Gailliard*. Richard I. A. D. 1199.

He deviated in one thing from moſt of his predeceſſors; it being obſerved of him, that he loved his countrymen: and yet his people are ſuppoſed to have ſuffered much under him, either through his abſence, which expoſed them to the oppreſſions of juſticiaries (though the great encomiums given to archbiſhop *Hubert's* adminiſtration flatly contradict that notion) or through the burden of taxes they were obliged to pay, either towards the expence of his wars, or to diſcharge his ranſome. But theſe were not ſo heavy as is generally imagined: and what was raiſed on the laſt account (except the ſcutage, which was a known condition of a military tenure in ſuch caſe, and was very moderate, being only twenty ſhillings a knight's fee) was a voluntary contribution advanced by ſome of the clergy (for many refuſed it) and by the laity in general, to procure their prince's liberty. The zeal indeed of people in this reſpect ſeems to have been much abuſed, by the collectors ſinking a great deal of the money[2], and by *John* count of *Mortain's* ſeizing all he could get into his hands; which gave occaſion to freſh contributions: but this was the king's misfortune, and ought not to be charged as a fault upon a perſon that was unable to help it, being in captivity. Beſides that ſcutage, and one of ten ſhillings a knight's fee for a *Welſh* expedition, there were only three others paid in his reign for the wars in *Normandie*, all at the rate of twenty ſhillings a knight's fee, as appears from the *Pipe-rolls*; though[3] *Hoveden* ſpeaks of the firſt of them as only a third part of the ſervice, with which each fee was chargeable. [4] The ſame hiſtorian mentions only two talliages, one of two ſhillings an hide, laid in the fifth year of this king; the other in the ninth, firſt aſſeſſed at the ſame rate, but afterwards enhanced by the charge of three ſhillings an hide more, probably on occaſion of the *Welſh* expedition, and the great expence *Richard* was at in getting his nephew to be choſen emperor. Theſe were accounted for by the ſheriffs, in the four laſt years of this king, according to the *Pipe-rolls*; which take no notice of any other kind of taxes: and their ſilence is a confirmation of what hath been already obſerved from the circumſtances of the relation, that the large ſums, remitted by *Hubert* in the firſt two years of his being guardian of the realm, aroſe only from the ordinary revenue of the crown, and were ſpecified by him purely to brag of his management, and get himſelf continued in the government. *Richard's* wars, qualified as he was to make a glaring figure therein, were not of his own ſeeking; he was drawn into the *Croiſade* by the irreſiſtable humour and frantick zeal of the age; the reſt were juſt and unavoidable: and whatever money was raiſed, either out of his own patrimony, or the purſes of his ſubjects, to ſupport them, was employed to the honour of the nation; which certainly was leſs burdened with taxes in his, than in any other reign, of her warlike princes. Had he lived longer, *Philip* of *France* would ſcarce have gained the title of *Auguſt*, which *Rigord* firſt gave him on account of his *augmenting* his territories by conqueſts: nor would this kingdom have had reaſon to lament ſuch diſgraces, or to complain of ſuch oppreſſions, as ſhe ſuffered in the reign of his ſucceſſor.

[1] See *Joinville* and *Bernard Theſaur. de Acquis Terre St. inter Hiſt. Ital.* t. i. p. 812. [2] *Rymer*, i. 81. [3] P. 737. [4] *Ib.* and p. 778.

JOHN.

JOHN. *A. D.* 1199. *John's* first acts of government and coronation.

LXV. RICHARD dying without iſſue, the crown deſcended to *Arthur* duke of *Bretagne*[1], ſon of *Geffrey*, the next brother to the late king, and elder than *John* count of *Mortain*: the young prince had accordingly been declared by his uncle, on *Nov.* 11, *A. D.* 1190, at *Meſſina*, the heir of all his dominions. This right of inheritance had been the ground of a ſolemn treaty and a contract of marriage; which *Richard* made for him with the daughter of *Tancred* king of *Sicily*, and received on his behalf the portion of the young princeſs; it had been notified in form to the *Pope*, who, as the treaty and contract had been ratified upon oath, was deſired on that account to ſee them duely executed: and all the prelates and nobility attending the king in his expedition to the *Holy Land*, had recognized *Arthur's* right, and ſwore to his ſucceſſion. This was agreeable to *Richard's* juſtice: and he was too firm in what he had once reſolved, or was obliged in honour to perform, and too ſteddy in his meaſures, to alter them lightly: nor was any diſtaſte he might have taken at *Conſtance* of *Bretagne*, three years before his death, a competent reaſon for withdrawing his kindneſs from his nephew and doing him a manifeſt injuſtice, only becauſe he was her ſon; eſpecially ſince that quarrel had been made up with the mother, and ſhe had for two years followed the king's advice in all her ſon's affairs, and the *Bretons* had aſſiſted him in his wars againſt *Philip*. Had the queen mother *Eleanor*, who was too fond of power to bear the thoughts of *Conſtance's* having a greater ſway in the government than herſelf, been with *Richard* at his death, it is hard to ſay how far her influence might have extended: but there is not the leaſt room to ſurmiſe that ſhe was preſent; and if the king is ſaid to have been tenacious in remembering injuries, *John* had merited his reſentment infinitely more, than a child, incapable of giving him any offence. I am apt therefore to think, that *Richard* made no ſuch diſpoſition of his dominions to *John*, as was pretended by ſome of the latter's partizans, for the ſame reaſon as moved the uſurper *Stephen* to get *Hugh Bigot* to ſwear that *Henry* I had made a like diſpoſition in his favour; and that *Hoveden*, the only cotemporary author that mentions *Richard's* making a will, and from whom later writers copy what they ſay of it, took his account thereof only from the confident aſſertions of thoſe intereſted perſons, to whom the pretence was of uſe to gloſs over their conduct. It is very clear from all circumſtances that *Richard* left no will in writing; the pretended diſpoſition is too general for ſuch a will; there are no particular legacies to monaſteries and churches, as uſual in thoſe times; if there had been one, it was of too much ſervice to *John's* cauſe, not to be produced: and as for a nuncupative will in the diſpoſal of kingdoms, it is to be conſidered in no other light, than as what the perſons about a dying prince find agreeable to their intereſt to repreſent. The circumſtances of *John's* getting poſſeſſion of his brother's territories confirm me in this notion: and *John* abbot[2] of *Peterborough*, deriving his account from two cotemporary writers; *Milo* abbot of *Le Pin* in *Poitou*, and *Anſelm*, the one almoner to *Richard*, the other his chaplain, and conſtant companion every where, both at home and abroad, who both wrote the actions of that prince, takes no notice at all of any ſuch diſpoſition, but ſays, that *John* came to ſucceed his brother, purely by the power of *his own faction*.

[1] *Annal. Margan. Chron. T. Wikes.* p. 35, 36. *Hemingford*, l. ii. c. 94. [2] *Chron. J. Abb. Petriburg.* an. 1189. p. 90.

JOHN. A. D. 1199.

It was *Arthur's* misfortune to be but twelve years and eight days old, at the time of *Richard's* deceaſe; unfit at that age, though a boy of ſpirit, to contend of himſelf for a crown with an uncle, who had been for ſome years forming a party to defeat him of his right of ſucceſſion: and without a friend of eminent dignity, capacity, and virtue, ſuch as *Maude* the empreſs found in *Robert* earl of *Glouceſter*, to ſupport his intereſt. He was under the management of a mother, neither beloved nor eſteemed, of ſtrong paſſions, weak judgment, and very imprudent conduct; ſuſpected of too much familiarity with *John*, who haunted her ſo continually, that her huſband, *Ralf* earl of *Cheſter*, was[1] now getting divorced from her on that account; and ſhe married immediately *Guy*, a younger brother of the vicomte *de Thouars*. *John* had every thing for him, vigour of age, abilities to tranſact for himſelf; a party already formed, acquaintance with every body in power under his late brother; the general diſpoſition of mankind[2], averſe to run any hazard of loſing what they may enjoy in ſafety: and being near at hand when *Richard* died, gained eaſily by his great promiſes all that were about him; confirming them in their offices and commands. The firſt ſtep of all that had uſurped the crown before him, was to ſeize all the treaſures of the deceaſed king: *John* following their example, haſted to *Chinon*[3], where *Robert de Turnham* delivered up his brother's treaſure, with the caſtle of that place, and all other fortreſſes in his cuſtody. *Hubert* archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and *William Mareſchal*, the two perſons who had moſt of the late king's confidence, and were entruſted with the greateſt powers, being then in *Normandie* and entirely in his intereſt, he diſpatched them over into *England*, to take meaſures, in conjunction with *Geffrey Fitz Piers* the chief juſticiary, and others of his friends among the nobility, for ſecuring him the poſſeſſion of that kingdom; whilſt he ſtaid abroad, to take care of his foreign affairs, which more immediately required his preſence. There was but little danger of his nephew's forming a party in *England*, a country where he was ſcarce known to any body: whereas *Thomas de Furnes* had actually delivered to him the town and caſtle of *Angers*, of which he was governor. It was a ſtill more alarming conſideration, that this had been done in conformity to the reſolution of a general aſſembly of the eſtates of *Anjou*, *Touraine*, and *Maine*; declaring it to be the cuſtom and conſtitution of thoſe countries, for the ſon of the elder brother to ſucceed to them, as his patrimonial right, and that *Arthur* ought to poſſeſs the inheritance, which his father *Geffrey* ſhould have enjoyed, had he outlived *Richard*. All the prelates and nobility of thoſe provinces accordingly acknowledged and adhered to *Arthur* for their liege lord: and put him in poſſeſſion thereof. *Conſtance* too had brought her ſon to *Tours*, and there delivered him to *Philip* king of *France*; who, as ſoon as he heard of *Richard's* death, had, without any regard to the five years truce[4], fallen into *Normandie*, taken *Evreux*, ſubdued all the county, and waſted the country from thence, as far as *Le Mans*. *Philip* knew how to make his advantage of the young prince: and ſending him to be educated with his ſon *Louis* at *Paris*, ſeized all his towns and caſtles; putting in his own governors and caſtellans.

John, in the mean time, advanced to *Le Mans*, took the town and caſtle, pulled down the walls of both, and all the ſtone houſes within the place; and carried away many of the inhabitants priſoners; becauſe they had received *Arthur* for their lord: hoping perhaps by this ſeverity to the citizens to deter others from following their example; though it is not eaſy to conceive, what he meant by diſmantling one of the beſt frontier towns of his dominions. He paſſed from thence to *Beaufort en Vallée*: and returning to *Roüen*, was, on the firſt *Sunday* after *Eaſter*, *April* 25, girt with the ſword, and inveſted with the ducal coronet of *Normandie*, by the

[1] *Leland's Collect.* vol. i. p. 769. [2] *M. Paris.* [3] *Hoveden*, p. 792. [4] *Trivet.*

archbiſhop

JOHN. archbiſhop of that city; who adminiſtered to him the uſual oath on that occaſion, the ſame that hath been already mentioned, as taken by *William the Conqueror*. In the mean time archbiſhop *Hubert*, *W. Mareſchal*, and *Geffrey Fitz Piers*[1] the chief juſticiary, had required the citizens and burgeſſes of towns, and generally all the military tenants of the crown throughout *England* to ſwear fealty to *John* againſt all men: yet this did not hinder the biſhops, earls, and barons, who had caſtles of their own, from furniſhing them with men, armes, and proviſions, as if they intended to ſtand on their defence. This was probably owing to their having been concerned, a little before the late king's return from his captivity, in paſſing the ſentence for diſſeizing *John* of all his lands throughout *England*, and in reducing his caſtles; a circumſtance which, had *Arthur* been of age to diſpute the crown, would have been highly to his advantage. It was neceſſary to remove their jealouſies and apprehenſions of *John's* reſentment: and his agents with that view ſummoned the chief of thoſe, whom they moſt ſuſpected, to meet them at *Northampton*. Theſe were *David*[2], *Ralf*, and *William*, earls of *Huntingdon*, *Cheſter*, and *Ferrers*, who had at that time beſieged his caſtle of *Notingham*: *Richard* and *Walleran*, earls of *Clare* and *Warwick*, *Roger de Lacy* conſtable of *Cheſter*, and *William de Mowbray*. Several other earls and barons, alike obnoxious, were convened at the ſame time: and *Hubert*, with his collegues, gave them ſuch aſſurances on *John's* part, and fed them with ſuch hopes of his juſtice and munificence (to which the grants of manors, wardſhips, and beneficial offices procured credit) that they were all gained over to his intereſts, and took the oath of fealty, upon the conditions for which they had ſtipulated. They prevailed likewiſe with *David* earl of *Huntingdon* to go to his brother *William* king of *Scotland*, to make him eaſy with regard to their ſtopping the envoys he had ſent to *John*, with a demand of *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, before he would ſwear fealty, and to engage him to wait *John's* arrival in *England*; who would then ſatisfy him in all his requeſts, if he created no diſturbances in the mean time, as he had ſent him word by *Euſtace de Veſcy*. Such are the methods, by which uſurpers generally gain their ends; and the vaſſals of a crown find their advantage in contributing to their elevation.

A. D. 1199.

THE way being thus prepared for *John's* quiet acceſſion to the throne, he came over with a large army, for fear of oppoſition, to *England*; landing on *Tueſday*, *March* 25, at *Shoreham*: and getting the next day to *Weſtminſter*[3], was there crowned on *Thurſday* the 27th of that month, being *Aſcenſion day*, by *Hubert* archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *M. Paris* repreſents this prelate as preaching a ſermon, or making an harangue on the occaſion; and, out of a foreſight of *John's* ill government, putting him in mind of his obligations to the prelates and nobility, to whoſe favour he owed the crown: but as neither *Hoveden*, who was probably preſent at the ceremony, nor any other ancient writer, make the leaſt mention of any ſuch thing, it ſeems to have been *Matthew's* own compoſition; according to the ordinary practice of hiſtorians, who invent ſuch ſpeeches for perſons on all remarkable occaſions. The ſame author mentions likewiſe an adjuration (taken out of the *Ordinal of prieſts*, charging them not to take upon them the ſacerdotal office, unleſs they reſolved to fulfil the duties of it) as applied by *Hubert* to the regal, and uſed to *John*: but of this there is not the leaſt notice taken by any other hiſtorian; and though archbiſhops, aſſuming to themſelves extravagant powers on account of their anointing princes, have been impertinent enough in ſome conjunctures to add their own conceptions and impoſitions to eſtabliſhed forms, I ſee no reaſon to think any thing of that nature was done at *John's* coronation. It was a rite of the utmoſt conſequence to an uſurper, who ſtood in need of being hallowed in the eyes of the people by the ſacred unction; it behoved him to adhere religiouſly to the ancient form, from which there could

[1] *Ib.* p. 793. [2] *Ib.* p. 775. [3] *Hoveden. Annal. Burton.*

be

be no deviation, but by a publick authority, the exerciſe whereof (had there been time for it in the hurry which *John* was in to be crowned) would in that caſe have been very impolitick. *M. Paris* might poſſibly fancy ſuch an adjuration to be proper for the occaſion, and put it upon *Hubert*, in order by that means to introduce his own notion: but there certainly never was, either before or after, any ſuch form in the *Engliſh* coronation-office. If any alteration had been made in it anſwerable to *Hubert's* purpoſe, it ſhould naturally have been made in the terms of the coronation oath: but it is certain there was no deviation in that point from the ancient form of the oath or promiſe of our kings, uſed from the time of the *Great Alfred*. *John* ſwore only to the three uſual articles thereof, as well in this his firſt, as in his ſecond coronation: theſe were "to maintain the peace of the church and "people, to reſtrain all orders of men from committing rapine, and other iniquities, "and to obſerve equity and mercy in all his judgments." It may be proper however here to take notice of an alteration occaſioned, as Mr. *Prynne* obſerves in his diſcourſe of coronations, by a tranſaction in *A. D.* 1214, when *John* was to be abſolved by the Pope's legate. *Stephen Langton* would not ſuffer the excommunication to be taken off; before *John* had ſworn, "that he would grant, keep, and confirm to "the people of *England*, the laws and cuſtoms granted them by the ancient kings "of *England*, his upright and devout predeceſſors, and particularly the laws, "cuſtoms, and privileges, granted to the clergy and people by the glorious king "*S. Edward* his predeceſſor;" which that prince accordingly granted and promiſed. As *Langton* put this new article, by way of queſtion, to *John*, who anſwered in the affirmative, it was afterwards introduced into the coronation ſervice in the very ſame individual terms [1], word for word, as it was then propoſed and anſwered.

John. A. D. 1199.

Whatever *Hubert's* ſentiments were, *John* in a charter, which he granted ſoon after his coronation, for moderating the fees of the great ſeal (a matter of conſequence in thoſe days, when publick bodies and private perſons were careful in every reign to get confirmations of grants that had paſſed in the time of the king's predeceſſors, and were ſometimes obliged to do ſo in the ſame reign, as in the ſeventh and tenth of *Richard)* took care to found his claim of the crown upon *hereditary right*; not indeed according to the feudal law, and the conſtitution of this realm, nor as teſtamentary heir to his brother's diſpoſition, but agreeable to the *Roman* or civil law, in the caſe (not of kingdoms which deſcend by different rules of ſucceſſion, but) of private inheritances; by which two brothers were deemed to be nearer *in blood* to one another, by one degree, than a nephew. He took care likewiſe to reward the ſervices of his friends; giving on the day of his coronation the poſt of chancellor to archbiſhop *Hubert*, and advancing *William Mareſchal* and *Geffrey Fitz Piers* to the dignity of earls; the firſt being girt with the ſword of the county of *Pembroke*, the latter with that of *Eſſex*. About a fortnight after, on *June* 7, [2] *William de Ferrers* (whoſe anceſtors grant of the ſame honour from *Stephen* had been deemed invalid) was created earl of *Derby*, and had a grant of the third penny of the pleas of the county-court; beſides another [3] ſtill more beneficial grant of the manors of *Wirkſworth* and *Aſhburne* with its whole wapentac, in *Derbyſhire*, *Higham Ferrers* with its park and hundred, *Bliſeworth*, *Newbotle*, and other manors in *Northamptonſhire*. *Roger de Lacy* got the caſtle and honour of *Pontefract*: and in the like manner were others gratified. *John* did not ſo eaſily comply with the king of *Scotland's* demand of *Cumberland* and *Northumberland*; putting off his en-

[1] *Langton's* words were, *Sire, volez vous graunter & garder, & per voſtre ſerment confirmer au peuple d'Engleterre les leys & les cuſtumes à eux grantees par les anciens roys d'Engleterre droietures & devotz à Dieu, & nommement les leys, & les cuſtumes, & les franchiſes grauntez au clergé & au peuple par le glorieux roy S. Edouard voſtre predeceſſeur.* Reſp. *Jeo les graunte & promette.*

[2] *Cart. Antiq. B.* n. 20. [3] *Ib. B. B.* n. 1. *Oblata* 1 *Joh.* m. 23. *Rot. Pip.* 1 *Joh. Oblat.* 1 *Joh.* m. 16.

JOHN. A. D. 1199.

voys with a general promiſe of doing (if that prince would come to him) what was juſt and reaſonable as to that, and all his other demands. To facilitate this meeting, he went to keep *Whitſontide* at *Notingham*[1], and ſent the biſhop of *Durham* to eſcorte *William* from *Berwick* thither: but the *Scotch* king, knowing the precarious ſtate of an uſurper's government, was reſolved to get ſomething from him, as he ſaw others had done; and not caring to truſt to the juſtice of his demand, imagined he could extort it by terror. Two men of quality had been ſent for him: but inſtead of coming with them, he ſignified to them, that if *John* did not comply with his demand, he would try to obtain it by force, and would wait only forty days for his anſwer; a menace, which occaſioned the two counties in queſtion, with their caſtles, to be put into the hands of *William d'Eſtouteville*, a great baron of the north, as the fitteſt perſon to be charged with their defence.

John makes peace with *France*, and marries *Iſabel d'Engouleſme.*

LXVII. JOHN having thus ſettled his affairs in *England*, went over into *Normandie*; landing at *Dieppe* on *Sunday*, *May* 18; and aſſembled an army at *Roüen* to oppoſe the attempts of *France*: but diſmiſſed it ſoon, making a truce with *Philip* till *Auguſt* 16, when a conference was to be held for adjuſting all their differences. *John* as yet enjoyed the benefit of the alliances[2], which the late king had formed, having engaged no leſs than fifteen counts or great noblemen of *France* in his intereſts; beſides *Baldwin* count of *Flanders*: who came to *Roüen*, on the *Friday* before the day appointed for the conference, to renew his alliance, and to do homage for his penſion; which having been firſt granted on that account by *Richard*, was now continued by his ſucceſſor. The other *French* noblemen came about the ſame to *Roüen* for the like purpoſe, doing homage to *John* for their penſions, and ſwearing never to make any accommodation with *Philip* without his conſent; a ſtipulation which obliged him in return to take a like oath, that he would make no peace with *France*, unleſs they were included in the treaty. Queen *Eleanor* had,[3] immediately after her ſon *Richard's* death, waited upon the king of *France* at *Tours*, and done homage for her dutchy of *Guienne*, into the poſſeſſion of which ſhe re-entered upon that occaſion: but *John* had got *Normandie* into his hands, without any application to him, or ſo much as offering to perform that duty of a vaſſal. This *Philip* is ſaid to have reſented ſo highly, as not to behave himſelf with his uſual politeneſs towards *John*, when they met near *Gaillon* to hold their conference: and this rudeneſs was accompanied with demands too unreaſonable to be granted. He inſiſted[4] upon a ceſſion of all the *Vexin Normand*, between the foreſt of *Lions*, and the rivers *Seine*, *Andele*, and *Epte* to himſelf, and of *Guienne*, *Touraine*, *Anjou*, and *Le Maine* for the uſe of prince *Arthur*; beſides ſome other conditions which *John* abſolutely rejected. He was encouraged to this ſtep, as well by the confidence he had in the aſſiſtance of his allies among the *French* nobility, as by the letters of his nephew *Otho*; deſiring him not to be in haſte to make a peace with *France*, and aſſuring him, that as his own affairs were taking a good turn, he ſhould be able ſoon to aſſiſt him with all the power of the empire.

JOHN laid too much ſtreſs upon the alliances of perſons, no farther to be depended on, than he fed them with money: and loſt the moſt favourable opportunity he could have of ſettling a firm peace with *Philip*; if any ſuch could have been made with a prince, who never obſerved a treaty any longer than it ſuited his intereſt or convenience. The king of *France* had lately gained ſome advantages over the troops of the count of *Flanders*; having, in an action near *Lens*, taken his brother *Philip* count of *Namur*, with *Peter de Douay*, one of his beſt officers: and *Peter de Corbeil*, biſhop elect of *Cambray*, was made priſoner in another rencounter. This

[1] *Hoveden*, p. 794. [2] *Rob. de Monte*, i. 114. [3] *Rigord. De geſt. Philip. Auguſt.* [4] *Hoveden*, p. 795.

laſt

laſt had been preceptor to Pope *Innocent*; who inſiſted on his releaſe: but as he had not interpoſed in the behalf of the biſhop of *Beauvais*, *Philip* refuſed his requeſt, and reproached him with the inequality of his conduct. *Peter* of *Capua*, the *Pope's* legate, put *France*, and, to ſhew his impartiality, *Normandie*, under an interdict, till both the prelates were ſet at liberty. The biſhop of *Beauvais* having paid two thouſand marks for his maintenance during his captivity, and taken an oath never more to bear armes againſt *Chriſtians*, was exchanged for the elect of *Cambray*: and then the interdict was removed. The king of *France* however was every moment in danger of having his realm laid under another, and of being excommunicated himſelf, on account of his divorce from the princeſs of *Denmark*, which had been declared null, and of his marriage with *Marie*, daughter of *Bertold* IV, duke of *Meranie*, whom the Pope ordered him to quit (though ſhe had brought him a daughter, and was pregnant of a ſon named *Philip*, who were afterwards declared legitimate) and to take again his former wife *Ingelburge*. *Philip*, averſe to both theſe parties, did all that was poſſible to keep off the cenſures threatened upon his diſobedience: but there was no trifling with a man of *Innocent's* vigour and reſolution. A council was called this year at *Dijon* in order to iſſue them: but the[1] prelates aſſembled being in that place too much in the power of the king of *France*, another was ſummoned to meet at *Vienne* in *Dauphiné*, a city out of that king's territories, in the beginning of *December*; where it was reſolved to lay all *France* under an interdict. This however was not publiſhed till a little after *Chriſtmas*: and *Philip* exerted all his authority to prevent its being obſerved, treating all that obeyed it with great ſeverity, ſeizing the temporalties of biſhops and capitular bodies, quartering ſoldiers on the pariſh clergy, and laying heavy taxes on the laity, not only the peaſants, but alſo the gentry, who had never been taxed before. All proved in vain: and the interdict continued about eight months, till *September* 7, in the year following; when *Philip* coming with *Ingelburge* into the council held at *Neſle*, by the cardinals of *Oſtia* and *S. Paul*, delegated particularly by the Pope for determining this affair, declared he had taken her again for his wife, and renounced his latter marriage; thus putting an end to the interdict, and preventing a papal ſentence, derogatory to his dignity.

JOHN. A. D. 1199.

JOHN had none of his late brother's talents for war or negotiation: and made no advantage either of this ſituation of the king of *France's* affairs, or of ſome opportunities offered him of ſettling his own upon a firm foundation. The conference ending without any effect, *Philip* entered *Normandie* with an army, and made himſelf maſter of *Conches*; from thence he marched into *Le Maine*, and in the month of *October* took *Ballon*, one of the ſtrongeſt and moſt conſiderable fortreſſes of the country. As it was the beſt part of the barrier againſt *France* on that ſide, it was, probably for that reaſon, demoliſhed as ſoon as taken: and when *William de Roches*, hereditary ſeneſchal of *Le Maine*, and general of *Arthur's* forces, complained of this act, as prejudicial to his lord, and contrary to the ſtipulations between him and the king of *France*, the latter told him plainly, that he would do what he pleaſed with the places he took, without any regard to his maſter *Arthur*, and immediately marched to beſiege *Lavardin*. *William* expecting that this frontier town, ſeated on the *Loir*, would be treated in the ſame manner; and ſeeing that *Philip* minded nothing but his own intereſts, thought it might be moſt for his maſter's ſervice, to make an accommodation between him and his uncle. The overtures he made were very acceptable to *John*, and encouraged him to advance to the relief of *Lavardin* with ſuch a force, that the king of *France* thought fit to raiſe the ſiege, and quit the country of *Le Maine*. *William*, in the mean time, had, by an ingenious artifice, got *Arthur* conveyed from *Paris* to *Le Mans*, of which he was governor: and in concert with the young prince's mother *Conſtance*, delivered up the place to *John*, purſuant to their agreement; which ſeems to be very ill obſerved by the latter;

[1] *Rigord.*

though

John. A. D. 1199.

though if ever uſurpers could be engaged to keep good faith in any caſe, it might be expected in conventions ſo infinitely to their advantage. The firſt ſtep which *John* took after he had by the treaty got *Le Mans*, with *Arthur*, and *Conſtance* in his power, was to ſend for *Aimery* viſcount of *Thouars*, governor of *Chinon*; and to force him, as well to deliver up that caſtle (which he committed immediately to *Roger*, conſtable of *Cheſter*, till he could provide another caſtellan) as to reſign his poſt of ſeneſchal of *Anjou*. A proceeding, ſo contrary to the ſpirit and terms of the late accommodation, could not but alarm *Arthur's* friends, and prepare them to expect meaſures ſtill more unjuſt from *John's* perfidiouſneſs. They had accordingly the very ſame day intelligence, that he had reſolved to ſeize the young prince's perſon: and there being no other way to avoid that calamity, *Arthur*, with his mother, the viſcount of *Thouars*, and abundance of others, getting off the ſame night from *Le Mans*, retired to *Angers*; where *Conſtance* was married to *Guy*, the viſcount's brother.

In the mean time cardinal *Peter* of *Capua*, the legate who had been employed by the Pope to mediate for him in the treaty for the five years truce[1], which was now broken, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to bring about a peace between *France* and *England:* and in order to it, procured a ceſſation of armes, till the feaſt of *S. Hilary*, in the beginning of the year following. This interval of war was well employed by the king of *France*; who had at *Chriſtmas*[2] a conference with *Baldwin*, count of *Flanders*, at *Peronne*, to conclude a treaty; which had been carried on by the counteſs at *Paris*, and which, by her addreſs, ended at laſt in a perfect reconciliation between thoſe princes. *Baldwin* was intent upon an expedition to the *Holy Land* (in which he came ſoon after to be emperor of *Conſtantinople*) but could not undertake it, till he had made peace with *France:* and to obtain it, the counteſs, who was *Philip's* niece, prevailed with him to give up all *Artois*, except *S. Omer*, *Aire*, and a few other places. The country thus yielded to *Philip*, was immediately erected by him into a county in favour of his eldeſt ſon *Louis*; but upon the expreſs condition, that if this prince had no iſſue male, it ſhould revert to the count of *Flanders*; whoſe brother *Philip*, count of *Namur*, was included in the treaty. This was a terrible blow to *John*, as depriving him not only of two powerful allies, but ſetting an example of defection to the other vaſſals of the crown of *France*; who had as yet adhered to him: but now ſeeing their union broke, and deſpairing of ſucceſs, were glad to make their accommodation with *Philip*.

A. D. 1200.

This event, the advice of his mother *Eleanor*[3], and the terror he had of *Arthur*, whoſe right to the crown gave him a continual uneaſineſs, made *John* reſolve at any rate to clap up a peace with the king of *France*; who knowing the interdict upon his realm was to be publiſhed in a day or two, thought it full as convenient for his own affairs; eſpecially when he could made an advantageous one, by giving up that young prince's intereſt. With theſe diſpoſitions, ſo favourable to an agreement, *Philip* and *John*, as ſoon as the *Chriſtmas* holidays were over, met between *Gaillon* and *Andely:* and in a conference, ſettled the articles of a peace; which being fortified by an alliance, ſeemed calculated for a conſiderable duration. *John* was to give his niece *Blanche*, daughter of *Alphonſo* VIII, king of *Caſtille*, in marriage to prince *Louis* of *France:* and the queen mother, old as ſhe was, offered, in her zeal for a peace, to go in that ſevere ſeaſon of the year into *Spain*, and to fetch her grand-daughter from thence before *May* 22, the time fixed for ratifying the treaty. By other articles, it was provided, "that *Evreux*, with the county belonging to it, "ſhould be given up to *France*, and the boundaries between that realm and "*Normandie* be fixed between that city and *Neubourg*; that no new forts ſhould "be erected, nor any place fortified between thoſe two towns, and that the fortifi-

[1] *Rigord*, p. 796. [2] *Chartulaire de Phil. Aug.* [3] *Hoveden*, p. 799, 814. *Rymer*, i. 117.

JOHN. A. D. 1200.

" cations of *Portes* and *Landes* ſhould be demoliſhed; that the king of *France* " ſhould have no place fortified beyond *Gamaches*, or the foreſt of *Vernon*, nor the " king of *England* beyond that of *Andely*; that this laſt ſhould give prince *Louis*, in " marriage with his niece *Blanche* of *Caſtille*, *Yſſoudun*, *Graſſay*, and *Chateauroux*; " and all the fiefs he claimed in *Berry*, which were to be put immediately into the " poſſeſſion of the king of *France*; who was to enjoy them for life, whether the " marriage took effect or no; but in caſe *Louis* ſhould have no child by *Blanche*, " they were to revert again to the king of *England* and his heirs. If *John* died " without lawful iſſue, the fiefs of *Hugh de Gournay* and the counts of *Aumale* and " *Perche* were to go to *Louis*, and be enjoyed by him on the ſame tenure, as they " were held by the preſent poſſeſſors: and the king of *England* was to hold of the " crown of *France* all the dominions, which had been held by *Henry* II, or *Richard*, " except the *Vexin Normand*, and the alienations beforementioned. *John* likewiſe " paid the king of *France* twenty thouſand marks ſterling for his relief and the " fiefs of *Bretagne*; for which *Arthur* was to do homage to the former, who " engaged not to encroach upon his fiefs or demeſnes in that province, without a " judicial ſentence in his court. Neither of the contracting parties were to aſſiſt " each other's vaſſals againſt their reſpective lord: and the king of *England* entered " into a further engagement, not to give any aid, either of money, knights, or men, " by himſelf or by any other perſon, to his nephew *Otho*, without the king of " *France's* conſent. The counts of *Flanders*, *Boulogne*, and *Engouleſme*, with the " viſcount of *Limoges* were included in this treaty; which was guarantied by ſome " of the moſt conſiderable of the *French*, *Engliſh*, and *Norman* nobility; who ſwore " to ſide againſt their reſpective lords, if they violated theſe conventions."

SUCH were the conditions of this peace; by which *John* not only renounced all his *French* allies, but gave up his nephew *Otho*, without any equivalent obligation on the part of *France*; and purely to get *Arthur* made his vaſſal, and *Philip* debarred from giving him any aſſiſtance. It ſeems plainly made at this prince's expence: and *Rigord* adds, that in the contract of marriage, between *Louis* and *Blanche*, *John*[1], in caſe he died without lawful iſſue, declared " *Louis* his heir in all his territories " on the continent," a bribe ſufficient in all appearance to keep *France* from favouring *Arthur* in any of his juſt pretenſions. *Blanche* being brought by queen *Eleanor* as far as *Fontevrault*, was there committed by her to the care of *Elias* archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*; who attended her to *Roüen*, and on *May* 23, the day after the treaty was ſigned, performed the ceremony of her nuptials with *Louis* at *Pormort* near *Andely* in the territories of *Normandie*; it being impracticable to marry them in *France*, by reaſon of the interdict. When the ſolemnity was over, the young princeſs[2] was carried thither, in order to be brought up; her huſband being but in his thirteenth year, and ſhe ſtill younger: and the ſame day, *John* having done homage to *Philip* for *Normandie*, *Arthur* was forced to do homage to his uncle for the dutchy of *Bretagne*; though being a *minor* (only thirteen years and fifty ſix days old) and a pupil, under the king of *France*, whoſe guardianſhip was ſtill continued, he was by law and reaſon incapable of doing any act to his own prejudice.

BETWEEN the time of agreeing upon the articles of this treaty and that of its ratification, *John* had paſſed over into *England*, to raiſe the money he was to pay to *Philip*[3]: and laid a tax of three ſhillings a carucate throughout the kingdom; probably by his own authority, ſince *Geffrey*, archbiſhop of *York*, would not ſuffer it to

[1] *Trivet. A. D.* 1201. [2] *Trivet. Rob. de Monte.* [3] *Hoveden.* p. 699. 811. *Chron. Dunſtaple. M. Paris.*

John. A. D. 1200.

be levied on his own tenants. He went alſo in *Lent* as far as *York*, in hopes of meeting the king of *Scotland*, whom he had ſent for thither: but that prince did not think fit to comply with his mandate. Theſe were the chief affairs that called him over: and he returned immediately after *Eaſter* into *Normandie*. From thence, as ſoon as the peace was executed, he marched with a great army into *Guienne*, where he received the homages of [1] *Aimery* viſcount of *Thouars* (whom queen *Eleanor* had gained over to his intereſt) the counts of *Toulouſe*, *Engouleſme*, and *La Marche*, the viſcount of *Limoges*, and other barons; not meeting any where with the leaſt oppoſition. His right however to the poſſeſſion of that dutchy, was conteſted by his nephew *Otho*; who claimed it, and the earldom in *York*, in virtue of a grant from the late king: and being angry at the late peace, ſent his brother *Henry* duke of *Saxony* to demand them, as well as the jewels bequeathed him, and their two ſhares of *Richard's* money and perſonal eſtate. *John* was too much elated with his *French* alliance to comply in the leaſt article of theſe demands: and, as if a man could wipe off his juſt debts by ſwearing he would not pay them, pleaded conſcience for rejecting the laſt; being hindered (as he alledged) by his oath to the king of *France*, from giving any aid, or ſending any money, to *Otho*, againſt the duke of *Suabia*, his rival for the empire.

John was now above conſulting any body in his meaſures, beſides that king; by whoſe advice he took a ſtep, which *M. Paris* repreſents as very detrimental to his affairs, and to the kingdom of *England*. *Aymar Taillefer* [2] count of *Engouleſme* had, by *Alice de Courtenay*, daughter of *Peter* ſeventh ſon of *Louis le Gros* king of *France*, an onely daughter and heir named *Iſabel:* and had, by the direction of the late king *Richard*, whoſe vaſſal he was, affianced her to *Hugh le Brun* count of *La Marche*; to whom after a contract in *verbis de præſenti*, ſhe had been delivered, till ſhe was of a proper age for the marriage to be ſolemnized in the face of the church and conſummated. *John*, ſeeing her in this expedition, was much ſtruck with her beauty; and her father expecting great advantages from marrying her to his lord, found means to carry her away from *Hugh*, and bring her to *Engouleſme*. *John* had been married ten years to *Iſabel*, grand-daughter of *Robert* earl of *Glouceſter* natural brother to *Maude* the empreſs; and had a papal diſpenſation for that marriage, notwithſtanding the reputed conſanguinity of the parties. She had brought him no children; and either on pretence of that conſanguinity, or perhaps on account of her barrenneſs [3], he now got divorced from her by the ſentence of the archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux* and the biſhops of *Poitiers* and *Saintes*; the firſt of which prelates married him, immediately after, to *Iſabel* of *Engouleſme*. It was a very ſudden and unadviſed affair, at leaſt as to the match with this young lady; for though *John* had been for ſome time weary of his former wife, and when he had got into the throne of *England*, formed a reſolution of being divorced from her [4], he had ſent the biſhop of *Liſieux*, with three *Engliſh* noblemen, on a ſolemn embaſſy to *Liſbon*, to demand the king of *Portugal's* daughter in marriage. Thoſe embaſſadors were actually at that prince's court, when *John's* marriage with his new wife was ſolemnized at *Engouleſme:* and having no notice given them of the alteration of his deſign, the news of it gave them as much ſurprize, as it did reſentment to the king of *Portugal*. There could not be a groſſer affront put upon a prince; and yet, the court of *Rome* pretending to a ſovereign judicature in all matrimonial cauſes, Pope *Innocent* was as much [5] provoked at the ſlight put on his predeceſſor's diſpenſation in the point of the divorce, and at the conſequent marriage's being made without his interpoſition, and the exerciſe of his authority, in annulling the precontract. But none had a

[1] *Rymer*, i. 119, 121, 122. [2] *Hoveden*, p. 803. [3] *Diceto*, col. 702. *Hoveden*, *ib.*
[4] *Diceto*, col. 707. [5] *Ibid.*

juſter

juſter cauſe of complaint, or was more furious in his reſentment, than the count of *La Marche*; who being robbed of his wife, vowed revenge upon *John*, and became his eternal enemy; doing him an infinite deal of miſchief and joining on all occaſions, when it was poſſible to annoy him, with his enemy the king of *France*, who alone found his advantage in the marriage. *John*, in his return from this expedition into *Guienne*, came to *Angers*, where he took an hundred and fifty hoſtages from the citizens[1]: and ſoon after paſſed into *England* with his new wife, who was crowned on *Sunday*, *Oct.* 8, at *Weſtminſter*, by *Hubert* archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

JOHN. *A. D.* 1200.

LXVIII. THIS prelate had lately, on *Sept.* 19, held a ſynod at *Weſtminſter*[2], notwithſtanding the prohibition of *Geffrey Fitz Piers* the chief juſticiary: it was intended to be a general one of all *England*, and to conſiſt of the clergy of both provinces: but as neither *Geffrey* archbiſhop of *York*, nor any of his ſuffragans appeared in it, nor ſent any excuſe for their abſence, it proved to be only a ſynod of the province of *Canterbury*; ſuch as were ordinarily held by the archbiſhops of that ſee in the *Saxon* times, and by *Lanfranc*, *Anſelm*, and others after the conqueſt, without either aid or oppoſition from the royal authority. It was probably for this reaſon, becauſe it was, though not in its original deſign, yet in fact, no more than an ordinary exerciſe of his archiepiſcopal authority, and the crown did not uſe to interpoſe in ſuch caſes, that no notice was taken of *Hubert's* contempt of the juſticiary's prohibition; which perhaps related only to his holding a national ſynod by his own authority, without any legatine powers: and there was the leſs occaſion to complain of it, ſince the canons made in this ſynod were deſigned only to revive former regulations, to reform abuſes in eccleſiaſtical matters, and to put a ſtop to ſome methods of oppreſſion, uſed by prelates, archdeacons, and rural deans, in making their viſitations of churches with too great a number of attendants, and in taking upon them to levy talliages and other exactions upon the inferior clergy. There is however one thing in the form of theſe canons, juſtly liable to exception, as being an innovation, and calculated to favour the uſurpations of the church of *Rome*; each canon concluding with a ſaving to its *honour and privilege:* a form ſo ſingular, that there is nothing like it to be ſeen in the acts or decrees of any *Engliſh* ſynod either before or after this; ſo that it looks as if *Hubert* meant to make his court by it to the *Pope*, and by getting into his good graces, procure himſelf to be re-inveſted with a legatine authority.

Affairs of *England* and homage of the king of *Scotland*.

THE clergy of *England* had little reaſon to be fond of the papal power, eſpecially as exerciſed by *Innocent* III; for it was this Pope that firſt aſſumed a power of taxing them without their conſent, and by his ſole authority; thereby creating a precedent for his ſucceſſors to lay upon them what taxes they pleaſed. There muſt be ſome plauſible, popular, or extraordinary pretence for creating a precedent of ſuch a nature, as manifeſtly tended to introduce exactions, which, by growing familiar, would become inſupportable: it is thus that all corruptions take their riſe, whilſt people, in the fury of their zeal for a particular immediate end, the occaſion whereof ſoon paſſeth away like a morning cloud, are hurried on to take unuſual meaſures, and to ſet examples, that prove for ever fatal in their conſequences, and lay a foundation for the worſt of grievances. The relief of the diſtreſſed *Chriſtians* in the *Holy Land*, the moving ſubject of all the ſermons of the clergy, and the chief object of all the religious zeal of the laity in thoſe days, was the alluring pretence, made uſe of by *Innocent*, to draw the *Engliſh* clergy into a ſubmiſſion to that extravagant claim, which the Popes made to the diſpoſal of all eccleſiaſtical revenues. It had ſerved already for a pretence to many other uſurpations: and *Innocent*, a man

[1] *Hoveden*, p. 805. 811. [2] *Ibid.* 806. *Chron. Dunſtaple.* *Diceto*, col. 707.

of

JOHN. A. D. 1200.

of as great capacity, knowledge, judgment, art, and vigour, as ever ſat upon the papal throne[1], judging the occaſion favourable for his purpoſe, had the year before laid an injunction on all the prelates and clergy of *Italy*, *Sclavonia*, *Germany*, *France*, the *Britiſh iſles*, and indeed all *Europe*, poſſeſſed by the *Latins* (except *Spain*, which was actually engaged in a war with the infidels) to pay the fortieth part of all their eccleſiaſtical revenues for the maintenance of thoſe concerned in a *Croiſade*, propoſed to be undertaken againſt the *Sarazens*. He charged the clergy of his own church of *Rome* with a tenth on this occaſion, to keep others from thinking it an hardſhip to pay the fortieth part of their income; knowing well, that if his power in this reſpect was once allowed, he could raiſe what ſums he pleaſed afterwards: and he ſent *Philip*, a *Roman* notary, to collect this tax in *England*. This man travelling with a train from one religious houſe to another, was extremely burdenſome to them all: and having collected this fortieth part of the revenues of the *Engliſh* clergy, carried a vaſt ſum of money out of the nation, for the relief of the *Holy Land*, and the charges of the *Croiſade*; though *Diceto* ſuppoſeth the inveterate avarice of the court of *Rome* diverted the greateſt part of it to their own uſes, allowing but little to the purpoſes, for which it was pretended to be levied. At the ſame time that the Pope exerted the plenitude of his power[2] over the clergy, in laying this tax upon them, he exhorted the laity to make a like contribution: and the king of *France* doing the ſame in his dominions, *John* gave the fortieth part of his conſtant revenue, as well as of his caſualties, his wards and eſcheats, for one year; authoriſing alſo a collection to be made of all the barons, military tenants, and freeholders throughout *England*. This was not a regular tax, but a voluntary contribution after the rate of a fortieth part of their clear revenues; for the rent paid by the free tenants to their landlord was not computed in the valuation of their eſtates and revenue.

JOHN, after his wife's firſt, and his own ſecond, coronation, ſent the [3]biſhop of *Durham*, the earls of *Norfolk*, *Hereford*, and *Huntingdon*, with other very honourable perſons, to convoy *William* king of *Scotland* to his court; aſſigning *November* 21, for the day of that prince's appearing at *Lincoln* to do him homage[4]. The ſummons was too peremptory for *William* to evade it by excuſes in the proſperous condition of *John's* affairs at this time: and bringing *Roland* lord of *Galloway* along with him, he accordingly did homage on [5]*November* 22, upon an hill without the town, in the ſight of all the world; profeſſing himſelf to be *John's* liegeman, and ſwearing upon archbiſhop *Hubert's* croſs, "to bear faith to him of life and limb, "and terrene honour, againſt all men, and (with a ſaving of his own rights) to "keep peace with him and his kingdom." It is not ſaid, for what particular country this homage was paid, but if it was not for all *Scotland*, the ſuperiority whereof is thought to have been given up by *Richard* (though it is not ſo expreſſed in his charter upon that ſubject) it muſt be either for *Lothian* or *Galloway*, or for both; ſince *William* now held no lands in *England*, and the conſideration of his claim to *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and *Weſtmorland* was, to his great diſappointment, put off to the next *Whitſontide*. *John* having diſpatched this important point, for the quiet of his own mind, and the ſecurity of his realm, had nothing more to do, but to flatter his eaſe, and indulge himſelf in feaſting: and having kept *Chriſtmas* at *Guilford*, made a progreſs over the northern counties of *England*; in which, paſſing by *York*, he came to a reconciliation with his brother *Geffrey*. Returning thence by *Eaſter* to *Canterbury*, he was there perſuaded by the archbiſhop, to revive the ancient cuſtom of our kings having the crown put upon their heads at the great feſtivals[6]: and both he and his queen were ſo crowned on *Eaſter day*,

A. D. 1201.

[1] *Baron. Annal.* t. xiii. p. 25, 73. [2] *Hoveden*, p. 828. [3] *Hoveden*, p. 811. [4] *Chr. Hexingſ.* l. ii. c. 95. [5] *Rad. Niger.* f. 81. *Trivet.* [6] *Diceto*, col. 709.

in

in the cathedral of that place, in the preſence of the prelates of *Dublin*, *London*, *Rocheſter*, *Ely*, and *Norwich*.

JOHN. *A. D.* 1201.

LXIX. NOTHING but ſplendour, pomp, and jollity, had as yet followed *John's* haſty marriage with his new queen; but the ill effects of it began now to appear. Some commotions broke out in *Guienne*[1], encouraged by the injured *Hugh de Brun*, count *de la Marche*, and his brother *Ralf de Yſſoudun*; who, in right of his wife *Alice* (ſole daughter and heir of *Henry* II, count *d'Eu*, the laſt male-deſcendant of count *Robert*, who was one of the chief councellors to *William the Conqueror* before the conqueſt) was, beſides[2] an eſtate of above ſix ſcore knights fees in *England*, poſſeſſed of the county of *Eu* in *Normandie*. *John*, upon the firſt advice of theſe diſturbances[3], had ſent orders to *Guerin de Glapion*, ſeneſchal of *Normandie*, to fall upon *Ralf's* lands in the county of *Eu*, and to beſiege the caſtle of *Driencourt*, now called *Dancourt*: the place was inveſted, but the ſiege was raiſed by the king of *France's* marching to its relief. *John*, reſolving to go over in perſon to quell theſe commotions, ſummoned the earls and barons of *England* to meet him on *Whitſunday*, at *Portſmouth*, well provided with armes and horſes to go over with him into *Normandie*. The kings of *England* had not uſed to put the *Engliſh* nobility to the trouble and expence of ſuch foreign expeditions on trifling occaſions, when there was no war with any foreign potentate: and the onely buſineſs now was to cruſh two or three vaſſals of the crown, whoſe oppreſſions had put them upon raiſing a commotion; a buſineſs to which the *Engliſh* barons, apprehenſive it might be ſome time or other their own caſe, were ever unwilling to contribute their aſſiſtance. The earls and great barons met at *Leiceſter*, to[4] conſult about the orders ſent them: and agreeing in a common reſolution, ſent word to *John*, that they would not go over with him, unleſs he reſtored them their rights; which he not caring to do, required them to deliver up their caſtles. *William de Albiney* was the firſt perſon of whom he made this demand; and that nobleman compounded for his caſtle of *Belvoir*, by giving his ſon for an hoſtage: and the reſt, paying a ſcutage of two marks a knight's fee, were excuſed from the expedition; which ſerved not only as a pretence for this aid, but as an excuſe to put off an anſwer to the king of *Scotland's* claim of the three northern counties till *Michaelmas*. *John* having ſent the earl of *Pembroke* and the conſtable of *Cheſter* before him, with two hundred ſtipendiary knights, or men of armes, to repreſs the attempts of the inſurgents abroad[5], and left *Hubert de Burgh*, his chamberlain, with an hundred knights, to guard the marches of *Wales*, which were ſoon after further ſecured by a peace with prince *Llewellyn ap Jorwerth*, ſailed with his queen from *Portſmouth* in *Whitſun* week: and after a difficult paſſage, landed ſafe in *Normandie*.

Diſturbances abroad, and war with *France*.

SOON after his arrival in that country, *John* had a conference with the king of *France* near *Andely*; in which they agreed very well: and the former going three days after, by invitation, to *Paris*, was there magnificently entertained for ſome days, and lodged in the king's palace. From thence he paſſed to *Chinon*[6]; where the queen dowager *Berengaria* coming to him about her dower, he aſſigned her, in lieu thereof[7], the revenue of the city of *Bayeux* and its dependencies, and two caſtles in *Anjou*, beſides an annuity of a thouſand marks ſterling. He was now on the borders of *Guienne*, with a force ſufficient to have reduced the male-content barons of that country, if he had not either wanted vigour, or been reſtrained by his late agreement with the king of *France*, when they renewed their former treaty of peace: but inſtead of attacking them briſkly, he retired into *Normandie*, and

[1] *Mon. Angl.* t. i. p. 838. t. ii. p. 870, 921. [2] *Rot. Pip.* 29 *H.* iii. *Suff.* & *Ebor.* [3] *Hoveden*, p. 819, 819. *Diceto*, col. 709. [4] *Hoveden*, *ib.* *M. Paris.* [5] *Rymer*, i. 123. [6] *Hoveden*, p. 822, 823. [7] *Rymer*, i. 124.

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left *Robert de Turneham* to repreſs their excurſions. Theſe barons complained of ſeveral grievances and invaſions of their rights by *John's* officers, who had ſeized ſome of their caſtles: and finding no redreſs from him, appealed to *Philip* as ſupreme lord of their fiefs, deſiring him to take them under his protection, and to do them juſtice[1]. *Philip* had accordingly interpoſed in their behalf, and preſſed *John* not to infringe their rights, or treat them harſhly; otherwiſe he could not avoid doing the duty incumbent on him, as their ſovereign lord, in hearing their complaints, and giving them redreſs in a judicial manner. The regular method, in which the vaſſals of the fiefs held of the kings of *England*, as dukes of *Normandie* and *Guienne*, were to ſeek the redreſs of any grievance, was to apply firſt to their *immediate* lord, who being aſſiſted by a council of their peers (that is of ſuch as were equal to them in dignity, holding of him by the ſame tenure, and having a right to a ſeat in his court of judicature) determined the point that came before him in judgment: and if this ſentence proved unjuſt, the party aggrieved might then appeal to the *ſupreme* lord, the king of *France's* court, where the ſentence was examined, and judgment given by the peers of the meſne lord, who held of the crown immediately. *John* inſiſted very reaſonably upon this method, and that the complaints of the *Guienne* barons ſhould be firſt heard in his own court; *Philip* too readily acquieſced in that point, and only recommended to him to do them ſpeedy juſtice. This was what *John* had a mind to elude; and as in caſes where the proof of rights is not very clear, recourſe was generally had, by order of the court, to a duel between the parties, or their champions, he had got ſome ordinary gentlemen, noted for their ſtrength and ſkill in duelling, to ſerve him on that occaſion: but theſe the count of *La Marche* and his brother rejected, as not being their peers, nor qualified by the laws and received rules in ſuch caſes, to be put on a *par* with them in a duel. This proceeding raiſed their reſentments higher than ever: and made them ſuſpect every propoſal on the part of *John*, though coloured with the pretence of doing them juſtice, as made with ſome treacherous deſign. He ſummoned them to his courts, in order, as he profeſſed, to hear their complaints: but refuſed to ſend them the ſafe-conducts which they deſired, and which were uſually granted in ſuch caſes, when a vaſſal, being oppreſſed or injured by his lord's officers, had reaſons to apprehend he had enemies in his court, who might get him diſpatched clandeſtinely, to prevent their own iniquities being diſcovered. They complained again to the king of *France* of this denial of juſtice, or artifice to prevent it; deſiring that the cauſe might be evoked to his tribunal, and that the king of *England* might be ſummoned thither, as his vaſſal, to give an account of his conduct in the government of the fiefs he held immediately of the crown of *France*, and anſwer for the treatment of the meſne vaſſals. *Philip* did not yet cite *John* to appear: but preſſed him in the ſtrongeſt manner to do juſtice in the caſe, without any more delays; reproaching him with the breach of his word, and threatening to take other meaſures, if he neglected it any longer. *John* pretending that he had been hitherto hindered by ſome urgent affairs, promiſed to hold immediately a court of his barons at *Angers*; and if thoſe, who made their complaints, came to *Loudun*, he would ſend them letters of ſafe-conduct: but ſtill found out new pretexts, to elude the performance of his promiſe.

In the mean time, *Conſtance* of *Bretagne*[2] dying on *Auguſt* 31, at *Nantes*, her ſon *Arthur* had gone from *Paris* to *Rennes*, in order to take poſſeſſion of the dutchy, and to receive the homage and oaths of fealty of all the nobility. This prince, ſupporting the complaints of the barons of *Guienne*, and demanding likewiſe juſtice with regard to his own rights in the fiefs of *Normandie*, *Anjou*, and *Guienne*, the king of *France*, now free from all diſputes with the Pope, reſolved to be trifled with no

[1] *Gul. Brito Philip.* l. vi. [2] *Hoveden*, p. 822. *D'Hozier Hiſt. Bretagne*, c. 28, 29.

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longer: and made preparation to procure from *John*, by force of armes, that ſatiſfaction which he could not obtain by his repeated inſtances. *John*, terrified at the proſpect of a war, ſent to *Philip*; intreating him not to break the peace, and aſſuring him of immediate ſatisfaction: but could procure no credit to his promiſes after ſo many failures [1], nor any delay of hoſtilities, without delivering up the caſtles of *Tillieres* and *Boutavant*, as pledges of his ſincerity. *John* agreed to the condition; a day was fixed for the putting them into the hands of *Philip*: but when he appeared before them, in order to take poſſeſſion, he was denied entrance by the governors, who pretended, that they had no orders from their maſter on that ſubject. The king of *France*, enraged at ſuch a ſeries of colluſion, was going to begin the war; when *John*, to gain more time, or perhaps in hopes of making ſome accommodation with him, deſired a conference on *March* 25, in the iſle [2] of *Goulet*, near *Andely*. It was held, but without effect; *Philip's* demands being very high, and containing either a ceſſion of the provinces held of him to *Arthur*, or at leaſt ſufficient ſecurity, that *John* would ſtand to the judgment of his court (where he had been ſummoned to appear fifteen days after *Eaſter*) with regard to his and his nephew's claims to that part of *Richard's* ſucceſſion. It was, in all appearance, this demand, which made *John*, two days after, ſummon [3] *Arthur* to come and do homage to him for *Bretagne*.

THE king of *France*, as ſoon as the conference was over [4], laid ſiege to *Tillieres* and *Boutavant*, which he took in the ſpace of three weeks: and having made himſelf maſter of *Mortemer*, *Lions*, *Argueuil*, and other caſtles, ſat down before *Gournay*, one of the ſtrongeſt places on the frontiers of *Normandie*, and lying on the river *Epte*, five leagues above *Giſors*. It was ſeated in a marſhy plain, and defended by a numerous garriſon, ſo well provided with all neceſſaries, that it was expected to hold out a conſiderable time: but *Philip* breaking the banks of a large pool, which lay at a ſmall diſtance, and higher than the town, the water fell down with ſo impetuous a torrent upon the walls, as bore them down before it, and almoſt drowned the place; the garriſon and inhabitants being obliged to quit it, and fly to the higher ground in the neighbourhood. The king of *France* entered the place as ſoon as the water was drained off: and whilſt he ſtaid there to repair the fortifications, knighted *Arthur*, now in his ſixteenth year, and gave him his daughter *Mary*, as yet very young, in marriage; with the inveſtiture, not only of *Bretagne*, but of *Guienne* and *Anjou*. The young prince being fond of making his firſt eſſay in armes, *Philip* [5] furniſhed him with two hundred knights, and a ſum of money, to attack *Guienne*; and ordered the militia of *Berry* and *Burgundy* to march to his aſſiſtance. Theſe troops were not come up, nor thoſe which he expected from *Bretagne*; when *Arthur*, hearing, as he paſſed near *Mireleau* in *Poitou*, that queen *Eleanor* was in the caſtle of that place, marched thither and took it; the queen retiring into a large tower within it, in hopes of being relieved. Upon advice of her diſtreſs, *John*, getting for once the better of the indolence of his nature, flew to her aſſiſtance with a great body of *Brabantins* and *Engliſh* forces: and on *Tueſday*, *Auguſt* 1, [6] came upon *Arthur's* ſmall party ſo ſuddenly, that he ſurprized them, when they leaſt expected an enemy. They had been reinforced only by ſome *Poitovin* barons; yet, confident of their own bravery, and imagining they had only to do with a corps of roving *Brabantins*, they drew out of the place to fight them in the field: but were ſoon broke, and flying back into the caſtle, the *Engliſh* purſued them ſo cloſe, that they entered with them, and remained maſters of the place after a bloody combat, in which their valour is highly celebrated. The count of

[1] *Gul. Brito*, l. vi. [2] *Diceto*, col. 710. *M. Weſtm. M. Paris.* [3] *Rymer*, i. 128. [4] *Gul. Brito Philip*, l. vi. [5] *Trivet.* [6] *Rad. Niger. M. Paris. Chron. Guil. de Nangis* in *Dachery's Spicileg.* t. xi. p. 479.

La

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La Marché[1], *Geffrey de Luſignan*, *Andrew de Chavigny*, the viſcount *de Chatellerault*, *Savary de Mauleon*, with other barons of *Guienne* and *Poitou*, above two hundred knights, and *Arthur* himſelf, were taken priſoners in the action. The news of it made the king of *France* raiſe the ſiege of the caſtle of *Arques*[2], after having lain a fortnight before it, and march in haſte to the *Loire*, to ſupport *Arthur's* party, much ſunk by this diſaſter. He atchieved his deſign with little difficulty; *John*, after receiving the ſubmiſſion of *Tours* and *Angers*, being retired with his forces to *Roüen:* [3] and making himſelf maſter of the firſt of thoſe places, ſet the town on fire, levelled the walls, and diſmantled the caſtle.

John murders prince *Arthur*, and loſes *Normandie*.

LXX. HAD *John* known how to improve a victory, this would have been of vaſt ſervice to his affairs: but fools are often ruined by their ſucceſs; and he uſed it with ſo much cruelty, as rendered him the execration of mankind. He was a coward in his nature, and conſequently bloody; had no notion of magnanimity, nor any bowels of compaſſion; and giving a looſe to his revenge (after[4] *Hugh le Brun* count of *La Marché*, and *Geffrey de Luſignan* had ranſomed themſelves by the ſurrender of their caſtles) ſent the reſt of his priſoners[5] into *England:* where they were cloſe confined in ſeveral caſtles, and treated inhumanely; no leſs than two and twenty of the greateſt quality, and moſt diſtinguiſhed bravery among them, being famiſhed to death in that of *Corfe* alone. *Arthur* ſoon verified the obſervation, that there is but a ſhort interval between the impriſonment, and the death of princes; for being conveyed to the caſtle of *Falaiſe*[6], he was there kept in priſon; till the ſtrong inſtances made by his father-in-law the king of *France*, *W. de Roches*, and the nobles of *Bretagne* for his liberty, and the apprehenſions which *John* had, of his being able to recover his right by their aſſiſtance, cauſed orders to be ſent for depriving him of his eyes and teſticles, to incapacitate him for government, and prevent his leaving any poſterity. *Hubert de Burgh*, chamberlain of the houſhold, and conſtable of the caſtle of *Falaiſe*, refuſed to execute theſe orders: but imagining it might either leſſen *John's* reſentment, or anſwer his purpoſe by diſpiriting the young prince's adherents, gave out that *Arthur* was executed, and the bells tolled for him all over *Normandie*. This expedient did not ſucceed; the *Bretons* vowed revenge and eternal enmity againſt his murderer; and ſuch troubles began to break out, that *Hubert*, to prevent them, was forced to diſcover that *Arthur* was alive: but all the uſe *John* made of this knowledge, and of the experience he had of the ill effects of a bare rumour of his death, was to remove him to the caſtle of *Roüen*, and get him there diſpatched ſo very privately, that the time, manner, and circumſtances of his death, are not to be related with any certainty.

THE *French* writers ſay, that *John* being told by *William de Bray*[7], whom he preſſed to murder the young prince, "that he was a gentleman and not an hang-"man," and having received a like anſwer from others of his confidents, whom he would fain have employed in the murder, reſolved at laſt to be the executioner himſelf. Purſuant to this bloody reſolution, coming one night in a boat to the foot of the tower of the caſtle of *Roüen*, he ordered the prince to be put into the boat, and having run him through ſeveral times with his ſword, and carried the corpſe ſome leagues down the ſtream of the *Seine*, threw it into the river. This relation ſeems the moſt probable of any, as well becauſe it tallies better than others with the report, which *John's* creatures affected to give out, that *Arthur* in attempting to make his eſcape out of the window of the tower, in which he was kept, and which looked over the river, had fallen into it and was drowned; as becauſe the *French*, becoming ſo ſoon after maſters of *Roüen*, when a free inquiſition might be made into

[1] *Annal. Margam.* [2] *M. Paris.* [3] *Rob. de Monte.* [4] *Annal. Waverl.* [5] *Annal. Margam.* [6] *Rad. Niger.* f. 98. [7] *Gul. Brito De geſt. Phil. Aug.*

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the manner of his death, their writers are in reaſon to be ſuppoſed the moſt likely to acquire a knowledge of all its circumſtances. Nor doth this differ in the main from the account given in the *Annals of Margam*; which being more particular in this point, than the reſt of our *Engliſh* writers, ſay, that on the *Thurſday* before *Eaſter* (1 *April* 3) in the afternoon, *John*, after a drunken bout, murdered *Arthur* with his own hand, and tying a large ſtone about his body, threw it into the *Seine*; where it was ſaid to be found afterwards by a fiſherman, dragged to ſhore in his net, and interred in the priory of *Nôtre Dame du Pré*, belonging to the abbey of *Bec*, with with great ſecreſy, for fear of the tyrant. It agrees too with the general opinion [2] of the world, at the time of the murder, that *John* committed it with his own hand; though *Ralf Niger*, and after him, *Hemingford* and *Knighton* ſay, that *Peter de Maulac* or *Maeuly*, a *Gaſcon*, was the inſtrument he employed to kill *Arthur*, and was for that execrable fact rewarded with the barony of *Mulgrave* [3]; *John* beſtowing on him *Iſabel*, daughter of *Robert de Turnham*, heireſs of the barony, and by that and other grants, raiſing him from nothing to be one of the moſt conſiderable of his nobility. As to the time of it, the day aſſigned by the *Annals of Margam* agrees very well with what *M. Paris* ſays, of an haſty trip that *John* made into *England*, to be crowned again at *Canterbury* on *April* 14, by archbiſhop *Hubert*, (as if that rite would better his title, or hallow his perſon after the murder of his nephew, the right heir of the crown) and returning back immediately to *Normandie*; which made all the world conclude, *Arthur* was then murdered. It was apparently the ſole deſign of that viſit to *England*; though he brought over with him *Arthur's* ſiſter *Eleanor* [4], called *La Brette*, or the *Damoſel* of *Bretagne*, of whoſe right to the crown he was now as much afraid, as he had been of her brother's: and having no place of ſufficient ſecurity to keep her in abroad, confined her cloſely all his life in one caſtle or other, though generally at *Briſtol*, under the guard of four knights, charged particularly to take care, that ſhe ſhould have no child, who might afterwards, by hereditary right, lay claim to the kingdom of *England*.

THERE never was an uſurpation upon earth, that was not brought about and ſupported by a thouſand lies and falſehoods: and of this nature, I take that ſtory to be, which, in order to palliate *John's* iniquity in this deteſtable murder of his nephew, repreſents *Arthur* not only as inſiſting on his right, to all his uncle *Richard's* dominions, but as treating *John* with diſdain, and uſing provoking language with menaces, very unlikely to come out of the mouth of a priſoner, and certainly very unfit for one in ſuch a condition. There is nothing ſo wicked or cruel, that an uſurper, conſcious of the badneſs of his own title, and the injuſtice he does another, is not capable of acting, to ſecure an-ill gotten throne: it was *John's* view in this act of inhumanity, though it did not anſwer his purpoſe. It loſt him the eſteem (if he ever had it) and the affections of his own people and ſervants; it made him deteſted by all the world: thoſe who had before ſerved him with zeal and vigour, now quitted his ſervice, and turned againſt him; whilſt his enemies were enraged to the laſt degree. It not only loſt *Bretagne* for ever to the crown of *England*, whoſe naval power it would have greatly increaſed, and whoſe dominions on the continent it would have united and contributed exceedingly to ſecure againſt all the attempts of *France*, but it was [5] alſo the immediate cauſe of the loſs of *Normandie*, and the neighbouring provinces of *Anjou*, *Maine*, *Touraine*, and *Poitou*. *John* indeed, with his wretched underſtanding, was weak or vain enough to imagine it might be a means of procuring

[1] This is the day aſſigned for it in the proceſs before the court of peers of *France* againſt *John* for this murder: and it is the more reaſonable to think it was ſo, becauſe it was either two or four days after the death of his mother *Eleanor*, during whoſe life he durſt not commit ſo execrable a fact on her grandſon.

[2] *Chron. Norm. M. Paris.* [3] *Dugdale's Baron.* t. i. p. 733, 734. [4] *T. Wikes.*

[5] *D'Hozier's Hiſt. de Bretagne*, p. 209.

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him the government of the first of those countries: and with an amazing impudence demanded it of the estates of *Bretagne*, under the pretext of having his niece *Eleanor* in his power, and being her guardian and neareſt relation. The *Bretons*, enraged at the death of a prince, whose bounty many of them had experienced, and whose noble qualities they all loved and admired, received the proposal with horror: and as the late dutchess *Constance* had left a daughter (named *Alice*, an infant of an year old) by *Guy de Thouars*, they appointed this nobleman chief of the council of government during her minority, or till they could get *Eleanor* out of captivity, which they in vain sollicited. The estates of *Bretagne*, assembled at *Vannes*, went still farther; they accused *John* of murder and parricide in the court of peers of *France*, and deputed *Peter* bishop of *Rennes*, who had been *Arthur's* chancellor, and *Richard de Mareschal*, as their embassadors to *Philip*; empowering them in form to prosecute their appeal. *John* was cited to appear before that court; and failing to do so, was condemned by the unanimous sentence of the peers; declaring that, "whereas *John* duke of *Normandie*, forgetting his oath to king *Philip* his lord, "had murdered his elder brother's son, being an homager of the crown of *France*, "and the king's near relation, and perpetrated that crime within the seignory of "*France*, he was therefore adjudged guilty of felony and treason, and to forfeit all "his territories, which he held by homage."

Juhael de Mayenne[1], a powerful baron in *Bretagne* and *Mayenne*, who had lately entered into *John's* service, and had, with *William des Roches* seneschal of *Maine* and *Anjou*, contributed more than any other to the success of *Mirebeau*, was one of the *Breton* lords, that joined in this prosecution. *William des Roches* immediately quitted his service: and in a short time, by sending a party of soldiers in the habit of peasants and merchants into the place, on a fair, or market day, found means to surprize *Angers*. This with the king of *France's* coming into those parts, encouraged most of the nobility of *Anjou* and the adjoining province of *Poitou*, to take up armes and revolt to *Philip*; a defection, which *John*, never to be restrained from exercising the cruelty of his nature by any experience of its fatal effects, revenged in his bloody manner[2]: putting all their hostages to death, to make their enmity irreconcileable. *Philip*, with the assistance of the *Bretons* and *Poitovins*, easily made himself master of several fortresses beyond the *Loire*; *Robert* count of *Alençon* put that town into his hands, with several castles on the borders of *Perche* and *Normandie*; and *Philip*, thinking his conquests in no danger of being retaken, dismissed his forces[3]. *John* seized this opportunity to besiege *Alençon*; hoping to take it before an army could be got together for its succour: and he would have gained his point, but for an accident. There happened to be a turnament then held at *Moret* in the *Gatinois*, where a vast number of gentry were assembled; desirous to distinguish themselves in military diversions: and *Philip* going thither, found no difficulty in perswading them to march with him to the relief of *Alençon*. These with their numerous trains of attendants, which ordinarily followed them on such occasions, being joined to such of his troops as lay near enough to be got together, formed a body of forces very considerable for their bravery: and *Philip* advancing at their head with great expedition towards *Alençon*, *John* raised the siege in so much hurry, that he left all his machines, tents, and baggage behind.

The king of *France* then turning his armes on the side of *Normandie* towards *Roüen*[4], took *Conches*, *Vaudreuil*, and some other places. *Hugh de Gourney* and *Peter*, son of *Robert* count of *Meulant*[5], revolted to him, and delivered up their

[1] *Rymer*, i. 124. *Rad. Niger.* f. 97. [2] *Trivet.* [3] *Gul. Brito, Philip.* l. vii. [4] *M. Paris. Rad. Niger.* f. 100. [5] *Rob. de Monte.*

castles of *Montfort* and *Beaumont le Roger*; and about the middle of *August* he invested the famous fortress [1] of *Chateau-Gaillard*. This castle was seated near *Little Andely* by the side of the *Seine*, on a rock so high and craggy, that it was impossible either to scale the walls, or batter them with the ram, and other military engines. Over against it, in an island called the isle of *Andely*, was another fortress; within the walls of which was a palace built by the late king *Richard*, who had fortified these two places (which had a communication together and contributed to each other's strength) with so much skill and judgment, that they seemed impregnable, but by famine. *John* was in an ill condition to raise the siege of this important place, which was considered as the bulwark of *Normandie*: and though he had an army strong enough to fight *Philip*, he durst not venture a battle. Conscious of his crimes, and the universal odium he had incurred by the murder of *Arthur*, he suspected the fidelity of his troops: and having lost his mother *Eleanor* [2], who died a day or two before that murder, in a conjuncture, when her advice and good offices, which had been of vast service to him, were more than ever necessary, there was no body about him, that had influence enough to animate him to an act of vigour.

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He had taken the low method of suing to the *Pope*, to procure him a peace with *France*; and [3] *Innocent* had sent the abbots of *Casemare* and *Trefons* to negociate it, and enjoin both the princes to assemble their prelates and nobility, in order to make a peace, and repair the churches and monasteries that had been destroyed in their wars. These orders were notified to the king of *France* about *Midsummer*, whilst he was at *Mante*: and they appeared so extraordinary to all his court, that in their indignation at this proceeding, the [4] duke of *Burgundy*, the counts of *Nevers*, *Soissons*, *Beaumont*, *Sancerre*, and *Boulogne*, the lords of *Coucy*, *Dampierre*, and others of the prime nobility, signed instruments; desiring him not to mind those orders, nor be forced by the *Pope* to a peace or truce with *John*, and assuring him of their services or assistance. *Philip* did not care to lose the advantages he had against his adversary; and sending some of his prelates to *Rome*, prevailed with *Innocent* not to interpose in their quarrel; succeeding the easier in this point, because *John*, by a carelessness familiar to him, had no agent there, to dispute or disprove his allegations. This method failing to obtain a peace, *John* was left under the necessity of trying the fate of war, and of making an attempt, if not to raise the siege, at least to throw supplies into *Chateau-Gaillard*. The place, with the isle adjoining, were beleaguered on all sides, and a bridge of flat-bottomed boats had been laid cross the river below them, to prevent any succours of men and provisions being sent from *Roüen*, by land or water: it was resolved to attack, at the same time, this bridge and the corps of troops posted on the *Vexin* side of the river. The earl of *Pembroke* with four thousand foot, three thousand horse, and a large body of *Brabantins* marched to attack the latter; and a fleet of seventy vessels, built by *Richard* a little before his death, and equally fit for river or sea-service, with three thousand *Flemings* on board, and some large barges laden with victuals, was destined to the former enterprize. They set out together with great secresy in the beginning of the night; and had they arrived at the same time, the attempt would have succeeded. But the fleet advancing, against the stream of the river and a contrary wind, much slower than was imagined, the land forces arrived before it: and the earl having

[1] *Gul. Brito*, l. vii.

[2] Most writers place her death in *A. D.* 1204. The annals of *Waverley* and *Walsingham* (*Ypod. Neustr.* p. 459) fix also the day, the former on *April* 1, the latter on *March* 30: but they are certainly mistaken as to the year, which was *A. D.* 1203, as appears from a patent in the fifth of *John* dated on *April* 15, *at the Easter next after the death of our mother Q. Eleanor*, and on *May* 5, this year, *John* settled on his wife *Isabel*, all the lands that had been his mother's jointure. Cart. 5, *Joh.* n. 33. *Rymer*, i. 134.

[3] *Rigord. Gul. Brito.* [4] See their letters in *MSS Brienne*, N° 34. *in Bibl. Reg. Paris.*

waited

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waited till day was on the point of breaking, attacked ſome houſes, filled with ſutlers, in his way to the camp and at a ſmall diſtance from it: and put about two hundred of them to the ſword; which ſerved at once to alarm the enemy, and make his own men diſperſe for the ſake of plunder. The *French*, ſurprized by an unexpected attack, were at firſt in a good deal of conſternation, and began to fly towards the bridge: but their officers rallying them, and obſerving the diſorder of the *Engliſh*, by the light of ſome buſhes and houſes they had ſet on fire, charged them in that condition, broke and diſperſed the whole body. The fleet did not come up till day appeared: and the enemy being prepared to receive it, all its efforts to break the bridge, and throw victuals into the place, were fruitleſs. Such was the iſſue of an enterprize well enough laid, but ill executed, and of the onely effort, which *John* made for the defence of *Normandie*.

THIS prince ſpent all his time in feaſting, drinking, and dallying with his queen: and giving no attention to publick affairs; affected to appear as gay and merry, as if he had been in the midſt of peace, and had triumphed over all his enemies. *Philip* on the contrary, urging his ſucceſs, ſoon made himſelf maſter of the iſle, and of the town of *Andely*, which lay at the foot of *Chateau-Gaillard*: and having blocked up this laſt place ſo cloſely, that it was impracticable to throw into it any ſupply of men or proviſions, marched with part of his forces to beſiege *Radepont*, a ſtrong place lying on the *Andelle*, about three or four leagues from *Roüen*. It was a place of conſequence[1]: yet being aſſaulted with great vigour, did not hold out above three weeks; *John* not making the leaſt attempt for its relief, but indulging his eaſe, and when he was told of the *French* taking this and other places, crying out in his vain and bluſtering manner, "Let them go on, I'll recover more "in a day, than they can take in a twelvemonth." Whether it was any remorſe for his nephew's murder, or an univerſal diſtruſt of his own ſervants, which kept him in a continual confuſion, and made him give up himſelf entirely to ſottiſhneſs and effeminacy, his conduct was ſo unaccountable, that every body thought him bewitched: and the *Engliſh* nobility and gentry, that were with him, ſeeing no probability of doing ſervice, or acquiring glory, and perhaps having entertained a diſtaſte to his government, deſired leave to go home; promiſing however a ſpeedy return. *John* did not allow them an opportunity of making good their word; for having demoliſhed the walls of *Moulineaux*, *Montfort*, and *Pont de l'Arche*, as if he had a mind to lay the whole country open to the enemy,[2] and ordered ſhips to be got ready for his paſſage, with great ſecreſy, he ſtole away from *Normandie*, and landed on *December* 6, at *Portſmouth*.

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PHILIP did not fail to make his advantage of this ſhameful and precipitate departure; which he interpreted as a dereliction of the country, ſufficient to imply a general direction, that every body ſhould ſubmit to him as ſovereign of the province; whoſe buſineſs it was to take care of them, when the meſne lord had renounced or quitted their protection. He had now free liberty to extend his conqueſts, and to reduce all the caſtles that lined the frontier of the *Vexin*; being wonderfully favoured in that work by the weather; which in that winter ſeaſon of the year, was from *January* to *May*, as dry and warm, as it uſually is in the midſt of ſummer. Every thing fell before him; only *Chateau-Gaillard* ſtill held out, though *Roger de Lacey*, conſtable of *Cheſter*, governor of the place, having at different times, as he found his victuals decreaſe, and the hope of ſuccours remote, put out the leſs uſeful mouths, the garriſon was reduced to a ſmall number. This encouraged *Philip* to try, if he could take the caſtle by force: and having, with incredible labour, filled up a vaſt hollow, that lay between an oppoſite rock, and that on which the fortreſs ſtood, brought his engines to bear on the walls, and his

[1] *M. Paris. Rigord.* [2] *M. Paris. Annal. Waverl.*

miners

miners to ſap the foundation. The hardneſs of the rock made this laſt a laborious undertaking: but he atchieved his purpoſe; the place being taken partly by ſurprize, and partly by ſtorm, about the 6th of *March*, after having held out above ſix months, and *Roger de Lacy*, with about an hundred and ſixty others, being taken priſoners. *Philip* treated the governor with great honours for his brave defence, and upon his parole let him go at large about *Paris*: but took care to make him pay ſix thouſand marks for his ranſome. *John*. A. D. 1204.

John had ſuch a diſtruſt of all his ſubjects, that at his departure he would not truſt the government of *Normandie* in the hands of any of them: but left the care of its defence to *Arches Martin* and *Lupicaire*, two chieftains of his *Brabantins*, mercenary fellows, uſed to rapine, venal, and ready to ſerve the higheſt bidder; to the general diſcontent of the nobility, who thought it below them, to ſerve under ſuch commanders, and of all the people of the country, who were in continual fear of being plundered by thoſe bands of robbers. No body cares to ſtand by a prince that deſerts them, and hath not reſolution enough to ſtand by himſelf: all the nobleſſe of *Normandie* had now either revolted openly, or were on the point of declaring themſelves. The king of *France*, after taking *Chateau-Gaillard*, made, in the week after *Eaſter*[1], his next attempt upon *Falaiſe*, the ſtrongeſt fortreſs in the lower *Normandie*, and deemed the bulwark of that country. He prepared to beſiege it in form, and had erected his machines of battery: but *Lupicaire* did not give him the trouble of playing them; ſurrendering the town and caſtle the ſeventh day of the ſiege, and entering with his *Brabantins* into *Philip's* ſervice; ſuch are the effects of truſting the defence of a country to mercenary foreigners. *Seez*, *Argentan*, and *Danfront*, with other places in the neighbourhood, ſubmitted without any trouble: the citizens of *Caen* opened their gates to him at his approach; and their example was followed by thoſe of *Liſieux*, *Bayeux*, and *Coutances*. *Guy de Thouars* had, in the mean time, with four hundred knights, and a numerous army of *Bretons*, fallen into *Normandie* on the ſide of *Bretagne*, and had taken *Pontorſon*, *Mont S. Michel*, *Avranches*, and *Mortain*; his troops, compoſed chiefly of men uſed to plunder, made ſtrange havock in the country: and though *John* had not courage to defend it, he had reſentment enough to revenge the miſchief, by ſending an army of *Engliſh* to make the like ravages in *Bretagne*, whilſt the forces which ſhould have guarded it, were abſent. *Dol* and *Fougeres* were taken, and the neighbourhood waſted, before *Guy* could come back with his troops, reinforced by a detachment of *French* under the count of *Boulogne* and *W. des Barres*: but then the *Engliſh* retired to their ſhips, which lay at *Cancale*, near *S. Malo*, and returned to *England*.

The king of *France* had now reduced all the lower *Normandie*, except *Vernueil*, without oppoſition, and all the upper, except *Arques* and *Roüen*; which three places had made a kind of league together for their common defence, and had engaged, in caſe they ſhould be obliged to ſurrender, that none of them ſhould do ſo without including the others in their treaty. The firſt of theſe that *Philip* beſieged was *Roüen*, the capital of the dutchy; fortified with a double wall and triple ditch, exceeding populous, and too large to be entirely ſurrounded by an army. The inhabitants had an utter averſion to the *French* government: and the mob had maſſacred ſome *Frenchmen* that were in the town, when *Philip* appeared with his troops on the ſide of the bridge, on the ſouth of the *Seine*: when ſummoned, they declared their reſolution of defending the place to the laſt extremity; and ſent to *England* for aſſiſtance. *John* had, at the latter end of *March*[2], ſent the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with the biſhops of *Ely* and *Norwich*, and the earls of *Leiceſter* and *Pembroke* on an embaſſy to the court of *France* to ſue for peace: but *Philip* inſiſting that

[1] *Rad. Niger*, f. 100, 101. [2] *Ibid.*

John. A. D. 1204. *Arthur's* ſiſter, *Eleanor*, ſhould be given in marriage to his younger ſon, with all the dominions held of the crown of *France*, theſe terms were thought too unreaſonable, and the negotiation proved unſucceſsful. *John*, from that time, gave up all *Normandie* for loſt: and when the deputies of *Roüen* came to him for ſuccour, he ſent them back in deſpair of any, leaving them to make the beſt terms they could for themſelves. This ſunk the ſpirits of the citizens: and the *Barbacan*, a fort which covered the bridge, being taken, they came, on *June* 1, to an agreement with *Philip*, to deliver up the city, if peace was not made, or the ſiege raiſed by the end of the month. *Arques* and *Vernueil* were, if they pleaſed, to have the benefit of this capitulation, and their privileges likewiſe confirmed: and no ſuccour coming in the mean time, they were all ſurrendered at the expiration of the term, according to the articles. Thus was *Normandie* re-united to the *domaine* of *France*, after having been two hundred and ninety-two years diſmembred from that monarchy: and *Philip* ſoon after compleated the conqueſt of *Anjou*, *Maine*, and *Touraine*, except the caſtle of *Chinon*, which was bravely defended by *Hubert de Burgh* till *Midſummer* in the year following; when after a blockade and ſiege of near a year, he was taken in the place, having been firſt dangerouſly wounded.

The loſs of ſuch conſiderable territories would have made any prince uneaſy, that had the leaſt regard for his honour and glory: but *John* was little affected by it; finding conſolation enough in the charms of his wife, the confiſcation of the eſtates of the *Normans* in *England*[1], and in getting *John de Courcy*, the conqueror and lord of *Ulſter*, into his power. This nobleman had refuſed to take the oaths to *John*[2], or to do him homage; charging him with uſurpation, and with the murder of the rightful heir of the crown, his nephew *Arthur*: and *Walter de Lacy*, with his brother *Hugh*, had been directed to ſeize his perſon. *Walter* propoſed to do this by treachery: and inviting *John* to a conference, fell ſuddenly upon him, killed ſeveral of his men, and purſued him ſo cloſe, that *John*, in his flight, paſſing by a caſtle belonging to *Hugh de Lacy*, was perſuaded by this laſt to take refuge there till he had rallied his forces. *John* ſuſpecting no ill deſign, in a man that was his vaſſal, and had done him homage, went into the caſtle: but was there detained till his followers waſting the lands of the *Lacies*, they were forced to ſet him at liberty. After this, a ſharp battle was fought between them; in which *John* had the victory: but not long after, on *Good Friday*, *April* 23, this year, going to church unarmed and barefoot in a linen garment, like a penitent, he was perfidiouſly ſeized by his own people: and delivered to *Hugh de Lacy*; who carrying him over to *England*, obtained a grant of the earldom of *Ulſter* for this ſervice, and *Courcy* was condemned to a perpetual impriſonment.

Propoſeth an expedition to *Poitou*, and at laſt goes thither.

LXXI. John, in the mean time, to derive ſome advantage from his loſſes abroad, made a mighty bluſtering in *England*[3], as if *Normandie* was not loſt by any fault of his own, but by the deſertion of thoſe lords; who returning home, though with his licenſe, left his caſtles and territories unguarded, and his perſon expoſed to the fury of the enemy. This pretence ſerved to extort from them a ſeventh part of their moveables without their conſent: nor did he want others for laying impoſts on the convents and pariſh churches. The nobility and military tenants were in a great council, held on *January* 2, at *Oxford*, charged with a ſcutage at the rate of two marks and an half for a knight's fee: and the prelates with the clergy were forced to promiſe a like aid, before they were ſuffered to depart. Theſe aids were levied on account of an expedition to *Normandie*; though *John* neither went in perſon, nor ſent any forces thither; ſo that he either diverted them to ſupply his own

[1] *Rot. Norman.* vi. *Joh. De valore terrarum Normannorum.* [2] *Hoveden*, p. 823. *Annals of Ireland* in *Camden's Britannia.* [3] *M. Paris.*

luxury, or they were raiſed too late to anſwer the ſervice. About *Whitſontide* indeed in the next year, he gave himſelf an air, as if he would go abroad in perſon to the relief of *Poitou*[1]; where *Robert de Turnham* and *Sovary de Mauleon* had, with great courage and conduct, made head for ſome time againſt the ſuperior force of the other barons, aſſiſted by *Philip*, who had, in the *Auguſt* before, taken *Poitiers*: but *Robert* being worſted in an engagement, and taken priſoner; and the caſtle of *Loches* being forced to ſurrender, the whole province was on the point of being loſt without immediate ſuccour. For this purpoſe he raiſed a great army, and cauſed a numerous fleet to rendezvous at *Portſmouth*, in order to croſs the ſeas upon this expedition: but when he was ready to embark, the archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and *W. Mareſchal* diſſuaded him from venturing his perſon among ſo fickle a people as thoſe of *Poitou*, and in a country where no place of ſtrength held for him, but *Niort*. There was at this time a general expectation over *England* of a deſcent to be made there by the duke of *Lovain* and the count of *Boulogne*, and to be ſupported by all the power of the king of *France*, within a month after their landing; purſuant to certain engagements, into which they were ſaid to have entered. This, with the danger of the kingdom's being loſt, if he having no child to ſucceed him, ſhould be abſent at the time of an invaſion, was urged to deter him from the expedition: but the more they preſſed his ſtay, the more eager was *John* to go; nor could they prevail upon him, though they begged it on their knees, till they told him plainly, they would detain him by force, rather than ſuffer the realm to be left defenceleſs. *John* then ſeemed to cool, and aſked the archbiſhop what he thought moſt adviſable for his ſafety and reputation, ſince the *Poitovins* expected his coming: and it being propoſed that he ſhould ſend his brother *William Longuepée* earl of *Saliſbury*, and ſome other noblemen, with a ſtrong army, to aſſiſt them, he ſeemed to comply with the advice, and diſmiſſed the greateſt part of his barons and knights; who had many of them been put to great charges in providing for this expedition, and in bringing their followers from diſtant parts of the kingdom. When this farce was over, and the ſhips aſſembled from all the ports of *England* were ſent back with their equipage, much diſcontented at being called together to no purpoſe, *John* returned to *Wincheſter*: but preſently after, as if he repented of the cautious party he had taken, went back to *Portſmouth*. Having hired there a good number of ſhips, he put to ſea with a ſmall retinue on *July* 15: but either his heart failing him, or (if he ever really intended to go) his mind changing, he landed again in two days at *Stodland*, near *Wareham*, in *Dorſetſhire*. This pretended attempt of an expedition, anſwered *John's* views much better than a real one: for immediately after his return, he extorted a great ſum of money from his ſubjects, as well clergy as laity, on pretence of their having declined to follow him beyond ſea, for the recovery of his loſt dominions.

John 11. *A. D.* 1205.

In the year following, *John* actually went abroad with a numerous army; and made a faint attempt for the recovery of *Poitou*: being animated to that ſtep by the aſſurances of two noblemen of great power in that country, that they would aſſiſt him with all their forces. *Guy de Thouars*, who governed *Bretagne* during the minority of his daughter *Alice*, had lately made an advantageous match[2] with *Euſtache de Mauleon*, an heireſs of very conſiderable territories in *Guienne*: and was obliged for it to *John*, who, as lord of the country, had the diſpoſal of young ladies, that were his vaſſals, in marriage. He was likewiſe jealous of the too great power of the king of *France*; who, by his late conqueſts, had quite ſurrounded *Bretagne*: and had ſuch a party among the nobility of the diſtchy, that *Guy* either apprehended it might follow the fate of the adjoining provinces, or thought his own authority very precarious, whilſt it depended on that prince's pleaſure. Theſe

A. D. 1206.

[1] *Rad. Niger. M. Paris.* [2] *Hiſt. de Bretagne*, c. 29.

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John. A. D. 1206. considerations making him wish to see *John* again in possession of *Poitou*, to serve as a balance to *Philip's* power, and be a support to himself on occasion, he had entered into a treaty with him: and had drawn his elder brother *Aimery*, viscount of *Thouars* (who for his services in reducing it to the king of *France's* obedience, had been made by him seneschal of the province) into the same sentiments and measures. *John*, invited by the two brothers, and some other barons of *Poitou*, embarked with a great army on *June* 25, at *Portsmouth*: and landed on *July* 9, at *Rochelle*. It is not easy to conceive, in the silence of historians upon the subject, what was the occasion of his first enterprize[1], which *M. Paris* celebrates as the most glorious act of his expedition, or, at least, as that which most flattered his vanity. As soon as he landed, he marched with his forces to *Montauban*, a town in *Quercy*, strongly seated on an hill above the *Tarn*, and belonging to his brother-in-law the count of *Toulouse*: and having battered it for fifteen days, took it, on *August* 1, by an assault, in which the valour of the *English* is highly celebrated. The horses, armes, and rich booty that were taken in the place, with the great number of persons of quality made prisoners, are the subject of a pompous letter, wrote by *John* to the justiciaries, prelates, and nobility of *England* on this occasion; to brag of a success, the advantages whereof could not be very considerable to that nation; whose kings never were, either before or after this event, in the possession of *Montauban*.

The king of *France* had got intelligence of *John's* treaty with *Guy de Thouars*[2]; and to prevent its effects, had invaded *Bretagne*; where he had a party ready to declare in his favour: it was by their means he took *Nantes*, and forced *Guy* to a submission. He was scarce returned from this expedition, when he heard of *John's* landing at *Rochelle*; which drew him immediately into *Poitou*: but seeing that prince's army employed in the siege of *Montauban*, he returned to *Paris*, after having fortified *Mirebeau*, *Loudun*, and other places in that province. *John* attacked none of these fortresses, either not thinking it proper to lose time before them, or imagining it of more consequence to re-animate the *Bretons* of his party, by falling into *Anjou*: and marching from *Montauban* to *Angers*, took and burnt the town; wasted all the country about it, as far as *Craon*; and then advanced into the *Pais Nantois*, which he treated in the same manner. [3] In the beginning of *September*, he sat down before *Nantes* itself: but was forced to raise the siege, either by the valour of the *Bretons*, or by the king of *France's* coming with a powerful army into *Poitou*. The *Vicomte de Thouars* had, with his followers, joined the *English* at their landing, and was apprehensive of being attacked: *John* came with his army to protect him and his country, and encamped at *Thouars*. *Philip*, advancing thither, offered him battle; and on its not being accepted, wasted all the viscount's territories; till *John*, whose courage or swaggering seem always much abated at the sight of danger, sent to make him proposals of peace, and to desire a conference on the subject. It was agreed to be held the next day at a place appointed; but instead of [4] coming thither, *John* seized the opportunity of stealing off with his army, which was grown very sickly, to *Rochelle*; and went from thence to *England*. He had engaged the Pope's mediation in that affair: and notwithstanding *John's* shameful retreat, the religious employed in it by the Pontiff [5] prevailed for a two years truce from *Friday*, *October* 13. When that term expired, the war was renewed again; and the *English* seized *Guerplie*, a strong castle, seated on a rock by the sea side, on the north coast of *Bretagne*, very proper for securing them an entrance with their forces into the country, when their partizans wanted succours: but this place was soon recovered by *Jubael de Moyenne*, seneschal of *Bretagne*, and

[1] *M. Paris.* [2] *Gul. Brito*, l. viii. *Rigord.* [3] *Hist. de Bretagne*, p. 212. *Rigord.* [4] *Rob. de Monte.* [5] *Rymer*, i. 142.

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the count of *S. Pol*, who came with a strong body of *French* troops to the assistance of the *Bretons*. *Philip*, marching at the same time into *Poitou*, took *Parthenay*, with some other castles, which he demolished: and *Hugh de Thouars*, brother to the viscount, with *Henry de Lusignan*, and other *Poitovin* barons that sided with the *English*, being taken prisoners in a rencounter by *Henry Clement*, mareschal of *France*, *W. des Roches*, and the viscount of *Melun*, a new truce was concluded by the mediation of Pope *Innocent*; who, notwithstanding his quarrel with *John* at that time, was very desirous of making a peace between the two crowns; that the *French* might not be called off from prosecuting a war of his own, sanctified by the name of a *Croisade*, against the *Albigenses* in *Languedoc*.

John. *A. D.* 1206.

LXXII. THERE was one advantage that *John* was sure to gain by every expedition he either made, or pretended to undertake: it always served him for a pretext to extort money from his subjects. At the *Candlemas* after his return from *Poitou*, he held a [1] general council of his prelates and nobility: and demanding a thirteenth part of all rents and moveables throughout the realm, for the defence of the nation and the recovery of his foreign dominions, it was granted him by the latter, in regard to the laity. This tax seems to be a talliage; being assessed by the justiciaries, and levied upon all towns, as well as the tenants of the barons: nor did the [2] prelates and clergy escape, being forced at last against their wills to comply, and allow it to be levied also upon their tenants. *Geffrey* archbishop of *York* was the onely prelate that chose to run any extremity, rather than consent to such an imposition: and having excommunicated all that should collect it upon the possessions of the clergy in his province, and in general all invaders of ecclesiastical goods, went privately out of the kingdom. The clergy were, by the tenure of their lands since the conquest, obliged to military service, and in defect thereof, to pay a scutage by way of composition: but in all other respects, they had an absolute property in their goods, nor could any tax be laid upon them without their own consent, given either in person, or by their representatives. In the neighbouring realm of *France*, whose constitution originally agreed with ours, this maxim is so religiously observed even to this day, that when deputies are to be chosen to represent the clergy in the general assemblies, held every five years, to make a gift to the king, the rural deans are obliged, within their several districts, to summon every individual incumbent to meet for the choice of their representatives: and if by chance any one clergyman be omitted, he is not bound to pay any thing to the tax granted by the general assembly, but may plead, he was not summoned, in bar of the demand. Whether *Geffrey's* protest against this tax saved the clergy of his province, is not observed by our old writers; who generally agree, that it was actually levied: only the *Annals of Waverley*, taking notice of *Geffrey's* goods being confiscated for the proceeding above related, say, that both the metropolitans of *Canterbury* [3] and *York* remonstrated so strongly against it, as a thing intolerable in itself, and unknown to former ages, that *John* being better advised, was prevailed on to release the exaction entirely.

A. D. 1207. Taxes in *England*, and dispute about the choice of an archbishop of *Canterbury*.

SUCH a compliance, in a point of money, could hardly be expected from *John*; considering his avarice: and it was as little consistent with that obstinacy of nature, which, at this time and on another occasion, drew him into great inconveniencies. *Hubert* archbishop of *Canterbury*, dying on *Wednesday*, *July* 13, *A. D.* 1205, at *Tenham*, was buried the next day at *Christ-church*: and on the very night of his death, before his corpse was interred, [4] some young monks of the convent met, and, without any application for a *Congé d'Elire*, chose their sub-prior *Reginald* for his successor; sung *Te Deum* on the occasion; and placed him in the archiepiscopal

[1] *Pat.* 8 and 9 *Joh.* m. 3. [2] *M. Paris.* [3] It could be only *York*, for there was no metropolitan of *Canterbury* acknowledged at this time. [4] *Gervas.* col. 1683. *M. Paris.*

John. A. D. 1207. throne at midnight. This was a very irregular and clandeſtine proceeding; it had been managed with great ſecreſy: and their hopes of ſucceſs depended ſo much upon the ſecret's being kept, that *Reginald*, ſetting out that very night, with ſome of the monks, for *Rome*, to get his election confirmed, took an oath for that purpoſe. This obligation ſoon gave way to his vanity: and he was no ſooner arrived in *Flanders*, than he publiſhed his promotion; told his buſineſs to every body that came in his way; and ſhewed them the letters of the convent, deſiring the Pope's confirmation. When he came to *Rome*, *Innocent* refuſed to confirm him, till he was better informed of the tranſaction: and expecting that the election would be litigated, began to take his meaſures for turning the diſpute to his own advantage, and for procuring to his ſucceſſors an over-ruling power in the promotion of future archbiſhops of *Canterbury*. The ſuffragan biſhops of that ſee claimed a right, agreeable to the univerſal cuſtom of the primitive church, to chooſe their metropolitan; and the monks of the convent of *Chriſt-church* pretended to chooſe the archbiſhop as their ſuperior: and from the time, that elections had been allowed, *i. e.* from the time of *Henry* I, they had both concurred in the election of the ſame perſon, whether named firſt by the biſhops or monks, though ſome ſquabbles had happened about the *prior* nomination. The biſhops were a body of men, that had the greateſt weight of any in the nation: and having generally a great deference to the king's inclinations with regard to the perſons they choſe, were leſs fit for the Pope's purpoſe, and more able, as well as inclined, to oppoſe the uſurpations of the papacy, than a convent, which by its diſcipline and conſtitution, had been ever devoted to the ſee of *Rome*, and profeſſed to it an abſolute obedience. As *Reginald's* election had been made without the concurrence of the biſhops, the right of election came naturally under his cognizance: and he reſolved to determine it, as ſhould be moſt for his own intereſt, and that of his ſucceſſors. With this view, on *December* 8, *A. D.* 1205, he ſent a bull to the ſuffragans of *Canterbury*, preſſing them earneſtly not to enter into any unneceſſary diſpute, or give any trouble to the convent: and when they inſiſted on their right, he determined againſt them on *December* 21, in the year following; adjudging the right of electing an archbiſhop of that ſee, to be veſted in the convent of *Chriſt-church* alone.

The whole convent had not been convened at *Reginald's* election: and he had been choſen only by the younger monks; who were highly incenſed againſt him, when they found he had divulged their ſecret, and reſolved to ſet him aſide. The graver monks were afraid of the king's diſpleaſure, on account of its being done without a *Congé d'Elire*: and both agreed in applying to *John* for leave to proceed to the choice of a new archbiſhop. Their requeſt was granted, without being reſtrained by any condition, or the deſignation of any particular perſon; only he told them in private, that of all the prelates in *England*, *John de Grey*, biſhop of *Norwich*, had the moſt of his confidence, and they could not make a choice that would be more agreeable to him, or more advantageous to them and their convent. He ſent down ſome of his chaplains, to ſollicite the affair: the biſhop of *Norwich* was choſen unanimouſly in all the forms required by law or cuſtom; and having been approved by the royal aſſent, was inthroned with the uſual ſolemnity, and put in poſſeſſion of the temporalties of the archbiſhoprick. Twelve of the monks went to *Rome*, deputed by the convent, to get this laſt election confirmed; and the crown bore their expences: but the ſuffragan biſhops ſent agents to oppoſe it, and to complain of its being made without their concurrence. The right of theſe laſt being ſet aſide, the merits of the two elections came to be conſidered. The firſt was certainly irregular in all reſpects; but it was ſtill urged, that, let it be never ſo vicious, illegal, and null in itſelf, it ought to have been declared ſo judicially, before the

5 *M. Paris.*

monks

monks proceeded to a second election; and on this pretence, the latter was involved in the same sentence of nullity with the former. *Innocent's* view was, to bring the church of *England* into an entire subjection to the papacy, and to raise upon it what money he pleased: this could not be done more effectually, than by putting at its head a creature of his own, who would be ever ready to support all his measures for that purpose. The *English* bishops were generally on their guard against papal encroachments: and when one of his predecessors, *Lucius* III, distressed by the *Romans*, applied to them for a supply in his necessities, they got *Henry* II to make him a present of a sum of money for his relief, which they engaged to reimburse, rather than, by making a contribution in their own name, to create a precedent for future exactions. *Innocent*, under the plausible pretence of succouring the *Christians* of the *Holy Land*, and by abusing the zeal of well-meaning pious *Christians* in that particular, not only got a sum of money from the clergy of the church of *England* for that purpose: but laid it upon them, and fixed the rate of the tax by his own usurped authority. This being submitted to in that instance, served as a foundation for the exercise of the like authority and imposing the like taxes on other occasions: nor was it long before he proceeded to exert it for his own private benefit. He had sent over the last year, during the vacancy of the see of *Canterbury*, *John Ferentino*, as his legate to lay other exactions on the church of *England*: and a national synod of the bishops, abbots, archdeacons, and the deputies of the inferior clergy had been called at *St. Albans* for that purpose. [1] A royal writ, dated *May* 26, did indeed put a stop to their proceedings at that time: but the legate calling another synod at *Reading*[2] on *Oct.* 19 (whilst *John* was in *Guienne*) got a vast sum of money from the clergy, and marched off with it, before that prince's return to *England*. To prevent any future obstructions in this point, *Innocent*, resolved to take advantage of the present dispute, and to get the see of *Canterbury* filled with a person, that would use all the power of his primacy to execute his orders. *John.* A. D. 1207.

LXXIII. His scheme was to get an archbishop chosen in the court of *Rome*; which would have been utterly impracticable, had the suffragan bishops retained their right of concurring in the election: but he had paved the way for it, by excluding them from any share in the matter, and had nothing to do, but to engage the twelve monks, deputed by the convent to sollicite the bishop of *Norwich's* confirmation, to elect a person of his own nomination; not doubting but the plenitude of his power would enable him to get over all the irregularity of this proceeding. He recommended to them *Stephen Langton*, a *Roman* cardinal, by birth or descent an *Englishman*[3], but bred up at *Paris*; in which university he had taken the degree of doctor of divinity, and had been admitted to a prebend in that cathedral. In vain did the monks alledge, that they were empowered only to sue for a confirmation of the second election; that their commission gave them no authority to elect an archbishop; and that they durst not attempt it, without the king's consent, and express powers from the convent. The Pope told them, that it was not customary to wait for the prince's consent in the case of elections made in the court of *Rome*: and overruling all their pleas, ordered them peremptorily upon their obedience, and under pain of excommunication, to make choice of *Langton*. *Elias de Brantefield*[4] was the onely one of the twelve that stood out against these menaces; all the rest, submitting to the violence put upon them by a Pope, who would have pretended conscience, and set the world in a flame, to have prevented a prince's violating the freedom of an election, concurred in the nomination, rather than the choice, of *Langton*; *Stephen Langton named archbishop by the Pope, and England put under an interdict.*

[1] *Rot. Pat.* 8 *John*, m. 2. *Con. M. Brit.* t. i. p. 514, 515. [2] *M. Paris.* [3] *Rymer*, i. 143. [4] *M. Paris.*

who

John. A. D. 1207. who was on *Trinity* Sunday, *June* 17, this year, consecrated by *Innocent* himself at *Viterbo*.

The Pope must certainly have a very mean opinion of *John*[1], when he imagined he could reconcile him to such an insult upon his royal prerogative by the present of a few baubles of four stone rings, upon which he made a ridiculous comment, stuffed with emblematical meanings and visionary fancies. He wrote him likewise an artful and courtly letter, recommending *Stephen* to his favour: and sent another to the convent of *Christ-church*, enjoining them upon their obedience to receive *Langton* as their archbishop, and obey him in all things, as well temporal as spiritual. The bishops and nobility of *England* were solicited in other letters to use their good offices for procuring *John's* favour to *Stephen*: but nothing could prevent the effects of his resentment; which appeared immediately in his charging the monks of *Christ-church* with perfidy and treason, and sending *Henry de Cornhelle* and *Fulk de Canteloupe* with a military force to *Canterbury*, to drive them out of the realm, or to hang them up, if they refused to depart. These orders were executed in all their rigour, and the monks, threatened with having their monastery set on fire and being burnt therein, if they did not quit it, went over to *Flanders*; where they were received and maintained in the monasteries of that country. All their effects were seized: the tenants of their farms were either turned out or frighted away, so that their lands lay unoccupied, and some monks of the abbey of *St. Augustine* were put into the convent, that it might not appear desolate. The Pope, in his letter to *John*, had insinuated, that he might bring himself into great inconveniences, if he did not receive *Langton*. This kind of language was not very agreeable to a prince of his temper; and in his answer he put *Innocent* in mind of the advantages which the court of *Rome* received from *England*, more than from all other countries on this side the *Alpes*: and told him with an air of resolution, "that he was unalterably deter-
"mined to maintain the honour of his crown at any rate, and would not suffer
"the bishop of *Norwich* to be defeated of his election; that unless he was gratified
"in that point, he would suffer no appellants or suitors to go to *Rome*, lest the
"wealth of the realm should be exhausted, and himself disabled to oppose a foreign
"invasion; and since his own kingdom was well furnished with able and learned
"prelates, he should not trouble himself to go beyond sea for justice, or sue for it
"to a foreign judicature."

These menaces were followed with some effects[2]; all appeals to *Rome* being forbidden and a stop put to the exercise of the papal jurisdiction in *England*. The *Pope* sent orders to[4] *William* and *Mauger* bishops of *London* and *Worcester*, both of them *Normans*, and to *Eustace* bishop of *Ely*, to admonish *John* to receive archbishop *Langton* and to restore the monks of *Christ-church*, or in failure thereof to put the kingdom under an interdict. These prelates executed their commission[5]; and the apprehensions of that censure affected *John* so much, that on *Jan.* 21, he declared to them in writing, he was ready to observe the Pope's orders with a saving to himself and his heirs, of their rights, dignity, and prerogative. Whether this *salvo* was not agreeable to *Innocent's* instructions, or *John's* refusing to deliver the regalia to the new archbishop with his own hand, and to make full restitution of all the goods of the convent and see of *Canterbury*, or[6] the *Pope* and *Langton's* insisting on an absolute submission to their own terms, hindered an accommodation, the three bishops, upon *Monday*[7] *March* 24, denounced, by the papal authority, the sentence of an interdict upon the kingdom; and then retired beyond sea, being followed thi-

[1] *Annal. Wouerl. Angl. Sacr.* i. 114. [2] *M. Paris. Concil. M. Brit.* i. 515, 524. [3] *Annal. Woverl.* [4] *M. Paris.* [5] *Pat.* 9 *Joh.* m. 3. n. 22. [6] *Pat.* 9 *Joh.* m. 2. n. 15.
[7] *Annal. Woverl. Annal. Eccl. Wigorn. in Angl. Sacr.* i. 639.

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ther by the bishops of *Bath* and *Hereford*. Thus was a stop put at once to divine service, to publick prayers, to processions, to the administration of the sacraments, except as to the baptism of infants: the church doors were shut up every where; marriages were celebrated, and women churched in the church yards; and the dead were buried in ditches and high-ways, without the usual rites of the church or a funeral solemnity. This was intended to make an impression on the minds of the common people, whom however the Pope thought fit to indulge in their superstitious adoration of the cross on *Good Friday*, when it was allowed to be brought out of the church for that purpose; and in their extreme fondness for wakes; the churches being to be opened for prayers on the anniversary feasts of their dedication. *John*, incensed at this interdict, ordered all the prelates, and their abettors that observed it, to depart the kingdom[2]: and seized the lands and revenues of their sees, abbeys, and benefices; allowing them only a slender maintainance out of their own estates. But this order was never executed in all its rigour[3], and was soon recalled: the clergy however were sufficiently distressed, by having their barn doors locked up, their wives imprisoned, till they paid fines for their liberty; and by not being able to obtain redress upon any complaint of injustice or ill usage. The interdict was observed by all the religious houses, except those of the *Cistercian* order; who presuming upon their privileges, said constantly divine service with their church-doors open: the bishops also of *Winchester* and *Norwich* slighted it[4]; abundance of the parochial clergy continued to officiate in their respective functions; nor did there want some divines of learning and figure, that openly in their sermons maintained the royal cause and the invalidity or injustice of the interdict.

John. A. D. 1207.

LXXIV. *John* was not so much affected with this censure, as he was apprehensive of being excommunicated by name[5], and of the Pope's absolving all his vassals and subjects from their oaths of allegiance. To prevent the ill effects of those measures, whenever they should be taken, he sent officers attended by companies of armed men to the most considerable of his nobility, of whom he had any suspicion, to demand of them their sons, or nearest relations, as hostages for their future fidelity. They generally complied with his demand, and gave their children or heirs for hostages: but when *John's* messengers came to make the like demand of *William de Braouse*, a nobleman of great power in the marches of *Wales*, and lord of *Brecknockshire*, his lady not waiting to hear his sentiments, told them plainly, "she would "never trust her sons to their master *John*, who had so basely murdered his nephew "*Arthur*." The husband gave an answer full of respect and professions of duty; but delivered no hostages: and *John* was so provoked at the reproach thrown upon him by the lady, that he sent a body of troops to seize *William*; who thereupon fled with his wife, children, and relations to *Ireland*.

A. D. 1208. *John's measures to guard against other censures.*

The emperor *Otho*, much concerned at the situation of his uncle's affairs[6], pressed him earnestly to make up matters with the Pope; and prevailed with his brother *Henry* duke of *Saxony* to go to *England* soon after *Christmas*, and recommend more effectually that advice: but *Henry* succeeded only in getting a pension of a thousand marks a year to himself, and a considerable sum of money for his brother's service. *John* pursuing his scheme for preventing any insurrection or disturbance in *England*, in case the Pope should proceed to the extremities he threatened, thought it proper to adjust all points in difference with *William* king of *Scotland*, to deprive the discontented part of his subjects of all hopes of assistance from that quarter. The

A. D. 1209.

[2] *Conc. M. Brit.* t. i. p. 526. [3] *Chron. Dunstaple. See Pat.* 9 *Joh.* m. 11. [4] *Clauf.* 9 *Joh.* m. 3. m. 10. d. [5] *See Rot. Clauf.* 9 *Joh.* m. 3, 5. [6] *M. Paris. Conc. M. Brit.* t. i. p. 527. *Rymer*, i. 154.

John. A. D. 1209. restoring of *Berwick* to that prince had made him master of a passage over the *Tweed*; which the *Scots* made use of to commit depredations in *Northumberland*: it was to prevent their inroads, that *John* had, a few years before, given orders for building a fortress at *Tweedmouth*, opposite to that place, on the *English* side of the river. This was twice attempted in different years[1]: and the *Scots* had as often surprized the guards; put them and the workmen to the sword; and demolished what had been erected. This was one occasion of dispute: and *William* had aggravated the difference by giving shelter and countenance in his dominions to some male-contents and refugees, that had either been banished, or forced by their offences to fly out of *England*. *John* advancing with a great army to the castle of *Norham* in *Northumberland*; *William* posted himself with another at *Roxburg*, to prevent his wasting the borders of *Scotland*: but not caring to hazard a battle, a treaty was set on foot, which ended in a peace; by which *John* consenting that the castle he was erecting at *Tweedmouth*[2] should be demolished, and never fortified again, *William* engaged to pay him fifteen thousand marks, and delivered to him his daughters *Margaret* and *Isabel* to be married to *Henry* and *Richard*, *John's* two sons, when they came to be of a proper age for matrimony. *Fordun* adds, that the two kings came at this time to a further agreement, that the fealty and homage due from the kings of *Scotland*, for the lands which they held of the crown of *England*, should be paid for the future, not by the *possessor*, but by the *heir* of the crown of *Scotland*; and that, in consequence thereof, *William* made a formal resignation of these lands to *John*; who investing the prince of *Scotland* with them, *Alexander* swore fealty, and did homage for them at *Alnewick*. This was done before *June* 28; when *John* set out on his return southward: and soon after obliged all his vassals and freeholders, with their sons of the age of twelve years or upwards, to do him homage in the same manner; and this was complied with so universally, that the *Welsh* came to him at *Wodestoke* to pay theirs; which they had never done, at least so generally, before.

John seems to have considered money, cruelty, and terror, as the chief instruments of government; at least of one like his, founded only on usurpation: and to have had no notion of gaining the hearts of a people by good usage, popular acts, and the lenity of his administration. The gentry of the kingdom, ever fond of game, and of the diversions it afforded them[3], could not easily digest being debarred thereof in a great measure by the prohibition now issued against hawking, setting, and fowling: nor could the farmers, who suffered from another of his orders, avoid repining at his causing all the mounds and hedges of his forests to be levelled, and the ditches about them to be filled up, that his deer might range at free liberty, crop their corn, and destroy the fruits in the neighbourhood. This was not very politick, at a time when he expected the Pope's censures; and all that the abbot of[4] *Beaulieu* (a monastery of *Cistercians*, which he had lately founded within the new forest in *Hampshire*, as part of the penance enjoined him by archbishop *Hubert*, to atone for *Arthur's* murder) could do at *Rome*, where he resided as his embassador, was scarce sufficient to procure the delay of the sentence, denouncing him an excommunicate. It was followed by an act of great injustice and cruelty, in respect of the particular persons that suffered: and which in those days could not fail of raising a general clamour, as being an infringement of those ecclesiastical liberties, which were then by law established. A clergyman, following his studies at *Oxford*, had the misfortune of killing a woman by mere accident: and when he saw she was dead, fled away to avoid prosecution. The mayor of the city, running with others to the place where she was killed, found her body, but not the homicide; and three other clergymen living

[1] *Fordun*, l. vi. p. 732. *M. Paris*. [2] *Rymer*, i. 155. [3] *M. Paris*. [4] *Rainal. Contin. Annal. Baron.* t. xiii. p. 87.

in the same house with him, which they had joined in hiring for the convenience of their studies, were taken up, and put in prison, though they knew nothing at all of the murder. *John*, hating the clergy, and glad of any pretence to wreak his spleen upon them, sent in a few days orders, that they should be carried out of town and hanged; in contempt not only of the privileges of the clergy, but of the laws of the land, which allow no persons to be condemned to death, without a previous trial. This arbitrary and tyrannical act made near three thousand scholars, as well masters as students, quit *Oxford* immediately, and retire either to *Cambridge*, *Reading*, or *Paris*[1], so that the former university was left in a manner empty. John. A. D. 1209.

The abbot of *Beaulieu* had, in his negotiation at *Rome*, agreed to several proposals of an accommodation; but *John* had still made some objection to them, and had not ratified any that were settled with *Innocent*. A treaty at such a distance being too slow and dilatory for the *Pope's* impatience to exert his power, he gave his instructions to the bishops of *London*, *Ely*, and *Worcester*, for settling the terms of peace[2]: and *John*, when he was setting out on his *Scotch* expedition, had sent a safe-conduct for their coming over, and had appointed some prelates and noblemen to treat with them at *Canterbury*. They agreed upon articles; which being drawn up in writing, were signed in form: and a sum of an hundred pounds was given to each of those prelates, as well as to the archbishop and the bishop of *Hereford*, as an earnest of the restitution of their manors. One of these articles, requiring every thing that had been taken away to be restored to all ecclesiasticks, *John* excepted to it; and the prelates, peremptorily refusing to recede from that or any other of them, went back again, but respited the sentence against his person, till a week after *Michaelmas*. The negotiation was then carried on with *Langton* himself, who came to *Dover* on *October* 2, upon a safe-conduct, which was religiously observed: and *John* coming to *Chilham*, sent *Geffrey Fitz Piers*, and other great men, to propose to him several articles, which he absolutely rejected, and went back much dissatisfied. He was afterwards sent for again, and four thousand marks deposited in the hands of the knights templars, till full restitution was made him; but he would not come: [3] and the three bishops, delegated by the Pope in this cause, denounced, in *November*, the sentence of excommunication against *John's* person. It was published in *France*, but not in *England*; though to make *John* avoided by all the world, they wrote to several bishops and abbots to have it published every *Sunday* and holiday in all conventual churches throughout the kingdom; no body caring to execute their orders. The sentence however being known, *Geffrey* archdeacon of *Norwich*, a baron of the exchequer, talking about it with his associates upon the bench, told them it was not safe for beneficed persons to continue in the service of an excommunicated prince; and accordingly departed without license. *John*, upon notice of this affair, sent *W. Talbot*, with a party, to seize and put him in prison; where he was kept in bonds, and after a few days having a leaden cope clapped upon him, the archdeacon died soon after, either through the intolerable weight of this cope, or by the want of victuals. Others were alarmed on the same occasion: and *Hugh* archdeacon of *Wells*, *John's* chancellor, being chosen bishop of *Lincoln*[4], and having leave to go abroad to the archbishop of *Rouen* for consecration, went to the abbey of *Pontigny*, and received it from *Stephen Langton*, to whom he made his profession of canonical obedience. *John* thereupon seized the revenue of his see, and made *Walter de Grey* his chancellor; proceeding with such severity against all that seemed to pay any deference to the censure (which not being published in *England*, did not require or deserve their notice) that there was scarce ever known a fuller assembly of nobility, than attended him, when he kep. his *Christmas* at *Windsor*.

[1] *Chr. Melros.* [2] *Annal. Waverl. Chron. Dunstaple.* [3] *M. Paris. Chron. Dunstaple.* [4] *M. Paris.*

LXXV. There

John. A. D. 1210. Expeditions to Ireland and Wales, and taxes in England.

LXXV. There were at this time, through the vacancy of ſees and the abſence of prelates, not above two or three biſhops left in *England*: [1] and whether the laity conſented in this aſſembly to any grant of money, it was undoubtedly by mere violence that *John* extorted from the clergy, as he took from the others, large ſums, under the pretence of an attempt to recover *Normandie*. The monaſteries of the *Benedictins* and canons, the templars [2] and hoſpitallers, are ſaid to have paid their fines for this aid at *Eaſter*: that of the priory of *Dunſtaple* was twenty marks, and it ſeems to have been levied, not at a ſtated rate, like a regular tax, but rather by way of compoſition, as in the caſe of extraordinary demands of the crown. It would have appeared very ſtrange, if *John*, in the midſt of his exactions, had ſpared the *Jews* [3], whoſe oppreſſion would occaſion no clamour: their perſons were treated with great cruelty, their houſes, lands, effects, and ſecurities for money were ſeized throughout the realm; and vaſt ſums muſt have been levied upon them, ſince *M. Paris* obſerves, that no leſs than ten thouſand marks were extorted from one of them at *Briſtol*. The *Annals of Waverley* compute the groſs ſum at ſixty-ſix thouſand marks: and *John* having in this manner provided money for a royal expedition, marched through *South-Wales* with a great army; and landed, [4] on *June* 6, in *Ireland*. When he came to *Dublin*, above twenty of the *Iriſh* toparchs or chieftains of ſepts, waited upon him, ſwore fealty, and did homage: but ſome others diſdaining to do ſo, as thinking themſelves ſafe in their inacceſſible faſtneſſes, [5] he was put to the trouble of marching againſt *Cathol* king of *Connaught*, whoſe country he reduced. To civilize the people, and eſtabliſh good order in the nation, he enjoined the laws and cuſtoms of *England* to be there obſerved, appointing ſheriffs and other officers to judge and govern according to thoſe laws: and *John Grey* biſhop of *Norwich*, being made juſticiary, cauſed the money to be new coined, in order to make it of the ſame weight with that of *England*, for the convenience of traffick between the two kingdoms. There was another thing he had much at heart; it was the taking revenge upon *Hugh de Lacy* ([6] to whom, for his treacherous ſeizing of *John de Courcy*, he had given the earldom of *Ulſter*) and his elder brother, *Walter Lacy*, lord of *Meath*, for their protecting *W. de Braouſe*, father-in-law to *Walter*; who either for an immenſe debt to the crown, or for not giving hoſtages for his fidelity, had fled into *Ireland*. This drew him with his forces into *Ulſter* and *Meath*; where he took ſeveral of their caſtles [7], drove *Hugh* out of the country, and forced *Walter* to abjure the realm: but *W. de Braouſe* made his eſcape into *France*, dying not long after at *Paris*. This nobleman's wife *Maude de S. Valery*, with his elder ſon *William*, having eſcaped out of a caſtle in *Meath*, where they were beſieged, into *Galloway* [8], were there ſeized by *Duncan de Carrick*: and delivered up to *John*, who kept them in cloſe priſon till they died, as it is ſaid, of famine.

During this *Iriſh* expedition, another had been undertaken into *Wales* [9] by *Geffrey Fitz Piers*, the chief juſticiary, the biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the earl of *Cheſter*. All their atchievements in it were the fortifying of three caſtles [10], which ſeem to be thoſe of *Buelt*, *Treffynnon*, or *S. Winifred*, and *Dyganwy*; but it ſerved for a pretence to a ſcutage, the ranſome whereof coſt fourteen marks to the priory of *Dunſtaple*. Two different exactions or payments in the ſame year, did not ſatisfy *John*'s avarice or animoſity againſt the regular clergy. Having ſettled the affairs of *Ireland* to his mind, he left that country, landing in *Wales* on *Auguſt* 30: [11] and making haſte to *London*, convened an aſſembly of all the abbots, priors, abbeſſes,

[1] *Annal. Waverl.* [2] *Chron. Dunſtaple.* [3] *Chron. Mailroſ.* [4] *M. Paris.* [5] *Trivet.* [6] *Rymer*, i. 162. *Dugdale Baronag.* t. i. p. 416, &c. *Annal. Margam.* [7] *Chron. Dunſtaple.* [8] *M. Paris.* [9] *Chron. Dunſtaple.* [10] *Powel's Hiſt. of Wales*, p. 262, 263. [11] *M. Paris.*

templars,

templars, hospitallers, guardians of the *Cluniac*, and other foreign religious orders, and put them all to so heavy a ransome or composition, that the sum he squeezed from them amounted to an hundred thousand pounds sterling. He was more particularly incensed [1] against the *Cistercians*, as well because they had absolutely refused to contribute, with other religious, to the first exaction, before he went to *Ireland*; as because they pleaded the privileges granted by Popes to their order, to justify this refusal: and extorted from them above thirty-three thousand marks; a sum so excessive, that several of their houses were reduced to beggary, and the monks were forced to disperse into the monasteries of the *Benedictins* and *Canons* to get subsistence. Two only of their convents were by special grace exempted from this exaction *(viz.)* those of *Margam* [2] in *Glamorganshire*, where *John* had been entertained in his way to *Ireland*, and return thence; and of *Beaulieu* in *Hampshire*, as being of his own foundation. [3] They were likewise debarred of all correspondence with the rest of their order abroad; no *English Cistercian* being allowed to cross the sea, nor any foreign ones to come into *England*.

John. A. D. 1210.

This particular prohibition was soon followed by one more general; an embargo being laid upon all the ports, to prevent all persons from going abroad, or coming into *England*, without license. Not long after came out a [4] proclamation of a different tenour; requiring all bishops and ecclesiasticks, sojourning in foreign parts, and having revenues in *England*, to return into the kingdom within a fortnight after *Midsummer*, or else all their rents would be confiscated. A commission [5] was likewise issued for enquiring into the incumbents of all livings, and by whose gift and presentation they enjoyed them: it was probably the return made by the commissioners, which produced an order for banishing all that had been presented either by *Stephen Langton* since his papal consecration, or by the exiled bishops since their going abroad, and for seizing their benefices. *John* had some time before forbidden the holding of any pleas, or the exercise of any jurisdiction by the papal authority in *England*: but it looks as if this had not put a stop to that practice, since he found it necessary to renew his prohibition under severer penalties, and on pain of corporal punishment.

A. D. 1211.

In the midst of these provisions against the *Pope's* attacks upon his authority [6], *John* laid a talliage, in the beginning of *Lent*, upon all the clergy of *England*; perhaps to prepare for an expedition he was obliged to make into *Wales*, to repress or revenge some incursions made into the borders of *England*: he assembled for it a great army on *July* 8, at *Oswestre*. *Llewellyn* prince of [7] *North-Wales*, unable to oppose so great a force, caused all the inhabitants of *Denbigh* and *Flintshire* to remove, with their cattle and effects, into the mountainous tract of *Snowdun* in *Caernarvonshire*: and when the *English* were advanced along the sea coast, as far as *Conway*, he infested all the roads with light parties so continually, that they were obliged to retire for want of provisions. *John* soon remedied that defect: and having increased his forces, returned again to *Conway*; burnt *Bangor*; and made such havock in the country, that *Llewellyn* was forced to send his wife *Jane* (*John's* natural daughter) to sue for peace; which was granted him, upon paying, instead of money, twenty thousand head of cattle, and forty horses towards the charges of the war, doing homage, and delivering hostages for assurance of his fidelity. Thus *John* [8] returned from his campaign in triumph, on *August* 15, to *Whitchurch*; and levied a scutage of two marks a fee, upon all knights that had not attended him in the expedition.

[1] *M. Paris. Annal. Waverl.* [2] *Annal. Margam.* [3] *Annal. Waverl.* [4] *Ib. Trivet.* [5] *Chron. Dunstaple.* [6] *Annal. Eccl. Wig. Angl. Sacr.* i. 481. *M. Paris.* [7] *Powel's Hist. of Wales*, p. 264. *Chr. J. Abb. Petriburg. Annal. Margam.* [8] *M. Paris.*

John. A. D. 1211.

On his return thence, *John* convened a council of his temporal nobility (supposing them probably more likely to side with him than the spiritual) on *Tuesday, August* 30, at *Northampton*[1], in order to a treaty with *Pandulf*, a *Roman* subdeacon, and *Durand*, a knight templar, who had come into *England* in the last week of *July*; being sent at his instances, by the Pope, as his nuncios, to settle the terms of an accommodation in the dispute between the regale and pontificate. It was easily agreed, that *Langton* should be received as archbishop of *Canterbury*, and that the exiled bishops and clergy might return in peace, and be all put in possession of their respective dignities and revenues: but the nuncios insisting on a full restitution of all that had been seized of their rents[2], *John*, elated with his late success, and seeing all bow before him in *Ireland*, *Wales*, and *Scotland*, absolutely rejected that condition; and they returned to *France* without doing any thing, besides publickly declaring him excommunicate. The authors of the *Annals of Waverley* and *Burton* have drawn up, with some variations, a formal dialogue of what passed in this treaty, representing it in a single conference,[3] whereas there were undoubtedly several; the one placing it in the next, the other in this year: but as it contains things, which happened afterwards, and of such a nature, that they cannot be supposed to be any part of the nuncios' commission, it seems to be their own composition; no other author mentioning any other particular than is already related, unless it be their threatening *John* with the ill consequences of his obstinacy. He was not yet without hopes of adjusting matters with the Pope on more favourable terms, than the nuncios demanded: and sent back with them some of his chaplains to make the experiment.

A. D. 1212.

The Pope absolves *John's* subjects of their oaths, and invites all princes to attack him.

LXXVI. John saw as yet no reason to be afraid of the Pope; the interdict had continued near four years, without any dangerous consequences; the insinuations or menaces of further proceedings had no effect upon him, whilst he saw himself obeyed, even in his most odious, oppressive, and arbitrary measures, by his subjects, and respected by his neighbours. He had, on *February* 2, a conference at *Durham*[4], and renewed his league with *William* king of *Scotland*; who sent his eldest son *Alexander*, being in his fourteenth year, to receive knighthood from his hands: and the ceremony was performed on *Midlent Sunday, March* 4, at *Clerkenwell*, in *London*. *Alan*, son of *Roland*, lord of *Galloway*, and, in right of his wife the sister and heir of *William de Morville*, hereditary constable of *Scotland*, had attended the king of this country to the conference: and did homage to *John* for the large tract of country he had given him in the north of *Ireland*. *John* thought himself so well established in the throne, that he ventured to make a[5] general inquisition into the demesnes of the crown, as possessed by his predecessors, and to examine in what manner, and on what occasion, any of them had been alienated; who held them at present, and by what services. An enquiry of this nature was dangerous at all times; it had in the reign of his father, the justest and most merciful prince of his age, alarmed all the great men and military tenants of the crown to such a degree, that many of them revolted on that account: and after the experience they now had of *John's* little regard to justice, of his arbitrary exactions, rapaciousness, and cruelty, it could not but make them apprehensive of the loss of their estates, through some pretended flaw in their title, which violence would render effectual. A general terror and expectation of being stripped of their lands, could not fail of producing a general discontent; at a time when *John* had foreign enemies enough upon his hands, and ought, in good policy, to have taken care above all things to be well with his own subjects. The Pope, irritated at his not complying with the terms of peace proposed

[1] *M. Paris. Annal. Margam. Trivet. Annal. Eccl. Wig. Angl. Sacr.* i. 481. *Annal. Waverl.* [2] *Chron. J. Abb. Petriburg.* [3] *Chron. T. Wikes.* [4] *Fordun. M. Paris.* [5] *Annal. Waverl.*

by his nuncios, and finding little satisfaction from *John's* agents, or having no confidence in his promises[1], had proceeded to measures of violence: and absolving all his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, had ordered all persons whatever to avoid him, and to have no communication at all with him, either at table, in council, or in common conversation, under pain of excommunication. This scandalous exercise of a pretended papal power was followed by letters to the king of *France*, and other princes, exhorting them to fall upon *John's* territories, and to distress him, as an enemy to the church, by all means in their power. He wrote among others to *Llewellyn*, prince of *North-Wales*[2], pressing him to invade *England*: and by way of encouragement to that enterprize, he absolved him from the homage and oaths he had taken at the late peace, and released his country from the interdict, in which it had hitherto been included. John. A. D. 1212.

Llewellyn was vexed at a peace[3], in which he had been forced to make a cession of the shires of *Flint* and *Denbigh*: and getting the most considerable of the *Welsh* princes and barons to join with him in executing the Pope's commands, fell with his forces into the *English* marches, and took several castles; putting the knights and gentlemen that defended them to the sword; burning towns, and carrying off a great booty. The castles of *Digaway* in *Denbighshire*[4], *Ruthlan* in *Flintshire*, and *Mathraval* in *Powis*, still remained in the *English* hands: but the last and weakest of these, lately built by *John de Viepont*, was actually besieged; when *John* levying a great army of his knights and military tenants, marched to its relief. The *Welsh* prince, upon advice of his march, raised the siege: and *John* having given orders to dismantle the place, as not worth the keeping, went to *Notingham*. He had there fresh accounts of *Llewellyn's* incursions into the borders of *England*, of the ravages he made, and the cruelty he exercised upon his prisoners: and in a rage ordered all the hostages, delivered to him at the late peace, being the most considerable of the *Welsh* nobility, to be put to death, to the number of twenty-eight or thirty-two, as different writers relate. He was meditating another expedition into *Wales*, with a resolution to exterminate the inhabitants, when he received letters from the king of *Scotland*, giving him notice of a dangerous conspiracy formed against him: and others came at the same time from his natural daughter, the wife of *Llewellyn*, with the like intelligence. He could not help being alarmed at these accounts, coming from distant countries, yet agreeing in their tenour; and shut himself up for a fortnight[5] in the castle of *Notingham*, giving none admittance: but making no further discovery, he still persisted in his intended enterprize, and advanced to *Chester*. Here he was again surprized with fresh letters and messengers, dissuading him earnestly from marching further; and assuring him that if he did so, his ruin was unavoidable, and he would either be killed by the nobility in his own army, or else be betrayed to the enemy. This threw him into a great consternation: and being informed at the same time, that all his vassals and subjects had been absolved from their oaths of allegiance, he gave the more credit to this intelligence; dismissed his forces; and returned to *London*.

John had never kept any measures with his nobility[6]; he had debauched the wives and daughters of several: and others, whose families were not thus dishonoured, he had ruined in their fortunes, impoverishing them by taxes; seizing their estates, and banishing their persons. This had caused a general discontent among them, nor could an inglorious reign, disgraced by a continued series of ill success abroad, and of oppressions at home, fail of raising a like spirit in the commonalty. *John* had not, either by the qualities of his mind, or by the equity of his conduct, any title to their esteem or affections; and having usurped the throne, had

[1] *M. Paris. Trivet. Chron. J. Abb. Petriburg.* [2] *Annal. Waverl.* [3] *M. Paris.* [4] *Powel's Hist. of Wales*, p. 267. [5] *Annal. Margam. Annal. Waverl.* [6] *M. Paris.*

John. A.D. 1212.

as little right to their obedience. They deſpiſed his perſon, whilſt they dreaded his power: and wanting only an opportunity to throw off his yoke, they were delighted with the news of the *Pope's* having abſolved them from their oaths of allegiance; the onely obligations of honour or religion, which could tempt them to ſtand by a government founded in injuſtice. They made little doubt, but the Pope would purſue his blow, and find means to ſend an army to their relief, either by raiſing one for a *Croiſade* againſt *John*, or by getting the king of *France* to invade *England*. *Simon de Montfort* was at this time general of a *Croiſade* againſt the *Albigenſes*, and by an uninterrupted courſe of amazing victories over the count of *Toulouſe* and the king of *Arragon*, had gained a prodigious reputation in the world, and was univerſally deemed an heroe. It was generally expected, that the Pope would ſend him over with his victorious forces: and hence aroſe the current report, mentioned in the *Annals of Dunſtaple*, that the male-content barons had pitched upon him to be king of *England*. But as that general had not yet finiſhed the war in *Languedoc*, *M. Paris* ſeems to have more reaſon on his ſide, when he ſays, they applied to *Philip* king of *France*, and ſent a formal aſſociation in writing under their ſeals; inviting that prince over to take the crown, and aſſuring him of their reſolution to join his forces, whenever he ſhould land in the kingdom.

John, fully perſuaded of the conſpiracy, knew not upon whom to fix it; and in this uncertainty, took up ſome that were about his perſon[1], and uſed to be moſt intimate with him; required all the nobles he ſuſpected, to ſend him their ſons, nephews, or neareſt relations, as hoſtages for their fidelity; and when he had got theſe into his hands, took their caſtles likewiſe into his own cuſtody. When people are taken up on mere ſuſpicion, the innocent are always confounded with the guilty. Of the firſt ſort were *Stephen Ridel*, who had lately been keeper of the great ſeal, and *Geffrey de Norwich*, one of *John's* chaplains[2], the firſt of which, after being confined for ſome time, was baniſhed; and the other died in priſon at *Briſtol*. Of the latter ſort, were *Robert Fitz Walter* (whoſe beautiful daughter *Maude*, *John* tried in vain to debauch, and, vexed at his diſappointment, is ſaid to have poiſoned) and *Euſtace de Veſci*; who being the chief promoters of the conſpiracy, thought it their beſt way to fly the kingdom: the former taking refuge in *France*, the latter in *Scotland*. Their lands being ſeized, *John* ſent an hundred of their knights, and of thoſe of the exiled prelates, into *Poitou*, as well to keep them out of the realm, as to aſſiſt his friends in that country; taking ten marks a knight's fee from the reſt that ſtaid at home, as a compoſition for their not going on the expedition: he demoliſhed alſo *Caſtle Baynard* in *London*, and that of *Benington* belonging to *Robert*; and deſtroyed his woods in *Eſſex*. *John*, confirmed in his ſuſpicions by the flight of theſe noblemen, grew ſo extremely afraid of ſome deſign againſt his perſon, that he never ſtirred abroad without a guard: [3] and ſent for a body of croſs-bow men from abroad; chooſing rather to truſt to the mercenary ſervice of foreigners, than to the fidelity of his ſubjects, of whom he had ſo ill deſerved.

He took however ſome ſteps, in hopes of recovering the good-will of his people: [4] and as if the high ſheriffs had been the authors, as well as inſtruments, of all their oppreſſions, he made an inquiſition into the conduct of thoſe officers, whoſe power, and the large ſums, which they uſually in thoſe days gave for their poſts, diſpoſed them generally to be corrupt in the exerciſe thereof: and ſome of them were taken up, whilſt others, conſcious of their own iniquity, fled to avoid proſecution. This was agreeable to the people, generally pleaſed with the puniſhment of their oppreſſors; though they find no relief by it: ſome however they did receive

[1] *M. Paris. Chron. Dunſtaple. Chron. J. Petriburg.* [2] *Monaſt. Angl.* t. i. p. 76. *Chron. Dunſtaple.*
[3] *Chron. J. Petriburg. Annal. Waverley.* [4] *Chron. Dunſtaple. Walter de Coventry.*

from

from a like examination into the behaviour of the foreſters, from whoſe exactions they had greatly ſuffered; the fines impoſed by them being remitted, and all officers of the foreſts obliged to ſwear, that they would not, for the future, exact more than had been uſually paid in the time of *Henry* II. Several impoſts had been lately laid upon the ſea ports, under pretence of guarding them againſt foreign enemies; theſe being new and uncommon, had raiſed a clamour, and were likewiſe remitted. In theſe, and in ſome other points, *John* affected to appear very compaſſionate to the oppreſſed; receiving favourably the petitions of widows, and other poor diſtreſſed people: but this was ſo contrary to the conſtant tenour of his former behaviour, that it was generally aſcribed to policy, and to the fears he had in the precarious ſituation of his affairs. JOHN. A. D. 1212.

To provide ſtill further againſt the dangers that threatened him, [1] he ſent new agents to *Rome*, to make an accommodation with the *Pope*, upon the terms demanded the laſt year by the nuncios: and for fear a reſtitution ſhould be demanded of all the eccleſiaſtical goods he had ſeized unjuſtly, and extorted by violence, he [2] required the *Ciſtercians*, the abbots and convents of other religious orders, and the ſecular clergy, to give him acquittances of all the ſums of money he had exacted of them, from the day of his firſt coronation, to the 8th of *September* in this year; a demand which they durſt not refuſe. In the inſtruments ſigned for this purpoſe, they declared, that what ſums of money they had paid out of their lands and goods to *John*, either at or without his requeſt, or in any other manner whatever, had been their own free gift and voluntary contribution; and ought not to be termed exactions or extortions; nor would they ever demand them back; and that they ſigned thoſe writings in teſtimony thereof, and of their free and unconſtrained benevolence. This proved of ſome ſervice to him, as it kept thoſe ſufferers from demanding reſtitution; for though after his reconciliation [3], *Innocent* declared, all grants, agreements, and promiſes made him by the regular or ſecular clergy, in relation to what had been taken or extorted from them ſince the interdict, to be null: and directed as well the authors thereof to be excommunicated, as that, in caſe the injured would not demand reſtitution, it ſhould ſtill be paid back, for the relief of the *Holy Land*, yet it doth not appear that this bull ever had any effect.

IN caſe the way of negotiation ſhould not ſucceed, by the Pope's inſiſting on higher terms than he had demanded before, *John* took care to fortify himſelf by foreign alliances, particularly [4] with his nephew, the emperor *Otho*; whom he had fed from time to time with ſubſidies, and now in his diſtreſs, expected from him all the ſuccours, that either he or his vaſſals could furniſh. Theſe were promiſed, but it doth not appear that they were actually ſent: and he received more effectual ſervices from [5] *Renaud de Dammartin*, count of *Boulogne* and *Mortain*, a man of parts, reſtleſs, turbulent, and intrigueing; who having fortified the latter of thoſe places, lying on the frontier of *Normandie* towards *Bretagne*, and laid up great magazines there; had become ſuſpected to *Philip*; and being ſummoned to anſwer for his conduct, had fled firſt to *Theobald* count of *Bar*, and then to the imperial court, for refuge. This nobleman being retained in *John's* ſervice, by a grant of three hundred pounds a year in land, found means to engage *Theobald* in it, with his ſon *Henry* [6], the duke of *Limbourg*, and *William* count of *Hollande*; the laſt of which was to furniſh twenty-five knights, and five hundred or a thouſand gentlemen on demand, and in conſideration of a yearly penſion of four hundred marks payable at the exchequer. *Ferrand* count of *Flanders*, was a ſon of *Sancho* king of *Portugal*; and had by the king of *France's* favour, married *Jane*, daughter and heir of *Baldwin*, count of that province, which, in her right, had been put into his poſ- A. D. 1213.

[1] *Chron. J. Petriburg. Rymer*, i. 165. [2] *Annal. Waverl. Chron. Dunſtaple.* [3] *Rymer* i. 168.
[4] *Ib.* 156, 157, 164, 165. [5] *Trivet.* [6] *Rymer*, i. 159, 160, 161, 169.

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ſeſſion. *Henry* duke of *Lovain* or *Brabant*, had likewiſe lately married *Mary* of *France*, the relict of *Philip* count of *Namur*, and had a promiſe from that king of being reſtored to ſome lands, which he claimed in *England*, if his enterprize on this country ſucceeded. Notwithſtanding theſe great and recent obligations, the count of *Boulogne* perſuaded both theſe princes to enter into a league with *John*: [1] and coming himſelf over into *England*, with the count of *Hollande*, and *Henry* duke of *Saxony*, did homage to him for his grants, as all the others did, for their annuities.

He depoſes *John*, who reſigns his crown to him, and becomes his vaſſal.

LXXVII. John ſtood in need of all the alliances he could make to oppoſe the deſigns of his enemies. *Mauger* biſhop of *Worceſter* dying on *July* 1, [2] at *Pontigny*, the two ſurviving biſhops of *London* and *Ely*, and cardinal *Langton* who reſided in that abbey, growing impatient of ſo long an exile, or perhaps incited by the king of *France*, ſet out for *Rome* to ſollicite the Pope, to proceed without further delay to extremities: and made ſuch a repreſentation of the condition of the church of *England*, and the hatred of the nobility to *John*, that *Innocent* thought he might take the moſt odious and violent meaſures, without any danger of a diſappointment. Nothing could be more ſo, than his depoſing *John* in a council of cardinals and prelates; declaring the throne of *England* vacant, and writing to the king of *France*, to undertake the execution of his ſentence, for the remiſſion of his ſins, and having expelled the depoſed prince, to unite that kingdom to *France*, and keep it to himſelf and his heirs for ever. He publiſhed alſo a *Croiſade* againſt *John*, as well in *France*, as in other parts of *Europe*; exhorting the nobility, gentry, and all able to bear armes, to march under the banner of *Philip*, to drive out a perſecutor of the church; granting them the ſame indulgences, as were given to thoſe, that went on expeditions to the *Holy Land*; and appointing *Pandulf* his legate *a latere*, to ſee the ſentence executed.

The legate, before his departure from *Rome*, deſiring inſtructions for his conduct, *Innocent*, on *March* 1, allowed him to make peace with *John* upon the following conditions [3]. "I. *John* was to ſwear to ſtand to the Pope's mandates, "ſignified by the legate, in all matters, for which he had been excommunicated. "II. He was to receive archbiſhop *Langton*, the biſhops of *London*, *Ely*, *Hereford*, "*Bath*, and *Lincoln*, *Robert Fitz Walter*, *Euſtace de Veſci*, and all others, both "clergy and laity, concerned in this affair, into his favour, and to allow the biſhops "to exerciſe their functions and juriſdiction without interruption. III. He was "to confirm theſe things by his letters patent, and to procure as many biſhops and "barons, as *Langton* and the biſhops ſhould require to ſwear and ſign charters for "the obſervance of the articles; and in caſe of a violation, that they ſhould adhere "to the Pope's mandates againſt thoſe that broke them, and *John* was to forfeit for "ever all his claim to the cuſtody of ſees and churches during their vacancy. "IV. If he could not get the biſhops and barons to ſwear to this laſt article of "obeying the Pope's orders, *John* was, by his letters patent, to mortgage his "right of patronage in all the churches of *England*, as a ſecurity for the perform"ance of his engagements. V. The letters for the prelates ſecurity, were to be "ſent them before their coming into *England*: and if he pleaſed, they were to "take an oath, that they would not, by themſelves or others, attempt any thing to "his or the crown's prejudice. VI. Full reſtitution was to be made, as well of all "liberties, that had been invaded, as of every thing that had been taken away; and "a ſufficient ſatisfaction for all damages, to all, whether clergy or laity, concerned "in this affair; to *Langton* and the biſhop of *Lincoln*, from the time of their con"ſecration, to the others from the beginning of the diſpute. VII. No covenant,

[1] *Cron. Dunſtaple.* [2] *M. Paris.* [3] *Rymer*, i. 165, 166, 167.

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" promiſe, or grant was to hinder this reſtitution and reparation, with regard either " to the dead or living; and no part thereof retained, on account of ſervices al- " ledged to be owning; which however might be afterwards recovered. VIII. All " the clergy and laity, impriſoned on this occaſion, were to be releaſed. IX. As " ſoon as the legate arrived in *England*, eight thouſand pounds were to be remitted " in part of reſtitution to the exiled prelates, for paying their debts, and defraying " the expences of their return thither in an honourable manner: and when the " peace was ſettled, their agents were to be put in immediate poſſeſſion of their " goods and temporalties. X. The homages which *John* had received from their " vaſſals ſince the interdict, were to be releaſed; all outlawries againſt clergymen " and laymen, on account of this affair, were to be reverſed: and he was not for " the future to iſſue any outlawry againſt the clergy. XI. If any diſpute ſhould " ariſe, about the quantity or valuation of the damages and ſeizures, it was to be " determined by the legate; and if in any other caſe, where he ſhould be at a loſs " to determine, it was to be referred to the Pope's deciſion. If *John* did not ſub- " mit to theſe conditions, before the firſt of *July*, the legate was to return imme- " diately."

LANGTON and his two ſuffragans, having carried their point [1] at *Rome*, in getting a papal ſentence for depoſing *John*, haſted, in the beginning of the year, back to *France* to publiſh it, and to puſh on *Philip* to the execution of a deteſtable decree; derogatory to the majeſty of kings, and which they would all, for their common intereſt, join in oppoſing, did not ſome particulars find in it their private advantage. *Philip*, knowing how odious *John* was to the nobility of *England*, and imagining that the general diſcontent, which reigned in the country, would make it an eaſy conqueſt, had formed the deſign, from the time that the Pope had abſolved *John's* ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance. [2] With this view, he had convened the laſt year, on *March* 19, at *Soiſſons*, a general council of the prelates and nobility of *France:* and propoſing to them the enterprize, they all, except the count of *Flanders*, approved it, and promiſed to attend him in perſon with their followers. The count had been obliged ſome time before to give up *Aire* and *S. Omer* to prince *Louis* of *France:* and he refuſed to engage, as others did, unleſs theſe two places were reſtored to him; a demand, with which *Philip* did not think fit to comply. It was a great enterprize: and that he might not be diverted from purſuing it by any attempts of the emperor *Otho*, he made an alliance with *Frederic* king of *Sicily*, ſon of the late emperor *Henry* VI, whom the Pope, and ſeveral of the *German* princes, were endeavouring to raiſe to the empire. He ſpent near a year in making preparations for it; chiefly in building ſhips, that he might have a fleet able to fight the enemy, and ſufficient to tranſport all his forces with the neceſſary proviſions. He had lately got *Alice*, the heireſs of *Bretagne*, married to his couſin *Peter* of *Dreux:* and by the benefit of that alliance, had the diſpoſal of the naval force of that province. He laid an embargo upon all ſhips that put into the ports of *France*; *Euſtace* [3], a pirate whom *John* had taken into his ſervice, deſerted to him, with five galleys: and theſe with the veſſels of his own ſubjects, and what he built on this occaſion, made a fleet of ſeventeen hundred ſail; the rendezvous whereof was appointed at *Boulogne*. That of his land forces was fixed at *Roüen*: [4] and all his barons and vaſſals were ordered to meet there on *April* 21, under pain of high treaſon, and forfeiture of their eſtates.

JOHN had ſoon advice of all that had paſſed at *Rome:* and having wreaked his revenge on *Langton* by cutting down the woods of the ſee of *Canterbury*, and on the biſhop of *London* by demoliſhing his caſtle of *Storford*, made preparations to oppoſe the invaſion; which he knew the king of *France* had for ſome time deſigned. [5] His firſt

[1] *M. Paris.* [2] *Rigord.* [3] *Chron. Dunſtaple.* [4] *M. Paris.* [5] *Ibid.*

ſtep

John. A. D. 1213.

ſtep was, to give orders, on *March* 3, for a liſt to be taken of all the ſhips, able to carry ſix or more horſes, which were that day in each port of *England*, and for the maſters thereof, to bring them, well manned, armed, and victualled, by the 24th of the month, to *Portſmouth*, there to enter into his pay and ſervice. He ſent likewiſe to the ſheriffs of every county in the kingdom, to ſummon all the earls, barons, knights, eſquires, and vaſſals, whether holding of the crown, or of any other ſuperior, and all who ought to have, or could have, armes, to come well prepared with horſes and armour by *April* 21, to the places of rendezvous, for the defence of his perſon and the realm, under pain of being branded for cowards, and degraded to a ſervile condition. Such as held land, were to follow their reſpective lords under whom they held it; thoſe who had none, were to be paid by *John*; and the ſheriffs were charged to provide carriages of proviſions, and to make all the markets follow the army; inhibiting all others within their counties. The places of rendezvous were at *Dover*, *Feverſham*, and *Ipſwich*; where ſuch numbers aſſembled, that they wanted victuals, and a vaſt number of thoſe that were ill armed, being ſent home, only the knights, gentlemen, and freeholders, with the croſs-bow men and archers ſtaid upon the ſea coaſt. The biſhop of *Norwich* came at this time from his government of *Ireland*, with five hundred knights, and as many light horſe, to *John's* aſſiſtance: and the whole force aſſembled on *Barham Down* near *Canterbury*, amounted on a muſter to ſixty thouſand men, well armed and appointed. Such a body of brave troops, had they been well affected to *John*, were able to defend their country againſt any potentate upon earth: but his chief point in view was to keep the *French* from landing; placing his greateſt confidence in the fleet he had provided, which was ſuperior in ſtrength to that of the enemy.

Whilst *John* was expecting the *French* on the ſea coaſt, near *Dover*, *Pandulf*, perhaps not thinking it for the intereſt of the papacy to have the king of *France* ſo powerful, as the conqueſt of *England* would make him, or elſe out of the moderation of his own ſentiments, ſent two knight templars to aſſure him of his good intentions for his ſervice, and to propoſe a conference for ſettling the terms of his reconciliation to the church; which would take off the ſentence of depoſition. *John* readily embraced the motion: the templars were ſent back for the legate: and *Pandulf* arriving at *Dover*, repreſented to him the prodigious armament of the king of *France*, lying ready at the mouth of the *Seine*, the influence of the exiled prelates and nobles coming over with that prince, and the confidence which he had of his ſucceſs, through the aſſurances which moſt of the *Engliſh* nobility had given him of their revolting to his ſervice, in ſuch a terrible light, that *John* was ſtruck with the utmoſt confuſion at the proſpect of his danger. He had abundant reaſon to think, that almoſt all his nobility were diſaffected, and that his continual exactions, and the murder of his nephew, had rendered him odious to the nation; he knew the defect of his title to the crown, the provocations he had given the prelates and clergy, and their influence on all orders of men throughout the kingdom: and what affected him ſtill more was a pretended prophecy of one *Peter* of *Pontefract*, an hermite, who had foretold, either that he ſhould ſoon [1] loſe his crown, or that he ſhould not reign till the end of his fourteenth year, which [2] was now begun, or that he ſhould not be king on the next [3] *Aſcenſion day* (ſo many different ways is the ſubſtance of it related) and the effects which this had on the minds of the people of *England*, who in their ſenſeleſs credulity believed firmly every thing that this viſionary vented. The conſiderations engaged him on *Monday May* 13, at *Dover* to ſwear to the obſervance of the form of peace in the terms abovementioned, as it was ſent over by

[1] *Chron. Mailroſ.* [2] *Chron. Dunſtaple. Chron. T. Wikes.* [3] *M. Paris.*

the

JOHN. A. D. 1207.

the Pope; the count of *Boulogne*, with the earls of *Saliſbury*, *Warenne*, and *Ferrers*, taking an oath at the ſame time, to ſee it duely executed in all its articles.

THUS was *John* reconciled to the Pope, and in conſequence thereof, it was expected that the excommunication againſt him and the interdict on the kingdom would be taken off: but the relaxation of theſe cenſures was deferred, till ſatisfaction was made to the prelates for the damages they had received, and reſtitution of what had been ſeized of their goods and poſſeſſions. The aſſurance given thereof might indeed prevent their coming over to countenance and promote the king of *France's* enterprize: but their declining to join him could not be ſuppoſed a ſufficient reaſon to prevent his making a deſcent on *England*; when all his armament lay ready at the mouth of the *Seine* for that purpoſe, and the engagements of the nobility, who had invited him over, ſtill ſubſiſted. The ſubmiſſion to the Pope did not give *John* a better title to the crown than he had before, nor take off the odium of *Arthur's* murder, nor remove the grievances of the nation. Theſe continued in all their height, and there was an evident neceſſity for finding ſome extraordinary expedient to prevent their effects. The onely way that appeared to be effectual in this caſe was, the putting himſelf and his realm under the protection of the Pope; whoſe cenſures would then fall upon his enemies, and put them under the ſame difficulties, from which he was going to be extricated. Whether this was *John's* own thought, or was ſuggeſted to him by *Pandulf*, (though it was certainly no article of his inſtructions) the reſolution was taken: and two days after his ſubmiſſion, *viz.* on *May* 15, the *Wedneſday* ſevennight before *Aſcenſion day*, *John*, little concerned for the dignity of a crown to which he had no right[1], reſigned his realms to the Pope, to hold them of him for the future as his vaſſal and feudatory by homage lige; paying him yearly, in lieu of all ſervices and by way of acknowledgement of his ſuperiority, ſeven hundred marks for the realm of *England* and three hundred for *Ireland*, and obliging his ſucceſſors to do the ſame on pain of forfeiting all their right to the crown; ſaving however to himſelf and his heirs, the power of adminiſtering juſtice, creating juſticiaries, and all their liberties and regalities. In conſequence of this reſignation, which was drawn up in an inſtrument to be ſent to *Rome*, and of *Pandulf's* re-inveſting him with the crown, *John* took the uſual oath of a vaſſal by homage liege to the Pope[2]: and ſigned the ſame day a charter exempting the clergy for the future from being ſubject to outlawries. He wrote likewiſe on the 24th of the ſame month[3] to the archbiſhop and prior of *Canterbury*, and to the biſhops of *London*, *Ely*, *Hereford*, *Bath*, and *Lincoln*, letters under the great ſeal; inviting them over and aſſuring them of his favour[4]: and the prelates of *Dublin*, *Winton*, and *Norwich*, with twelve of the principal barons[5] of the kingdom, having taken an oath for the due obſervance of the peace preſcribed by the Pope, gave them the like aſſurances. [6]*Pandulf*, fortified with theſe letters and with eight thouſand pounds ready money, which *John* gave him in part of reſtitution and ſatisfaction according to the articles of peace, ſet out for *France:* and eaſily perſuaded the exiles, pleaſed alike with the money and the conditions of the agreement, to return to *England*, and receive the remainder of what was due to them for their loſſes.

[1] *Cart.* 15 *Joh.* N° 31. *M. Paris. Bibl. Cotton. Cleopatra* E. 1.

[2] *Pat.* 15 *Joh.* p. 2. m. 8. [3] *Pat.* 15 *Joh.* p. 1. n. 84. [4] *Ib.* n. 1.

[5] Theſe barons were *Geffrey Fitz Piers* earl of *Eſſex* chief juſticiary, *Renaud* count of *Boulogne*, *Ralf* earl of *Cheſter*, *William* earl *Mareſchal* earl of *Pembroke*, *William* earls of *Warenne*, *Arundel*, and *Ferrers*, *William Briwer*, *Robert de Ros*, *Gilbert Fitz Reinfroy*, *Roger de Mortimer*, and *Peter Fitz Herbert*. Theſe were all witneſſes to the act of reſignation of the crown, except the earl of *Cheſter*, *Robert de Ros*, *Roger de Mortimer*, and *Gilbert Fitz Reinfroy*, in whoſe ſtead it was atteſted by *William* and *Saher* earls of *Sarum* and *Winton*, and *Warin Fitz Gerald*. [6] *M. Paris.*

John.

A. D. 1213. The *French* invaſion diſappointed; *John* propoſes to invade *France*.

LXXVIII. He had a more difficult taſk to prevail on the king of *France*, to lay aſide his deſign of invading *England*; after having been at an expence of above ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling, only in his naval armament; and aſſembled all his troops in order to embark. *Philip* had undertaken the expedition at the Pope's repeated inſtances: and though *Pandulf's* getting *John* to reſign his crown, met with the higheſt applauſe at the court of *Rome*, where it was full as acceptable as it was unexpected, it was far from being agreeable to that prince; who could not now make a deſcent in *England* without attacking S. *Peter's* patrimony, and quarrelling directly with *Innocent*, who in that caſe would not fail of loading him with the uſual cenſures of excommunication and interdict. It was not however his fears of thoſe cenſures that ſtopped his expedition, ſo much as the apprehenſions he had, leſt *Ferrand* count of *Flanders*, who declared openly againſt it as unjuſt, and had at the latter end of the laſt ſummer entered into a league [1] with *John*, ſhould fall upon his territories during his abſence. It was thought dangerous to leave ſuch an enemy behind him; who might, by falling with his forces into *Ponthieu*, a fief not united to the crown of *France*, and *Normandie*, a country lately conquered, and not yet reconciled to their new maſters, intercept his ſupplies and proviſions; and otherwiſe traverſe him in the execution of his project. This determined him, when his fleet was come from the mouth of *Seine* to *Boulogne*, or (as *Trivet* ſays) at *Calais*, and his army drawn thither ready to embark, to defer his *Engliſh* expedition, till he had reduced *Ferrand* (who had not obeyed his ſummons in coming to him at *Gravelines*) to ſuch a condition, that he ſhould not be able to do him any prejudice.

It appeared a work of little difficulty, to ſo great an army as he had under him on the borders of the country, and that required but a ſmall time to execute: he entered *Flanders*, and ſoon making himſelf maſter of *Caſſel*, *Ypres*, and other places, laid ſiege to *Bruges*; his fleet coaſting along as he advanced, to ſupply him with proviſions, till it came off *Damme*, two leagues from the place laſt named. *Ferrand* applying immediately to *John* for ſuccours [2], the *Engliſh* fleet of five hundred large ſhips, well provided, beſides eight hundred leſſer veſſels with ſeven hundred knights, and a great body of other forces, as well horſe as foot on board, under the command of *W. Longuepée* earl of *Saliſbury*, and *Renaud* count of *Boulogne*, ſet ſail from *Portſmouth*: and having looked into the mouth of the *Seine*, and the roads of *Fécamp* and *Dieppe*, and either taken or burnt what ſhips they found there, came at laſt before *Damme*; where they diſcovered the *French* fleet at anchor. It conſiſted of ſuch a prodigious number of ſhips, that the *Engliſh* commanders were at firſt ſtartled, and unreſolved what to do: but receiving advice, that the king of *France* having, on the ſurrender of *Bruges*, laid ſiege to *Gand*, moſt of the forces deſigned for the defence of the fleet, had gone on ſhore, to plunder the country, they attacked it; took above three hundred ſhips, laden with all ſorts of proviſions, armes, and neceſſaries, and burnt an hundred others that had run aground; the reſt that lay out at ſea, diſperſing to ſave themſelves. Not ſatisfied with this ſucceſs, the *Engliſh* landed to attack the town of *Damme*, in order to deſtroy the ſhips that were in the port and channel; thinking the king of *France* at too great a diſtance to interrupt them in that attempt: but on the firſt news of their coming off the coaſt, *Philip* had ordered a body of troops to *Damme* [3]; who coming up ſurprized them with ſo vigorous an attack, that they retired to their ſhips with a conſiderable loſs; *Renaud* himſelf being taken, though falling into the hands of ſome of his friends, they ſuffered him to eſcape. This advantage was but a ſmall comfort to the king of *France*, under the diſaſter of his fleet: he ſaw his deſign upon *England* ruined; and in deſpair of ſaving the reſt of his ſhips which remained in the port and canal

[1] *Rymer*, i. 161, 162. [2] *M. Paris. Chron. Dunſtaple.* [3] *Rigord.*

of *Damme*, blocked up by the *Engliſh* fleet, he ſet them on fire; having firſt taken out the proviſions and military engines. *Philip* having taken hoſtages from *Gand*, *Ypres*, and *Bruges*[1] for the payment of certain ſums of money, for which thoſe towns ranſomed themſelves, returned to *France*, before the end of *June*: and *Ferrand*, who had retired to the count of *Hollande*[2], returning with a body of forces, and aſſiſted by the *Engliſh* from on board the fleet, recovered eaſily all the places that had been taken, by the favour of the inhabitants; though *Philip* returning took *Lille* again, and, to puniſh their revolt, reduced the town to aſhes.

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JOHN, overjoyed at the deſtruction[3] of the *French* fleet, which rendered the deſcent propoſed by *Philip* impracticable for this year, diſmiſſed the forces he had kept on the coaſt: and ſent a great ſum of money to *Flanders*, as well for the pay of his forces there, as to enable *Ferrand* to invade *France*, in conjunction with a body of troops, which he expected the emperor *Otho* would furniſh. He propoſed at the ſame time to paſs with a large army into *Poitou*, in order to attack *France* on that ſide, and recover the territories he had loſt: and with this view, ſummoned his barons, knights, and other vaſſals, to meet him at *Portſmouth*. But he found on this occaſion, what a miſerable condition he would have been in, if *Philip* had landed in the kingdom; for all the nobility refuſed to follow him, unleſs he was firſt abſolved from his excommunication. Vexed at their refuſal, he wrote,[4] on *July* 1, to *Langton* and the exiled biſhops to haſten their coming over: and ſent the prelates of *Dublin* and *Norwich*, *William* earl of *Arundel*, *Matthew Fitz Herbert*, and *William* archdeacon of *Huntingdon*, to conduct them, and deliver them the letters[5] of twenty-four noblemen, anſwering for their good treatment, and recompence of the damages they had ſuffered. Thus honourably attended, the exiles landed at *Dover* on *July* 16: and coming on the 20th of that month to *Winchester*, the king met them on their way to the cathedral; and they went together to the chapter-houſe of the convent. Being there in private, *Langton* obliged *John* to renew his oath of fealty to Pope *Innocent*, and "to ſwear that he would "love, defend, and maintain holy church and the clergy againſt all their adver-"ſaries to the utmoſt of his power; that he would revive the good laws of his "anceſtors, particularly thoſe of king *Edward*, and annul ſuch as were inequit-"able; that he would judge all men according to the juſt judgment of his court, "and would give every one his right; and that he would make full reſtitution, "before *Eaſter*, to all concerned in the buſineſs of the interdict; and if he failed "in ſo doing, he was to relapſe into the former ſentence of excommunication." Theſe oaths being taken, *John* was led to the church door, where the 50th *Pſalm* being ſung, he was abſolved in the ſight of the world: and the ceremony concluded with the biſhop's leading *John* into the church to hear maſs. The next day, he iſſued out precepts to all the ſheriffs of *England*, to ſend from all towns of his demeſnes, four legal men with the *Reeve* to *S. Albans* on *Auguſt* 4, to inform him of the damages, which each of the exiled biſhops had ſuſtained.

JOHN was ſo intent upon his *French* expedition, that entruſting the government of the realm to *Geffrey Fitz Piers* and *Peter* biſhop of *Winchester*, with directions to conſult the archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in all the affairs of the nation, he went again to *Portſmouth*; not expecting, now he was abſolved, that any difficulty would be made about the embarkation of his forces. But his barons, knights, and vaſſals had now waited near forty days, the uſual time of ſervice, at their own expence: and complaining of their long attendance, declared they had ſpent all their money, and could not go, unleſs he would ſupply them out of his treaſury. This he refuſed, but imagining they might be tempted to follow him, embarked himſelf

[1] *Chron. Dunſtaple.* [2] *Gul. Brito.* [3] *M. Paris.* [4] *Rot. Clauſ.* 15 *Joh.* p. 1. m. 8. d. [5] *M. Paris.*

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with his houſhold, and ſailed to *Jerſey*. They were not ſo affectionate to his ſervice as to ſwallow the bait, but returned home: and *John* finding himſelf deſerted, came back to *Portſmouth*, unable to go on with the expedition.

In the mean time, the two juſticiaries had held a council at *S. Albans*, at which the archbiſhop, prelates, and many of the barons aſſiſted. The chief buſineſs there tranſacted was, the proclaiming the king's peace; enjoining the laws of *Henry* I to be obſerved, and abrogating ſuch as were unjuſt; aboliſhing the *Aleſchots*, ſet up by foreſt officers for collecting ſums of money from people, that they might not inform againſt them for pretended tranſgreſſions of the foreſt; and ordering all ſheriffs, foreſters, and other officers of the crown, not to injure any man, or extort money by violence. This council was ſcarce broke up, when *John* returning from *Jerſey*, full of fury againſt the barons that had deſerted him, who were chiefly of the north of *England*, gathered an army to force them to perform their uſual ſervice: and was advanced to *Northampton*, when archbiſhop *Langton* coming to him, forbade him to make war againſt any one without the judgment of his court, as being contrary to the oath he had taken at his abſolution. *John* telling him it was a ſecular affair, and he ought not to interpoſe in the buſineſs of the kingdom, ſet out early the next morning for *Notingham:* but *Langton* purſuing him, and threatening to excommunicate all his followers, that ſhould take up armes before the relaxation of the interdict, he was forced to deſiſt; appointing the barons a day to anſwer in his court. This being held, on *November* 1, at *Walingford*[2], he was there reconciled to them by the mediation of cardinal *Nicholas* biſhop of *Fraſcati*[3], who came into *England* on *September* 27, being ſent by the Pope as his legate *a latere*, to adjuſt the eſtimate of the damages of the clergy.

Langton forms a conſpiracy againſt *John*.

LXXIX. It appears from the places whence[4] the publick acts of this year are dated, that this expedition into the north was made in the month of *September*; and that *John*, notwithſtanding the archbiſhop's inhibition, advanced as far as *Durham*, probably to provide for the ſecurity of the north; though he committed no hoſtility againſt the refractory barons; with whom *Langton* had before entered into a conſpiracy. This prelate ſeems to have come into *England* full of rancour againſt him; reſolved to diſtreſs his government, and to embroil the kingdom; though it doth not appear that *John* had given him any perſonal provocation: and it is very certain, he had made no encroachment upon the rights of the church, being, ſince he was ſubdued by the Pope, the tameſt, and moſt ſubmiſſive animal in nature, granting his *Congé d'Elire* immediately upon the vacancy of prelacies, and[5] leaving the chapters and convents to a free election, without offering to interpoſe, by the recommendation of any particular perſon. But *Langton*, copying after the example of his predeceſſor *Becket* (whoſe corpſe he afterwards tranſlated with a moſt pompous ſolemnity, and inſtituted a new feſtival in his honour) wanted to have himſelf the diſpoſal of all eccleſiaſtical dignities, and to act in civil affairs, as if he was maſter of the kingdom. With theſe views, having convened the prelates and clergy of his province[6], on *Auguſt* 25, at *St. Paul's* in *London*, under pretence of appointing commiſſioners on their part, to enquire into the damages ſuſtained by the exiled biſhops, as *John* had done on his, he, after the diſpatch of ſome eccleſiaſtical buſineſs, called ſome of the great barons, who uſually attended thoſe ſynodical aſſemblies, aſide: and told them privately, "that he had abſolved the king, "and forced him to ſwear he would aboliſh all unjuſt laws, and cauſe the laws of "*Edward the Confeſſor* to be obſerved; and that he had found a charter of *Henry* I (*viz.* that which hath been formerly mentioned as granted at that *Prince's* coro-

[1] *Chron. Dunſtaple.* [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Annal. Waverl.* [4] *Rymer*, i. 174, 175, 176. [5] *Chron. Joh. Abb. Petriburg.* [6] *Annal. Waverl. M. Paris.*

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nation) " by which, if they pleaſed, they might aſſert their loſt liberties." Then producing the charter, he read it to them: and they all ſwearing before him, that they would, on a favourable opportunity, contend to death for thoſe liberties, the archbiſhop promiſed them all the aſſiſtance in his power. It is very probable that *John* (who ſeems to have been then in the weſt [1]) had ſome notice given him of this treaſonable conſpiracy, before he went on his expedition into the north; and that this was the reaſon why he ordered *John* biſhop of *Norwich*, whom he had ſent, on *July* 25, on an embaſſy to the emperor [2] *Otho*, to go from the imperial court to *Rome*. It was upon the arrival of this prelate there, that, to guard againſt the malevolence and deſigns of *Langton* and the exiled biſhops, the Pope, on [3] *October* 22, wrote to his legate *Nicholas*, to ſee all the letters and bulls, which he had given to that archbiſhop to be publiſhed, in caſe *John* did not ſubmit to the articles preſcribed, committed to the flames and deſtroyed. *Innocent* wrote, at the ſame time, to *John* himſelf; aſſuring him, " that he would ever maintain his royal " dignity entire, and adviſing him in prudence not to involve himſelf in any diſpute " with his archbiſhops and biſhops about eccleſiaſtical rights; but rather have " recourſe to him, who could do that for him with credit, which he could not do " for himſelf without offence, and he would be ſure to gratify him in all his " honourable requeſts." The ſame ſeems to be the occaſion of other letters of this Pope [4], as well to the king of *Scotland*, to the biſhops, earls, and barons of *England* and *Ireland*, " conjuring them to continue in their fidelity to *John*, and to attempt " nothing againſt him on account of the reſignation of his crown" (which ſeems not to have been agreeable to the nobility in general, or at leaſt to have been made uſe of by them as a pretence for their rebellious meaſures,) [5] as to his legate, requiring him to annul all conſpiracies and aſſociations relating to the interdict.

THIS legate, on *October* 3, [6] the *Thurſday* after his arrival, received in the Pope's name *John's* homage for his realms, in the church of *St. Paul, London*; with the firſt year's payment of the tribute of a thouſand marks: and a new inſtrument was drawn up of *John's* reſignation and oath of fealty, agreeable to the former in all reſpects; only this laſt was ſealed with a golden bull, whereas the other had a wax impreſſion. There was an aſſembly of prelates and nobility, on occaſion of this ceremony, and of the treaty for adjuſting the damages of the clergy; the commiſſioners employed [7] by the exiled prelates differing widely from *John's* officers in the computation of their value, and probably exaggerating the matter, ſince they pretended that twenty-three thouſand marks would ſcarce make good the damages of the ſee of *Lincoln*, nor twenty thouſand thoſe of the monks of *Canterbury*. *John* offered to pay down an hundred thouſand marks, and to give ſecurity for paying by the next *Eaſter*, what ſhould appear to be further due on that account, after a thorough inquiſition had been made; and the legate was much diſpleaſed that the biſhops would not agree to this propoſal: but they had a mind to protract the affair, till they had compleated their enquiry [8], and *John* willingly hearkened to every motion of delay. This affair came again under conſideration in the council of *Reading* on *November* 3, and of *Wallingford* held two days after the other: but nothing was done in it, till the aſſembly of *Reading* on *December* 6, when the biſhops brought in all their accompts, and received fifteen thouſand marks in part of their demands, till the whole could be adjuſted. The legate was thought to favour *John* in this point of the accompts, becauſe he would not take what the biſhops delivered in for granted, but allowed time for examining into the particulars: [9] he afterwards made a progreſs through the kingdom, viſiting the mona-

[1] *Rymer*, i. 175. [2] *Ib.* 174. [3] *Ib.* 179, 180. [4] *Ib.* 177, 178. [5] *Ib.* 110. [6] *Ib.* 176.
[7] *Chron. Dunſtaple*, p. 64, 65. [8] *Chron. Dunſtaple. M. Paris.* [9] *Chron. Dunſtaple.*

John. steries, and filling up the vacant abbacies and priories according to the *Pope's* directions.

A. D. 1214. LXXX. John, in the mean time, was intent upon his expedition into *Poitou*, which he had promiſed *Raimond* count of *Toulouſe* [1], and *Guy* count of *Auvergne*, to make the laſt year: and having been hindered as above related, had made an ill excuſe to them, by pleading ſtormy weather as the occaſion of his failure. *Raimond* came over, a little before *Chriſtmas*, to preſs him not to defer it longer: and was honourably received by him, notwithſtanding the complaints of the legate and the archbiſhop [2], on account of that prince's being deemed an heretick, and under excommunication. The counts of *Flanders* [3] and *Boulogne*, with ſome other foreign noblemen, came over in *January*, to do homage for their penſions, and concert meaſures for the operations of the approaching campaign: and *John*, having ſupplied them with money, and ſent the earl of *Saliſbury* back with them, ſailed himſelf from *Portſmouth*, on *February* 2, towards *Guienne*; landing on *Saturday*, *February* 15, at *Rochelle*. This prince had, on the laſt *October* 2, ſuffered a great loſs by the death of *Geffrey Fitz Piers*, his chief juſticiary, and earl of *Eſſex*; whoſe great power and alliances with the chief families in the nation, had enabled him to be one of the beſt ſupports of his throne in all his difficulties: and when he was now to provide for the government during his abſence, he left it in the hands of *Peter* biſhop of *Wincheſter* [4], whom he appointed chief juſticiary, and made guardian of the realm; which, however, for the greater ſecurity, he put under the protection of the legate. *Savary de Mauleon* [5] had given *John* aſſurances of returning into his ſervice: and joined him as ſoon as he entered *Poitou*; where he took ſeveral caſtles of the barons of that country. Among theſe was the famous caſtle of *Meluſine*, and ſome others belonging to *Geffrey de Luſignan*; [6] who being obliged to ſubmit, came on *Sunday*, *June* 8, with *Hugh* count *de la Marche*, and his brother the count *d'Eu*, to do homage and ſwear fealty to *John* at *Parthenay*; purſuant to a treaty, by which *John* agreed to reſtore the count *d'Eu* to all his lands in *England*, and to give his daughter *Jane* in marriage to *Hugh's* eldeſt ſon, with two thouſand pounds a year in land; though the king of *France*, to prevent an alliance, which put an end to an old quarrel, that had been of great advantage to his affairs, had deſired the young princeſs for his ſon *Philip*. *John*, having thus ſecured the *Poitovins* in his intereſt, marched into *Anjou*; [7] took *Beaufort*, with ſome other inconſiderable places: and began to fortify *Angers*. From thence he paſſed to *La Roche-au-moine*, a fortreſs between that town and *Nantes*, on the ſide of the *Loire*: and ſent parties to ravage the *Païs Nantois*; where they took in a ſkirmiſh *Robert*, the eldeſt ſon of *Robert* count of *Dreux*, with fourteen *French* gentlemen. But *Louis* prince of *France*, and the mareſchal *Henry Clement*, advancing with two thouſand horſe and ſeven thouſand foot to the relief of the fortreſs, *John*, though his army was much more numerous, yet perhaps miſtruſting the *Poitovins* in it, raiſed the ſiege with ſo much precipitation [8], that he left his tents, baggage, and military engines; croſſed the *Loire* in ſuch an hurry, that he loſt a good number of men in his paſſage; and fled in one day eighteen leagues without ſtopping. *Louis* returning from the purſuit, eaſily recovered all that had been taken in *Anjou*: and levelled the walls, which *John* had built at *Angers*.

John's expedition into *Poitou*.

This was a terrible blow to *John's* affairs in thoſe parts: and it was followed, in a few days, by a worſe diſaſter on the ſide of *Flanders*, by the entire defeat of the allied army of an hundred and fifty thouſand men, compoſed of *Imperialiſts*, *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, and *Flemings*, by the king of *France* at *Bovines*. In this battle, which was

[1] *Rymer*, i. 175. [2] *Chron. Dunſtaple.* [3] *Annal. Waverl.* [4] *Rymer*, i. 181. [5] *Ib.* 175, 182. [6] *Ib.* 185, 193. [7] *Rigord.* [8] *Gul. Brito.*

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fought on *Sunday*, *July* 27, the counts of *Flanders*, *Hollande*, and *Boulogne*, the earl of *Saliſbury*, with ſeveral other perſons of quality, were taken priſoners; the emperor *Otho* himſelf eſcaping with great difficulty. This glorious victory put an end to all the deſigns, which *Hervé* count of *Nevers*, ſeveral of the *French* nobility, and abundance of the barons of *Normandie*, *Anjou*, and *Maine* had formed of a revolt, in order to put themſelves again under the obedience or protection of the crown of *England*. *Philip*, to improve the terror, which it had ſtruck into his enemies, paſſed into *Poitou*: and at *Loudun* received the ſubmiſſion of the viſcount of *Thouars*, who was reconciled to him by the mediation of *Peter de Dreux* duke of *Bretagne*. *John*, ſeeing all his affairs in that country deſperate, had no way left but to get *Robert de Curſon*, an *Engliſhman* by birth, and the Pope's legate at that time in *France* [2], to uſe his good offices for a truce, under the uſual pretence of the ſuccour of the *Holy Land*: and theſe were ſo effectual, that one was concluded, on *Auguſt* 31, for a fortnight; and this was followed by another, on *September* 18, till the *Eaſter* following, and to be continued from that term for five years longer. The conditions of this truce were more equitable than *John* had reaſon to expect; all things being to remain during the term in their preſent ſtate, and the priſoners on neither ſide to be releaſed. It was this laſt condition, which occaſioned the exchange between *Robert de Dreux*, and the earl of *Saliſbury*: and *John* having thus ended his campaign, returned on *October* 19, into *England*.

LXXXI. SEVERAL things had happened favourable to him in this country during his abſence. A great many abbeys and dignities in cathedrals had fallen vacant during the interdict: [3] and archbiſhop *Langton* taking it ill, that the legate *Nicholas* ſhould fill up all theſe without his being concerned, or even conſulted in their diſpoſal, had convened his ſuffragans, in the beginning of the year, at *Dunſtaple*; and with their concurrence had ſent to *Nicholas*, then at *Burton* upon *Trent*, to inhibite him from putting any prelates into the vacant churches within his province, and to notify his appealing to the Pope upon that ſubject. The legate ſtill went on, as he had begun, to execute the Pope's orders in filling the prelacies, notwithſtanding this appeal: but ſent *Pandulf* to *Rome*, to oppoſe *Langton's* and the biſhops meaſures. The Pope had not at this time any favourable opinion of thoſe biſhops of the province of *Canterbury* [4], in whoſe dioceſs *Peter-pence* was collected; having been informed, that they kept the greateſt part of the money to themſelves, remitting him only three hundred marks, when they received above a thouſand, though they had no grant from the papacy, nor any preſcription of an hundred years (within which time the church of *Rome* might reſume its rights) to warrant their practice. He had, on *January* 28, wrote to his legate to call them to accompt for the reſidue, and to conſtrain them to pay it, even by cenſures, if neceſſary: and when *Pandulf* arriving at *Rome*, gave him a very advantageous account of *John's* conduct, and as bad a one of archbiſhop *Langton's*, he readily believed all his repreſentations. In vain did *Simon Langton*, that prelate's brother, and the other agents employed by the biſhops to ſupport their appeal, attempt to defend his character, and juſtify his proceedings: *Pandulf* was entirely credited; the golden bull of reſignation and homage, with the firſt annual payment, and the free exerciſe of *Nicholas's* legation, ſupported by the royal authority, in oppoſition to that of the biſhops, confirming undeniably all his aſſertions. The firſt effect thereof, was a grant [5], on *April* 15, of a privilege, exempting *John's* perſon from excommunication, and his royal chapel from an interdict, without a ſpecial mandate from the Pope; which put it out of the archbiſhop's power to diſtreſs him by thoſe cenſures.

The interdict taken off.

[1] *Rigord.* [2] *Rymer*, i. 190, 191, 192. *Chr. Dunſtaple.* [3] *M. Paris.* [4] *Rymer*, i. 182. [5] *Ibid.* 183.

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This was followed by a direction from *Innocent* to his legate [1], to take off the interdict, under which *England* had lain for above six years; upon *John's* taking an oath [2], and giving security for paying twelve thousand pounds a year to *Langton* and the suffering bishops, till the sum of forty thousand marks, at which he adjudged their damages to be rated, should be paid, including the sums which those prelates had already received. Whether this valuation comprehended only the rents of the sees, or whether it was an act of pure bounty in *John* [3], he gave the bishops, besides the forty thousand pounds which he paid them duely, lands, rents, fairs in all their manors, licenses to inclose their woods within his forests, with other liberties and privileges, to repair the losses they had suffered in the dilapidation of their houses, and demolition of some of their castles. The legate, pursuant to the Pope's orders, summoned a council at *S. Paul's* in *London*, on *Thursday*, [4] *July* 3: and it appearing that the exiles had received twelve thousand marks abroad by the hands of *Pandulf*, and fifteen thousand in *England*, and security being given for the thirteen thousand remaining, he took off the interdict; to the great joy of the nation; though with some dissatisfaction to the bishops, who had rejected larger sums, when offered for their compensation.

Insurrection of the barons, and grant of *Magna Charta*.

LXXXII. The kingdom had scarce time to enjoy the benefits of the relaxation of that sentence, before it was involved in fresh troubles. The barons, whom *Langton* had endeavoured, by shewing them the charter of *Henry* I, to spirit up into a rebellion [5], met about the time of *John's* return from abroad at [6] *S. Edmund's Bury*, under pretence of devotion: and all swore upon the great altar; "that they "would go at *Christmas* to the king, and demand a confirmation of the liberties "contained in that charter, and the laws to which it referred; that they would "make war upon him, till he should, by a charter under his seal, confirm all they "demanded; that, in the mean time, they should provide themselves with horses "and armes, to force the king (if he should deny or recede from his engagement to "grant them) to a compliance by taking his castles." They came accordingly, in the beginning of *January*, to *London*, in a military garb and equipage, and on the 6th of that month, desired *John* to grant them the liberties contained in the [7] charter of *Henry* I, and the laws of that prince taken out of those of *Edward the Confessor*; alledging that he had promised to observe them, when he was absolved at *Winchester*. *John* not only refused their requests: but insisted they should promise under their seals, that they would never demand or exact such liberties, either from him or his successors; which all the barons about the court refused, as a thing unprecedented; except the bishop of *Winchester*, the earl of *Chester*, and *William Briwer*. This backwardness in those upon whom he most depended, startled *John:* and seeing the other barons resolute in making their demand, and ready prepared for war, he [8] thought it best to gain time; and desired, on account of the importance and difficulty of the matter, that he might defer his answer till the close of *Easter*, when he promised to give them satisfaction. The barons of the north, who had declined going with him two years before to *Poitou* [9], and who refused likewise to pay even the scutage due, for the last year's expedition thither, in lieu of their personal service, were the ringleaders in this conspiracy: but their demands were very popular; and likely to engage the whole nation in their favour. The common people were very fond of the customs, called king *Edward's* laws: and the nobility had reason to be full as fond of those relaxations of the duties and services, annexed to military tenures by the feudal law, which *Henry* I (to bribe the great men to

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[1] *Rymer*, i. 187, 188. [2] *M. Paris.* [3] *Chron. Dunstaple*, p. 62, 63. [4] *Annal. Eccl. Wigorn. Chron. Dunstaple.* [5] *M. Paris.* [6] Perhaps on *November* 20, the festival of S. *Edmund*. [7] *Rymer*, i. 184. [8] *M. Paris.* [9] *Rymer*, i. 199.

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ſupport him in his uſurping the crown to the prejudice of his elder brother) pretended to grant at his coronation by the charter in queſtion, but took care never to obſerve in the courſe of his government. The chief of theſe were, "a [1] right to "diſpoſe of their perſonal eſtates, in favour of their relations, and of their daughters, ſiſters, and nieces, to any body, but who was the king's enemy, without "paying a fine for a licenſe; liberty for widows to marry; exemption of the "ploughs on their demeſnes from talliages; reducing reliefs to a reaſonable ſum; "veſting the cuſtody of minors in their neareſt relations; and a quitting claim to "the profits of the vacancy of churches." Neither the barons nor their anceſtors had ever enjoyed any of theſe liberties: but they thought the opportunity favourable for extorting them from the crown; whilſt it was wore by a man who had no right to it, and whoſe perſon was become generally contemptible.

JOHN ſaw the difficulties of his ſituation, and the danger of the whole kingdom's declaring againſt him: and took the beſt precautions he could to guard againſt the miſchief he apprehended; the [2] firſt of which was, the cauſing fealty to be ſworn, and homages to be renewed, to himſelf againſt all men, by all perſons throughout *England*. He knew very well the mighty influence which the clergy had in the nation: and to curry favour with them, he paſſed, on *January* 15, [3] by the common aſſent of his barons, and with a ſaving of the cuſtody of vacant prelacies to himſelf and his heirs, a charter eſtabliſhing for ever the right of free elections in all churches, monaſteries, cathedrals, and conventual ſocieties; obliging himſelf and ſucceſſors, neither to deny or delay a *Congé d'Elire* (if he did, they were allowed to proceed to a choice without any) nor to hinder the elected perſon's taking poſſeſſion of his dignity; nor yet to deny the royal aſſent to ſuch elections, without a reaſonable objection. Thoſe, who engaged in the expeditions for relief of the *Holy Land*, were under the particular protection of the ſee of *Rome*; their perſons and lands were deemed too ſacred to be attacked by any power, without the invader's being guilty of a great iniquity, and incurring a general odium: [4] *John* therefore, on *Candlemas day*, took upon him the croſs, rather out of fear than devotion, and with the view of being entitled to the privileges of ſuch as were under that vow of pilgrimage. The *Pope* was now, by his acknowledged ſuperiority, become intereſted in all the affairs of *England*: and both parties applied to him on this occaſion; *John's* agent, *W. Mauclere*, arriving at *Rome* [5], on *Tueſday*, *February* 23, and *Euſtace de Veſcy*, with a chaplain named *de Paris*, and other deputies of the barons, on the *Saturday* following. Theſe laſt preſſed the Pontiff to oblige *John* to confirm the liberties they claimed; pretended it was the requeſt not only of the northern, but of all the barons of the realm; and repreſented their own merits, in ſtanding for the liberty of the church during the interdict (whilſt *John* ſubmitted purely out of fear) as a motive for the Pope to interpoſe in their favour. *Innocent*, on *March* 19, wrote as well to the [6] barons as to the archbiſhops and biſhops of *England*, charging the former to maintain peace; recommending to them an humble manner of ſueing to the king; in which caſe he would exert his good offices for the granting of their juſt petitions; declaring their aſſociations null; and inhibiting them from entering into any more: and reproaching the latter for conniving at theſe diſſentions; for favouring, if not conſpiring, with the barons; ordering them to promote peace; to reconcile the parties; and forbid all aſſociations.

THESE letters had no effect either upon the biſhops or barons: who paid likewiſe as little regard to *John's* vow of pilgrimage, and to the privileges of an expedition for the relief of *Paleſtine*. The [7] barons finding *Innocent* againſt them,

[1] *M. Paris*, p. 55. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Rymer*, i. 197. [4] *M. Paris.* [5] *Rymer*, i. 184. [6] *Ib.* 196, 197. [7] The chief of theſe conſpirators or incendiaries were *Robert Fitz Walter*, and his couſin *Gilbert* earl of *Clare*, *Saher* earl of *Winchеſter*, *Roger Bigod* earl of *Norfolk*, *Geffrey Fitz Piers* earl of

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raiſed a clamour in all places againſt their prince, for ſubmitting to an [1] homager to the Pope; and for giving up the independency of the crown of *England:* and drew the greateſt part of the nobility of the realm into their party, being engaged by their common intereſt to obtain the liberties demanded, and having a fair proſpect of ſucceſs, conſidering their own ſtrength, and how univerſally odious *John* was throughout the nation. Their general rendezvous was at [2] *Stamford*; where, in *Eaſter* week, they muſtered a prodigious army, conſiſting of two thouſand knights, beſides gentlemen, horſe and foot; and marched on *Monday* following, *April* 27, to *Brackley*, about five or ſix leagues from *Oxford*, where *John* expected their coming. He ſent to them from thence the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *William Mareſchal* earl of *Pembroke*, with others of his council, to know what liberties and laws they deſired: and they delivered a ſchedule, containing their demands; which they pretended were ancient uſages, taken either out of the charter of *Henry* I, or the laws of *Edward the Confeſſor*. When this ſchedule was ſhewed to *John*, he aſked, why among ſuch a number of unjuſt and unheard of exactions, they did not likewiſe demand the kingdom: and declared that ſuch liberties, as would make him their ſlave, were never to be granted. The barons, upon this refuſal, choſe *Robert Fitz Walter* their general, by the plauſible ſtyle of *conſtable* or *mareſchal* of the army of God and holy church: and marching to *Northampton*, lay before the caſtle a fortnight: but having no military engines, they raiſed the ſiege; advanced to *Bedford Caſtle*; and were readily admitted into it by *William de Beauchamp*. Receiving there expreſſes from their friends in *London* with advice, that if they made haſte, they might be maſters of the city, they marched without loſs of time to *Ware*; and from thence all night, ſo as to enter *London* by *Aldgate* very early on *Sunday* [3] morning, *May* 24, and finding the gates open, took poſſeſſion of the place, without any diſturbance, by the favour of the rich citizens of their party, whilſt the reſt were generally employed in their devotions. When they had diſpoſed their guards in all places, and taken ſecurity of the citizens they ſuſpected, they ſent letters to all the nobility and gentry in the kingdom, that ſeemed as yet to adhere to [4] *John*; very few of them being hearty in his ſervice; inviting them to join in their cauſe, and to fight for their liberties, or elſe threatening them with the utter deſtruction of their ſeats and caſtles: and theſe had ſuch an effect upon abundance that had not yet ſwore to the liberties demanded, that either favouring their cauſe, or dreading their power, they repaired to *London*, and entered into the confederacy.

John had offered the barons to aboliſh all evil cuſtoms [5], that had been introduced either in his own, or in his brother *Richard's* time; and if they had any to complain of in his father's reign, he was ready to redreſs them by the advice of his prelates and nobility: but this did not anſwer their purpoſe; who having the power in their hands, reſolved to make uſe of it for ſtripping the crown of thoſe ancient rights and feudal cuſtoms, it had reſerved to itſelf in the grants of lands to their predeceſſors ſince the conqueſt, and which were quietly enjoyed by ſovereigns in all

Eſſex, Euſtace de Veſcy, Richard de Percy, Robert de Ros, Peter de Bruis, Nicholas d'Eſtouteville, W. de Mowbray, Oliver de Vaux, northern barons: the conſtables of *Cheſter* and *Meutum, Roger de Creiſſy, O.* and *John Fitz Alan, Ralf* and *John Fitz Robert, Fulk Fitz Warin, Robert de Ver, Simon de Kyme, W. Malet, W. Montacute, W. Mareſchal* the younger, *W. de Beauchamp, W. Mauduit, Roger de Monthegon, G. de Laval, G.* and *Maurice de Gant, W. de Hodrug, W. de Lanvaley, W. Fitz Piers, W. de Huntingfield, Roger de Montfichet, Roger de Brakeſle, Robert de Graſley, Alex. de Pointon, Alex. de Sutton, Peter Fitz John, Oſbert de Bobi, Tho. de Muleton, Conan Fitz Ely*, and many others; *Stephen Langton* archbiſhop of *Canterbury* being the head and principal director of the whole confederacy.

[1] *Rymer*, i. 207. [2] *M. Paris*. [3] The *Chronicle of Dunſtaple* ſays, it was on *Sunday*, *May* 17.

[4] *M. Paris* reckons among theſe the earls of *Pembroke, Cheſter, Saliſbury, Warenne, Albemarle*, and *Cornwall: John Mareſchal, W.* and *Philip d'Albiney, W. Briwere, Rob. de Vipont, Peter Fitz Hubert, Brien de Liſle, G. de Lucy, G. de Furnival, Tho. Baſſet, Henr. de Braybroc, H. de Cornhull, John de Baſſingburne, W. de Cantilupe, John Fitz Hugh*, and *Hugh de Neville*.

[5] *Rymer*, i. 290.

other

other parts of *Europe*. Upon their rejecting theſe offers, and proceeding to hoſtilities in the ſiege of *Northampton*, he had applied to archbiſhop *Langton*, and his ſuffragan biſhops, deſiring them to execute the Pope's orders, and afford him the uſual protection of the church in favour of princes that had croſſed themſelves for the *Holy Land*, by excommunicating ſuch as attacked them: but this *Langton* had refuſed in the preſence of the biſhop of *Exeter* and *Pandulf*; who thought the requeſt reaſonable, and that it ought to be granted. The archbiſhop's excuſe for this refuſal was, that *John*, not truſting to the fidelity of his own ſubjects, had ſent for a body of foreign troops into the kingdom; and as long as they were in his pay, he declared that he would not paſs any cenſure on the barons[1]: but if he would diſmiſs thoſe foreigners, he would not only excommunicate the nobility that had taken armes, but would himſelf be active in oppoſing all their meaſures. This was an artifice to deprive *John* of the aſſiſtance he would elſe have had from the ſubjects of allies, the *Germans* and *Flemings* he had taken into his pay, and who would have ſerved him faithfully: for when complying with *Langton's* humour, and depending on his promiſe, he had ſent them away, the archbiſhop would not ſtill iſſue his cenſures againſt the barons. He had, on [2]*May* 10, given the barons ſecurity, that he would not diſſeize or proceed againſt them or their vaſſals by force of arms, but by the law of the land, and the judgment of their peers: and when theſe inſurgents had got poſſeſſion of *London*, he had ſent them a propoſal in letters patent under his ſeal, offering to refer all the liberties they demanded, either to the Pope alone, or to four noblemen named by himſelf (though he could name none, but who wiſhed to obtain them) and to four others of their chooſing, who jointly with the Pope, as ſuperior, ſhould decide in the caſe, and he would ſtand to their award on that head; and with regard to their other petitions, would do them juſtice, by the advice and judgment of their peers: but the barons, reſolving to carry their point by force, and to be judges in their own cauſe, abſolutely rejected the references propoſed. *John* ſeeing himſelf deſerted, and fearing his caſtles would be taken from him, in his inability to oppoſe their forces, ſubmitted to the barons at diſcretion[3]; ſending them word he would grant them the laws and liberties they demanded: and appointing *Monday*, *June* 15, for a treaty to ſettle all matters with them in a conference to be held on *Runnimede*, between *Stanes* and *Windſor*. The barons came thither, attended by an infinite number of knights and warriors: and after a treaty of ſome days with *John's* commiſſioners[4], moſt of them in the intereſts of the oppoſite party, he agreed to grant them the liberties expreſſed in two charters; the one entitled, *Magna Charta*, or *The charter of liberties*; the other *Charta de Foreſta*, or *The charter of the cuſtoms or liberties of the foreſt*.

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THESE charters are ſo well known, and ſo many learned comments have been wrote upon them, that I may very well be excuſed from taking notice of their contents; eſpecially ſince the variations made in ſome of the articles during the reign of *Henry* III, will bring them then under conſideration, and I ſhall have a more proper occaſion to take notice of the articles that concern the common council of the kingdom, when I come to treat of the conſtitution of our parliaments, as ſettled in the time of *Edward* I. It may be proper however to obſerve, that beſides the confirmation of all the rights and liberties of the church of *England* in general, the

[1] *Rymer*, i. p. 204. [2] *Pat.* 16 *John.* p. 1. m. 3. d. n. 2. [3] *M. Paris.*

[4] Theſe were the prelates of *Canterbury*, *Dublin*, *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Lincoln*, *Bath*, *Worceſter*, *Coventry*, and *Rocheſter*. *Pandulf* elect of *Norwich* (to which ſee he had been choſen by the Pope's precept, after the deceaſe of *John de Gray*, who died in *October* the laſt year in *Poitou*. *Annal. Eccl. Wigorn* and *Chr. Dunſtaple*) *Amaury* prior of the templars in *England*, the earls of *Pembroke*, *Warenne*, *Sarum*, and *Arundel*, *Alan de Galloway*, *W. Fitz Gerald*, *Peter* and *Matthew Fitz Herbert*, *Tho.* and *Alan. Baſſet*, *Hugh de Neville*, *Hubert de Burg* ſeneſchal of *Poitou*, *Robert de Ropeley*, *John Mareſchal* and *Philip de Albiney*.

entire

John. A. D. 1215. entire freedom of elections to biſhopricks, abbeys, deaneries, and other eccleſiaſtical dignities, without the recommendation or nomination of any perſon by the crown in a letter miſſive, (as granted by *John's* late charter of *January* 15) was expreſsly confirmed. The clergy likewiſe found a convenience in the general liberty granted to all perſons (except outlaws and priſoners) of going abroad, and returning home without a ſpecial licenſe, unleſs in a time of war for a ſhort time: and ſeem to have got a new immunity in the caſe of offences, where the penalty was only pecuniary, by an article providing, that no eccleſiaſtick ſhould be amerced in proportion to the value of his benefice, but only according to his lay tenement, if he had any; which perhaps was not very common. The prelates could not wreſt from the crown the cuſtody of vacant prelacies, whilſt the lay-nobility, who in right of their anceſtors foundation were patrons of abbeys and convents, were careful to ſecure, by a particular article, their right to the cuſtody thereof upon a vacancy. The fixing of the rates of reliefs for earldoms, baronies, and knights fees, which before were arbitrary; the providing that tenants, who held lands of honours or baronies eſcheated to the crown, ſhould not pay a greater relief, nor more ſervices than before the eſcheat; the ſecuring to themſelves, as well the lands of their vaſſals forfeited for felony, after the term of a year and a day due to the crown was expired; as the wardſhips of their military tenants, who held other lands of the crown, not by the ſame tenure, but by *ſocage*, *fee farm*, *burgage*, or *petit ſerjeanty*, were conſiderable acquiſitions to the barons. A perſon knighted by the king, though a minor, had all the privileges of a man of full age; ceaſed to be a ward; and had poſſeſſion of his lands, whether held of the crown, or a meſne lord; the barons now took care of their own intereſts by a proviſion, that ſuch a knighthood ſhould not loſe themſelves, though it loſt the crown, the benefit of ſuch wardſhips. There was a more general uſe in the regulations made in favour of widows and minors; that the former ſhould not be forced to marry againſt their will, though they could not diſpoſe of themſelves without their lord's conſent, or pay any fine for their thirds or dower; and that the wardſhips of the latter ſhould not be ſold, and their guardians ſhould take only reaſonable profits from their lands, without committing waſte, leave them as well ſtocked as when they received them, keep the houſes, buildings, and other conveniences in good repair, and marry them without diſparagement, after previouſly acquainting their next relations. *John's* arbitrary exactions of aids upon all orders of men, by his ſole authority, and his raiſing ſcutages to an higher rate than was ever paid on any occaſion in his father's, or even in his brother's, reign, ſeem to have been the reaſons of the proviſion that no ſcutages or aids ſhould be rated or laid in the kingdom without the common council of the realm, except in the three caſes of ranſoming the king's perſon, knighting his eldeſt ſon, and marrying his eldeſt daughter; in which too the rate was to be reaſonable; and the king might grant the lords, that held immediately of him, a power to levy the like upon their under tenants; though he was reſtrained from doing ſo in all other caſes. The crown exerciſed in thoſe days an exorbitant and inconvenient power, ordering the juſtices of the king's court, in ſuits about lands, to turn out, put, and keep in poſſeſſion which of the litigants they pleaſed; to ſend contradictory orders, and take large ſums of money for each; to reſpite proceedings; to direct ſentences: and the judges acting by their commiſſion, conceived themſelves bound to obſerve ſuch orders, to the great delay, interruption, and perverting of juſtice; at leaſt this was *John's* practice, as appears from the *Continuator of the hiſtory of Croyland*, in his account of the tedious lawſuit between that abbey and the prior of *Spalding*. This practice ſeems to be the reaſon of thoſe clauſes in *Magna Charta* [1], wherein *John* (agreeable to what he had declared in a charter of the 10th of the precedent month)

[1] *Pat.* 16 *John.* p. 1. m. 3. d. n. c.

promiſed that no freeman ſhould be taken, impriſoned, or diſſeized of his freehold, liberties, or free cuſtoms, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by legal proceſs; and that he would not ſell, deny, or delay right or juſtice. JOHN. A. D. 1215.

THE exorbitant power of ſheriffs, and their abuſe of it, have been frequently taken notice of in this hiſtory: and it was now thought proper to reſtrain them from holding the county-courts above once a month, and their turns above twice a year; and to inhibite them, as well as caſtellans, coroners, and the king's bailiffs, from holding pleas of the crown. The ſheriffs having the management of the crown revenue within their diſtricts, and anſwering for the profits in the exchequer, uſed to raiſe the farms of the counties, hundreds, and tythings, as they pleaſed: but were now reſtrained from raiſing them, except in the king's demeſne manors. Several other grievances, impoſed on the people by theſe and other officers of the crown, as well in proſecuting them maliciouſly, and putting them to canonical purgations without proof of the crime, as with regard to carriages, purveyance of victuals, and other ſervices, were removed by the great charter: and the amercements that uſed to be inflicted by the ſentence of all courts, and proved too often exorbitant, were, for the future, to be proportioned to the offence, and to the circumſtances of the perſon, ſo as not to affect his landed eſtate, or diſable him to follow his buſineſs and way of livelihood; and to be rated in the caſe of earls and barons, by their peers, and of others, by the verdict of twelve legal men of the neighbourhood. The *Charta de Foreſta* was calculated to prevent the lawleſs collections and exactions of foreſters; to allow freeholders, within the bounds of a foreſt, to improve their lands, and to make a profit of their own woods; to diſforeſt all foreſts made ſince the firſt coronation of *Henry* I, that took in other people's woods, and comprehended any lands, but what were the crown's demeſnes; to regulate the foreſt courts, and exempt ſuch as lived out of the bounds of foreſts, from attending there upon common ſummons, unleſs attached for ſome tranſgreſſion; to reverſe all old outlawries for ſuch tranſgreſſions; and to render the crime of taking of the king's veniſon no longer capital, but puniſhable only by fines, and in caſe of inſolvency, by a year's impriſonment.

SUCH were the principal regulations made by the two charters, ſigned at *Runnimede*: and it is not eaſy to find any thing in them for a good king to except againſt; unleſs in the manner of their being extorted; and becauſe in what related particularly to the barons, their dependence upon him was leſſened, and the revenue of the crown impaired. There is not the leaſt notice taken in them of the laws of *Edward the Confeſſor*; though the barons were abſolute maſters of the conditions, and *John* granted all that they pleaſed to preſcribe; ſo that, in all probability, they never really intended a revival of thoſe laws, but only made uſe of them as a pretence to gull the common people, and draw them into their party. *John* was too imperious, griping, and rapacious in his nature, and too much uſed to indulge theſe paſſions in the height of their irregularity, to be eaſy under any retrenchment of his power and revenue: and he could not digeſt the diſhonour[1] he ſuffered in being compelled to give up ſome rights of the crown, which were enjoyed by the king of *France*, and all other *European* princes in their reſpective territories. The barons, fearing he might fly off from their agreement, took their meaſures to keep it from being violated: and obliged him to conſent, that they ſhould chooſe[2] five and twenty of their number, to ſee that the two charters were obſerved; and in caſe he or his juſticiary broke any of the articles, four of thoſe five and twenty barons might

[1] *M. Paris.*

[2] Theſe twenty-five barons were, the earls of *Clare*, *Albemarlee*, *Glouceſter*, *Wincheſter*, *Hereford*, *Norfolk*, and *Oxford*, *W. Mareſchal* the younger, *Robert Fitz Walter*, *Gilbert de Clare*, *Euſtace de Veſcy*, *Hugh Bigod*, *W. de Mowbray*; the mayor of *London*, *Gilbert de Laval*, *Robert de Ros*, the conſtable of *Cheſter*, *Richard de Percy*, *John Fitz Robert*, *W. Malet*, *Geffrey de Say*, *Roger de Mowbray*, *W. de Huntingfield*, *Rich. de Montfichet*, and *W. de Albiney*.

John. A. D. 1215.

demand reparation; and if this was not done within forty days, they were to give notice to the reſt; who, with the community of the nation, might compel him to it, by ſeizing his caſtles, lands, and poſſeſſions, till he gave ſatisfaction to their content, ſaving the perſons of himſelf, wife, and children. All perſons that pleaſed, might ſwear to aſſiſt them in that compulſion, and to obey the orders of the major part of thoſe twenty-five barons: and *John* iſſued writs, to oblige all his ſheriffs, officers, and others throughout the realm, to take the ſame oath; to ſeize the eſtates of ſuch as [1] refuſed it; and within a fortnight after ſuch refuſal, to ſell all their chattels, and apply the money thence ariſing to the relief of *Paleſtine*. Twelve knights were alſo to be choſen in each ſhire at the next county-court, to enquire into evil cuſtoms, and corrupt practices of ſheriffs, and their miniſters, foreſters, and other officers, in order to their being aboliſhed conformably to the charters. *John* engaged to do or procure nothing, that might either revoke or diminiſh the liberties therein contained; or, if he did, it ſhould be void, and of no effect. The barons ſwore likewiſe to obſerve them: and, for a further ſecurity, the governors of the caſtles of *Northampton*, *Kenilworth*, *Nottingham*, and *Scarborough*, were to take an oath for doing with them what a majority of the twenty-five conſervators of the charters ſhould order: and well-affected perſons, that would keep their oaths, were always to have the government of thoſe caſtles. It was agreed likewiſe, that the barons [2] ſhould keep poſſeſſion of *London*, and archbiſhop *Langton* have the cuſtody of the tower, till the next *Auguſt* 15; ſaving to the king his farms, rents, and debts, and to the city, its liberties and free cuſtoms: but if all things were reſtored to the barons according to the orders of the twenty-five conſervators, and oaths were taken to theſe all over *England*; or it was not the king's fault, that it was not done by that day, they were then to be re-delivered to *John*; though if he hindered it, they were to remain in the hands of the barons, and the archbiſhop. Such were the agreements made, and the orders iſſued, during the five days [3] conference in *Runnimede*; when many of the nobility applying to *John* for reſtitution of lands, and the cuſtody of caſtles, which, as they pretended, belonged to them by hereditary right, he deferred granting the petitions of moſt of the ſuitors, till *July* 16, by which time an inquiſition might be made into their rights: but yet gave up the caſtle of *Rocheſter* to archbiſhop *Langton*, with ſome others, of which he claimed by ancient right to have the cuſtody. The whole tranſaction concluded with orders, on *John's* part, for obſerving the peace, and for ſwearing to the obſervance of the charters all over *England*; and with a general pardon to all perſons, remitting all crimes and tranſgreſſions from the foregoing *Eaſter* to the day of the treaty: and the barons having renewed to him their homages, which they had formerly renounced, when they took up armes, and bad him defiance, returned to *London*. *John* had deſired from them a certificate, of their having done that homage, under their ſeals: but though they had promiſed to give him whatever ſecurity he pleaſed (except caſtles and hoſtages) for their keeping the peace now made, they abſolutely refuſed to do ſo; which could not fail of filling him with ſuſpicions of their ill intentions.

The war being renewed, the barons invite over prince *Louis* of *France* to take the crown.

LXXXIII. Full of joy at having carried all their demands, and provided as they imagined ſufficiently for the performance of what had been granted, they thought their buſineſs done: and appointed a turnament to be held, on *July* 6, at *Stamford*. Whether *Robert Fitz Walter* had diſcovered any plot for delivering *London* into *John's* hands, or whether he was only apprehenſive, that the abſence of the nobility might tempt ſome of the citizens to form and execute ſuch a deſign, he wrote to *William de Albiney*; repreſenting the great importance of keeping a place that ſerved them for a ſure receptacle, in their hands, and deſiring that the

[1] *Pat.* 17 *Joh.* m. 21. n. 105, and m. 23. d. [2] *Clauſ.* 17 *Joh.* n. 21. d. *Rymer*, i. 201. [3] *M. Paris.*

JOHN. A. D. 1215.

turnament might be put off till *Monday*, *July* 13, and be then held between *Stanes* and *Hounſlow*, by which means their forces would be kept in the neighbourhood of the city. It was there held with great pomp: but it ſoon appeared that a peace made with diffidence on both ſides, and with evident marks of that diffidence ſtill ſubſiſting, cannot be of long duration. They ſeem to have abated ſeveral of their firſt demands prudently enough, ſince the extorting of too many and too diſadvantageous conceſſions from the crown at once, and in a way of violence, might endanger the loſs of them all by a ſpeedy revocation: but their method of ſecuring them, by appointing conſervators with extraordinary powers, was an unnatural one, utterly unknown to the *Engliſh* conſtitution. The forcing every body to ſwear to obey the orders of theſe new potentates, under the pains of forfeiture of their perſonal eſtate and confiſcation of their real, till they complied with ſo unprecedented an injunction, was as violent and tyrranical an act as any they could complain of in *John's* conduct. The ſupereminent authority of the conſervators, however neceſſary it might appear in that juncture, was new, odious, and apt to raiſe envy, even in their own party: their powers were too great to be laſting, and their number too large to continue long united. It was the very thing that *John* laid moſt to heart, and which made him appear deſpicable even in his own eyes; whilſt every body about his perſon was continually ſuggeſting to him, "how low "he was fallen, what a mean figure he made, that he muſt be the jeſt of all princes, "and the contempt of his own people, whilſt he ſubmitted to be an underling to "twenty-five kings, that lorded it over the nation."

JOHN had returned from the conference to *Windſor* full of grief and vexation; and grew ſilent, reſerved, and melancholy with theſe reflections: and removing thence to *Wincheſter*, paſſed in a few days to the *Iſle of Wight*[1], where he lived retired from all the world, and conſidered with the few friends he had, what meaſures to take for the recovery of his power. He had one great advantage over his enemies, being ſtill poſſeſſed of all his caſtles, and the places of greateſt ſtrength in the kingdom: and he ſent orders to all the governors, to put the fortifications into the beſt condition they could, and ſupply them, in the moſt private manner, with proviſions for a long defence. The times[2] were too diſtracted to allow a regular collection of the crown revenue; there were no more pleas in the exchequer, or in the ſheriffs courts throughout the realm, ſcarce any body paying their rents, or obeying him in any point: it behoved him without loſs of time to make the beſt uſe of what treaſure he had ſaved; and as he durſt not truſt the *Engliſh*, he ſent into *Guienne*, *Flanders*, and *Germany* to take into his pay a body of *Brabantins*, and what other forces he could raiſe in thoſe countries, with orders to be at *Dover* by *Michaelmas*. He diſpatched agents, and got *Pandulf* to go along with them, to *Rome*, to procure the Pope's aſſiſtance; who readily interpoſing[3] in his behalf, on *Auguſt* 24, declared the accommodation between him and the barons null, as extorted by a terror that might make an impreſſion on a man of the greateſt firmneſs[4]; exhorted the latter not to inſiſt on it, but return to their duty; and excommunicated in general, all diſturbers of the peace of the king and kingdom; committing the execution of the ſentence to the biſhop of *Wincheſter*, the abbot of *Reading* and *Pandulf*, and ordering archbiſhop *Langton*, and the biſhops of *England*, on pain of ſuſpenſion, to publiſh it every *Sunday* and holiday in all churches throughout the kingdom. It was perhaps *John's* reſentment againſt the *Londoners*, who were the beſt ſupport of his enemies, and had deſtroyed the many parks and houſes he had in the neighbourhood of their city, that put him upon[5] writing, on *July* 21, to the king of *France*, with whom he was treating about ſome depredations committed on both ſides ſince the truce, "that he had ordered the mayor and ſheriffs of *London* to let the *French* "merchants carry off their goods from *London* without any obſtacle; but if they

[1] *M. Paris.* [2] *Roger de Wendover.* [3] *Rymer*, i. 203, 204, 205. [4] *Ib.* 208. [5] *Ib.* 203.

"would

John. A. D. 1215. "would not do ſo, he might diſtreſs the citizens thereof, that were in his power, "as he thought fit; and for his own part, he ſhould not look upon the truce as "broken on that account." I mention this, becauſe it ſeems to have been the onely foundation for the calumny, mentioned by *M. Paris*, and charging *John* with forging letters, diſperſed in foreign countries, to repreſent the *Engliſh* as apoſtates.

The firſt efforts of a number of independent perſons engaged in a common aſſociation, are uſually vigorous; and their general view being the ſame, their union frequently laſts till they have gained their end: but then they naturally cool; and ſucceſs opening a large field for a diverſity of ſentiments, paſſions, and intereſts to operate, it becomes in a manner impoſſible to keep them together, and make them act with the ſame ſpirit, ſteadineſs, and concert as before. When the barons were making their accommodation with *John*, ſeveral of the northern noblemen, the firſt promoters of the inſurrection[1], did not like the terms, and declaring their diſſent, retired to their homes: where they ſought ways and means to break the treaty, which they diſapproved; plundering people, and committing other hoſtilities. When *John* ſent commiſſioners to ſwear all perſons to the obſervation of the late charters, he ordered likewiſe his ſheriffs and other officers at the ſame time to collect his revenue: but wherever thoſe barons prevailed, the officers of the exchequer were hindered in this work, were ſeized and ill treated; which made him ſuſpect the faith of the barons in general, and apprehend that the oath for the obſervation of the charters was only meant for a bond of aſſociation againſt himſelf. This was done to diſtreſs *John*; and to provoke him the more, they made a terrible havock of his houſes, parks, and foreſts in the north; actions of ſuch a nature; that the biſhops apprehending the war would be renewed, uſed their good offices with both parties to engage them to keep the peace; and got them to agree upon a meeting, on *Auguſt* 16, at *Oxford*. The barons repaired thither with a vaſt train of followers: but *John* being as yet in no condition to come as well attended, ſent meſſengers to complain of the injuries he had received, and to excuſe his not coming, for fear of their great numbers. Another meeting was appointed about ten days after at *Stanes*; where *John's* commiſſioners appearing, proteſted in his name, that it was none of his fault, if the late treaty was not obſerved: and moved the biſhops to publiſh the Pope's general excommunication of all that diſturbed the peace of the king and kingdom. It was well known, that this cenſure was levelled at the barons, their accomplices and adherents: and *Langton* abſolutely refuſing to publiſh it, he was thereupon ſuſpended by the prelates, to whom the execution of the bull was committed from entering the church, and celebrating divine ſervice, notwithſtanding his appeal to *Rome*; whither he was going to aſſiſt at a council, called by *Innocent* to meet on the 1st of *November*. His refuſal did not prevent its being publiſhed by the biſhop of *Wincheſter* and other prelates: but as the cenſure was general, it was little minded by either the nobility or the citizens of *London*. The barons returning thither prepared for war; diſtributing the governments of counties[2] to the principal perſons among them, who had the beſt intereſt in each; and by an exerciſe of the royal prerogative, conſtituting them likewiſe juſticiaries within their ſeveral diſtricts. Some of them went into the country to fortify their caſtles, and erect new ones: whilſt thoſe that ſtaid in *London*, ſent for *W. de Albiney* from his ſeat of *Belvoir caſtle*, and committed to him the cuſtody of that of *Rocheſter*; which archbiſhop *Langton*, making a diſhonourable uſe of *John's* entruſting him with it, delivered into their hands, when he ſet out on his *Roman* voyage.

John had paſſed about three months in the *Iſle of Wight*, in a ſtate of ſuch retirement and[3] indolence, that he became the jeſt of his enemies, and ſeemed to

[1] *Walter de Coventry.* [2] The government of *Eſſex* was given to *Geffrey Fitz Piers*; of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* to *Roger de Creiſſy*; of *Northumberland* to *Robert de Ros*; of *Lincolnſhire* to *W. Albiney*; of *Cambridge* and *Huntingdon* ſhires to *Saher de Quiney* earl of *Wincheſter*. [3] *M. Paris.*

mind

mind nothing but taking his diverſion on the ſea, and engaging the affections of the ſeamen, particularly thoſe of the *Cinque ports*; a point wherein he ſucceeded, and which proved of more conſequence to his ſervice, than the barons apprehended. The true reaſon of his ſolitude and inactivity was, that he waited the return of his agents from *Rome*, and the coming over of the foreign troops, which he had ſent *Hugh de Boves* and others to levy in *Germany* and *Flanders*. *M. Paris* ſays, that this commander, embarking at *Calais* on *September* 26, in order [1] to land at *Dover* with forty thouſand men, which he had enliſted in thoſe parts, met with ſuch a ſtorm, that all his fleet being wrecked, he was drowned himſelf, and of his forty thouſand ſoldiers, not a man eſcaped. But this is a monſtrous account, differing from all other writers: and it is very certain, that *John*, ſetting ſail about *Michaelmas* from the *Iſle of Wight*, found, upon his arrival at *Dover*, an army of foreigners, *Poitovins*, *Gaſcons*, *Flemings*, *Brabantins*, and *Germans*, ſufficient to make him maſter of the field, and enable him to lay ſiege to *Rocheſter Caſtle*. *Robert Fitz Walter* marched from *London* to *Dartford* in order to relieve it: but, finding all the bridges in the way broken down, and all paſſages poſſeſſed by an enemy much ſuperior to him in number, retreated back to *London*. *W. de Albiney*, however, with a garriſon of an hundred and forty knights, and their followers, made a brave defence for two months: till the walls being beaten down by military engines, and his proviſions, after eating all their horſe fleſh in the place, failing, he was forced to ſurrender on St. *Andrew's day* at diſcretion. *John* had found the ſiege very expenſive, and had loſt abundance of men before the caſtle: and was ſo irritated on theſe accounts, that he would have put all the noblemen and gentlemen, taken in it, to death, if *Savary de Mauleon* had not repreſented to him, that it was uncertain how long the war might laſt; and if ſome of his own knights ſhould chance to be taken, they would be treated in the ſame manner, by way of repriſal. This conſideration prevailed with him to ſend *W. de Albiney*, *W. de Lancaſter*, *W. de Einesford*, *Tho. de Moulton*, *Oſbert Giffard*, with others of the beſt quality, to *Corfe Caſtle*, and diſtribute the reſt of the noblemen in other caſtles: but all their followers, except the croſs-bowmen, who had done the moſt miſchief to the beſiegers, he ordered to be hanged.

JOHN. A. D. 1213.

Archbishop *Langton*, in the mean time, arriving at *Rome* [2], was ſo clearly convicted of intelligence with the barons, and encouraging them in their inſurrection, that his ſuſpenſion was confirmed by the Pope on [3] *November* 4, in the great council there aſſembled: nor was it the only mortification he underwent. He had formed the deſign of governing all the eccleſiaſtical affairs in the kingdom, by getting his brother *Simon Langton*, a man of no merit, and generally odious, choſen archbiſhop of *York*: but *Innocent*, knowing his ambition, vacated that election; and enjoining the chapter to ſend deputies to the council in order to the choice of *Walter de Grey* biſhop of *Worceſter*, whom he charged them on their obedience to elect; this laſt being elected, was confirmed, and received his pall upon giving ſecurity for the payment of ten thouſand pounds ſterling. The confirmation of the ſuſpenſion of the archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was publiſhed in the beginning of *December*, in the abbey of *S. Albans*: and ſent from thence to all the cathedral and conventual churches in *England*, in order to be notified to the kingdom. The Pope had likewiſe, in the the ſame [4] council, excommunicated all the chief barons that were in armes againſt *John*, by name, with all their aſſiſtants and favourers, particularly the citizens of *London*; and had laid the city, as well as the lands of the barons, under an interdict: and after the council broke up, in a bull dated *December* 16, he publiſhed theſe cenſures, which ſoon came to be known in *England*. They gave a terrible blow to the cauſe of the barons, whoſe affairs had ſuffered greatly by the taking of

[1] *Chron. Mailroſ.* [2] *M. Paris.* [3] *Clauſ.* 17 *Joh.* m. 16. d. [4] *M. Paris.*

John. A. D. 1215.

ſo many noble perſons in the caſtle of *Rocheſter:* and whether it was the terror of theſe cenſures, or becauſe their party was ſinking, they were now deſerted by ſome of the moſt conſiderable of their number[1], particularly by *Gilbert Fitz Rainfroy*, and the conſtable of *Cheſter*; who renouncing their aſſociation, returned to *John's* obedience.

This prince was now in a flouriſhing condition: and had raiſed forces enough to compoſe two mighty armies; with one of which he marched northwards: and the other he left under the earl of *Saliſbury* and *Falcaſius de Breant*, to repreſs the excurſions of the barons at *London*. This laſt took the caſtles of *Bedford* and *Hanſlape*, belonging to *W. Beauchamp* and *W. Mauduit*, about the ſame time that *Tunbridge Caſtle* was reduced by the garriſon of *Rocheſter:* and the two generals leaving very numerous garriſons in thoſe of *Windſor*, *Berkhamſtede*, and *Hertford*, to ſtraiten *London*, and hinder the paſſage of victuals thither, marched into *Eſſex*, and the ſhires that formerly compoſed the kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles*, taking the caſtles, deſtroying the houſes, and waſting the lands of the barons. *John* proceeded in the ſame manner in his march northward, taking the barons caſtles that lay in his way, till he came about *Chriſtmas day* to *Notingham*; from whence he ſummoned the ſtrong caſtle of *Belvoir*, belonging to *W. de Albiney*, who had left it well provided with every thing to ſuſtain a long ſiege: but the garriſon ſurrendered it, on *December* 27, upon the threats of their lord's being put to death, if they did not give it up immediately, without any capitulation.

One reaſon of *John's* march into the north was, an invaſion lately made into *England* by *Alexander*, a youth about eighteen years of age, who had lately ſucceeded his father *William* in the throne of *Scotland*. This prince[2] had inveſted the caſtle of *Norham* on *October* 19, and, after having lain before it till the end of *November*, had been forced to raiſe the ſiege, and retire home with his forces, without having gained any advantage, but what he might in time receive from the male-content barons of *Northumberland*, who had done homage to him at *Felton*. The *Brabantins* and foreign troops in *John's* pay, made horrible havock in their march upon all the lands of the barons: and are ſaid to have committed great cruelties. The nobility of *Yorkſhire* fled at their approach; and leaving their eſtates at their mercy, took refuge in *Scotland*; doing homage, and ſwearing fealty

A. D. 1216.

to *Alexander*, on *January* 11, in the chapter-houſe of *Melroſs*. *John* purſued them, ſetting fire to all their houſes and farms, which in the hurry of their departure they had left unburnt; their deſign being to deprive his forces of whatever might ſerve for their ſubſiſtence and convenience: and taking poſſeſſion of their caſtles, committed them to *Robert de Viepont*, *Brien de Liſle*, and *Geffrey de Lucy*, with orders to compleat the deſtruction he had begun upon the lands of the fugitives. The barons of *Northumberland*, unable to oppoſe him, and deſpairing of mercy after their open revolt, and ſwearing fealty to a foreign prince, followed the example of thoſe of *Yorkſhire:* and burnt their ſeats, farms, corn, villages, and towns, according as *John* advanced. Thus *Mitford* and *Morpeth* were conſumed by the flames on *January* 7, *Alnewick* on *January* 9, and *Werk* on *January* 11, and on the 16th of the ſame month, *Roxburgh*, with its ſuburbs, was laid in aſhes. The next day he made himſelf maſter of the town and caſtle of *Berwick*, and in three days more of *Hadington*, *Dunbar*, and other places; which were all burnt, as *Berwick* likewiſe was in his return; [3] *John* himſelf beginning the inglorious work, by ſetting fire to the houſe in which he had lodged himſelf. Having thus reduced all the caſtles of the barons, from *London* to the borders of *Scotland* (except one in *Yorkſhire* belonging to *Robert de Ros*, and that of *Mont Sorel* in *Leiceſterſhire*) he committed all between the *Teeſe* and the *Twede*, to the cuſtody of

[1] *Rymer*, i. 206. [2] *Chron. Mailroſ.* [3] *M. Paris.*

JOHN. A. D. 1216.

Hugh de Baliol and *Philip de Hulcote*, with a good body of troops to defend the country: and marching with the reſt of his army to the borders of *Wales*, took ſeveral caſtles in thoſe parts; demoliſhing ſome, and putting good garriſons into others.

THE barons were now reduced to a very low condition, having ſcarce any place of defence left, beſides *London:* and ſeeing their ruin unavoidable, without the aſſiſtance of a foreign power, they reſolved in concert with the chief men of the city, to ſend *Saher* earl of *Winton*, and *Robert Fitz Walter*, with letters under their ſeals, to *Philip* king of *France*, to ſend his ſon *Louis* over with an army to take poſſeſſion of the throne of *England*. They made no ſcruple of rejecting *John*, to whom they had ſo often ſworn allegiance; but the difficulty was how to cook up a title by hereditary right for *Louis*, that the nation, which knew no other rule of ſucceſſion, might be drawn in to eſpouſe his cauſe: and in defect of better, made uſe of the pretences ſet forth in the conference on this ſubject before Pope *Innocent*, and in *Louis's* declaration ſent to the abbot of *S. Auguſtine's Canterbury*. Their firſt point was to ſet aſide *John*; for which, beſides that he had no right to the crown whilſt his nephew *Arthur* was living, there were two reaſons aſſigned[1]; one was the ſentence given againſt him in the court of peers at *Notingham*, in his brother *Richard's* reign, upon his return home from captivity; by which he had, for raiſing a rebellion in *England*, and joining with the king of *France*, been declared guilty of treaſon, and adjudged to forfeit, not only all his poſſeſſions, but all his future claims in *England*. The other was founded on the judgment of the peers of *France*, pronouncing him guilty of *Arthur's* murder, and declaring all his territories in *France* forfeited. Theſe pretences were both weak, becauſe *Richard* had pardoned the firſt forfeiture, and the latter did not relate to *England:* and therefore another was advanced, grounded on *John's* reſigning the crown, and making the kingdom tributary to the Pope, ſubjecting it to a foreign power without the conſent of the barons; who had taken armes on account of an act, which, being ſubverſive of the conſtitution, and altering the nature of it, was in effect a renunciation of the royalty. The next point being to make *Louis* the next heir in blood, it muſt be obſerved, that of *Henry* II's five ſons, *William*, *Henry*, *Richard*, *Geffrey*, and *John*, the three firſt were dead without iſſue; *Geffrey* was likewiſe deceaſed, leaving *Arthur*, who had been murdered by *John*, and *Eleanor*, ſtill living:[2] and of that king's three daughters, *Maude* the eldeſt, and *Jane* the youngeſt, were both dead, and only *Eleanor*, queen of *Caſtille*, ſtill ſurvived. *Maude*, being married to *Henry* V, duke of *Saxony* and *Bavaria*, had by her *Henry* VI, duke of thoſe provinces; *Ingelburge*, married to *Waldemar* II, king of *Denmark*; and *Maude*, wife of *Geffrey* count of *Perche*. It is needleſs to mention the deſcendants of theſe two ladies: but *Henry* VI had iſſue, *Henry*, duke of *Saxony* and count *Palatine*; *Otho* IV, emperor of *Germany*; *William*, from whom the dukes of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburg* are deſcended; *Agnes*, wife of *Otho* count *Palatine*; and *Irmengarde*, married to *Herman* marqueſs of *Baden*. All theſe, with their iſſue, were in the order of ſucceſſion entitled to the crown before *Eleanor*, the ſecond daughter of *Henry* II, or her children, of which there were four now living, *viz.*, *Henry* I, king of *Caſtille*; *Berengaria*, wife to *Alfonſo* king of *Leon*; *Blanche*, married to *Louis* of *France*; *Urraca* and *Eleanor*, both married. It was neceſſary for *Louis*, when he ſet up his wife *Blanche's* claim to the crown of *England*, to have recourſe to various pretences in order to elude the prior right of ſo many different perſons of imperial, royal, and other the moſt illuſtrious families in *Europe:* and, to ſet aſide the claims of *Eleanor*, daughter of *Geffrey*, elder brother to *John*, and of all

[1] *Annal. Margam. M. Paris*, p. 208. *Chron. W. Thorne*, col. 1868. [2] *Sandford's General Hiſt. of England*, p. 69.

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the deſcendants of his eldeſt ſiſter, he made uſe of *John's* own abſurd doctrine[1], that a ſon had no right to repreſent his father, and that a younger ſon or daughter living ought to ſucceed, preferably to the ſon or daughter of a deceaſed elder brother or ſiſter. Thus all the ſons of *Henry* II being dead, but *John* (who, it was pretended, had forfeited for treaſon before he had any iſſue, and thereby barred his future children, as well as incapacitated himſelf) and that king's eldeſt daughter *Maude* being alſo deceaſed, he maintained the right of ſucceſſion to be veſted in the onely ſurviving daughter *Eleanor*. His wife *Blanche* was indeed but a younger daughter of this *Eleanor*: but as neither her mother, nor her brother the king of *Caſtille*, nor her elder ſiſter the queen of *Leon*, laid any claim to the crown of *England*, *Louis* therefore aſſerted *Blanche's* title to be good; it not being fit, that ſhe ſhould loſe her right in the order of ſucceſſion, through their ſilence or neglect of claiming.

This is the ſum of what was alledged to patch up a ſort of title for *Louis*[2], whom the male-content barons pretended to chooſe, and invited over to be their king; in hopes that a great part of *John's* foreign forces, conſiſting of the ſubjects of *France*, would deſert from his ſervice, when the ſon of their own monarch appeared in the field. *Philip* would not let his ſon accept the invitation of the barons, till they had ſent over twenty-four young noblemen as hoſtages for their fidelity: and then, whilſt *Louis* was preparing for his expedition, he ſent over the caſtellans of *S. Omer* and *Arras*, *Giles de Melun*, and other noblemen, with ſeven thouſand men[3], who arrived, on *February* 27, at *London*. The barons ſtood in need of thoſe ſuccours, *John* being returned with his army out of the north, and hovering about the city, as if he propoſed to attack it in form: but finding it too difficult an enterprize, turned into *Eſſex*, where he took the caſtles of *Pleſſeis*, *Heveningham*, and *Colcheſter*. The barons intereſt in that country was now leſſened by the death of *Geffrey Fitz Piers*, commonly called *Mandeville*; who had lately married *John's* divorced wife *Iſabel*, heireſs of the honour of *Glouceſter*, and was killed by one of the *French* knights, in a turnament, at *London*. The citizens of this place, elated at the arrival of the *French* ſuccours, and their ſucceſs in deſtroying a fleet of ſixty-five piratical veſſels, which had for ſome time blocked up the mouth of the *Thames*, laughed equally at the Pope's excommunication, and at the ſhews of beſieging the city. *John*, ſeeing no likelihood of ſucceeding in ſuch an enterprize, marched with his forces into *Kent* to ſecure the *Cinque ports* in his intereſt, in hopes of diſtreſſing *London* by ſea, and to oppoſe *Louis*, if he ſhould make his deſcent in that country.

This young prince having got ſix hundred ſhips and eighty cogs together at *Calais*, under the command of one *Euſtace*, a pirate, for the tranſportation of his forces, ſailed from thence, and landed at *Stanore*, in the *Iſle of Thanet*, on *May* 21: but his fleet being diſperſed by a ſtorm, could not join him till two days after. *John* had propoſed to have fought him at ſea; and had with that view aſſembled a great number of ſhips from *Lynne*, *Yarmouth*, *Dunwich*, and other places: but this fleet being deſtroyed by a ſtorm, all his dependance lay in his land forces, which proved a very precarious ſupport. He was at *Dover* when *Louis* landed: but find-

[1] *John*, to give a colour to his uſurpation of the crown, and to defeat the right of repreſentation in *Arthur*, ſon to his elder brother, had, after he got poſſeſſion, procured the courſe of deſcents to be altered in *Normandie*, by enacting that the younger ſon ſhould be preferred before the ſon of the elder brother (*Cuſtum.* c. 25, 99.) and attempted to introduce, or rather impoſe, the like method of tranſmitting inheritances in this realm: and an entry was made in one of the plea-rolls in his reign for that purpoſe by his *ſpecial* command. *Henry* III, who was in as bad, if not a worſe, ſituation than his father, becauſe he could not pretend his claim of ſurvivorſhip, while *Eleanor*, his father's elder brother's daughter, was living, made a like fruitleſs attempt, and, with a ſhameleſs diſregard of truth, tranſmitted to *Ireland* a decree aſſerting the cuſtom of *England* (*Rot. Clauſ.* 13 *H.* iii. m. 14. d.) *Non eſt conſuetudo vel lex in terra Angliæ, quod filia fratris alicujus primogeniti ante patrem morientis; fratrem minorem patri immediatè ſuccedentem poſſit vel debeat impetere.*

[2] *M. Paris.* [3] *Rad. Niger.* f. 114.

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ing reaſon to ſuſpect his foreign ſoldiers might deſert him in a day of battle, he left the caſtle of that place in the cuſtody of *Hubert de Burgh*, and retired out of *Kent* to *Guilford*, and from thence to *Wincheſter*. In this retreat, he met *Gualo* the Pope's legate, juſt landed from *France*; who purſuing his maſter's orders, excommunicated *Louis* by name, all the *French* that had either come with him, or been ſent over before him, all his adherents, and thoſe of the barons, all the clergy and religious of *London*, that had ſaid divine ſervice, notwithſtanding the interdict and excommunications lately denounced by the abbot of *Abingdon*; and particularly *Simon Langton*, who had been the chief inſtrument of ſpiriting them up to ſuch an act of contumacy. *Louis*, in the mean time, took *Rocheſter Caſtle* on [1] *May* 30: and having made himſelf maſter of all *Kent*, except the caſtle of *Dover*, came, on *Thurſday*, [2] *June* 2, to *London*, where he received the homage and fealty of the citizens and barons; taking in his turn an oath to put them in poſſeſſion of their rights and eſtates. The *French* hiſtorians ſay, he was crowned; but this is a great miſtake, for no biſhop durſt attempt to uſe the right of unction to an excommunicate perſon: and though he took upon him to grant lands and titles, and made *Simon Langton* his high chancellor, yet even in theſe grants, he aſſumed only the ſtyle of *Domini Regis Franciæ primogenitus* [3], and uſed on his great ſeal *Fleurs de Lis Semée*; but neither took the title of king of *England*, nor dated his charters by any year of his reign [4], according to the method of our chancery, nor ever quartered the armes of the kingdom.

John. A. D. 1216.

The greateſt part of *John's* foreign forces conſiſted of *Flemings* [5], and other vaſſals of the crown of *France:* who immediately quitted his ſervice, not caring to fight againſt the heir of that crown; ſcarce any remaining with him but the *Gaſcogns*, and ſome *Poitevins*, upon which laſt he could not rely. Thus deſerted, he was not able to make head againſt his enemies in the field: and had no party to take, but to retire towards *Briſtol* and *Glouceſter*, after having put ſtrong garriſons into *Windſor*, *Walingford*, the *Devizes*, *Corfe*, *Wareham*, and other caſtles. *Louis*, to improve the opportunity offered him by the weakneſs of his adverſary, ſent *William Fitz Piers* earl of *Eſſex*, *Robert Fitz Walter*, and *W. de Huntingfield* into *Eſſex* and *Suffolk*, who reduced a great part of thoſe counties: and marching himſelf into *Suſſex*, took all the fortreſſes in the country; but could not quell *W. de Collingham*, who, with a thouſand archers, made incurſions from the woods and foreſts in thoſe parts, killed ſeveral thouſand of the *French* in different rencounters, and held out all the time that theſe hoſtilities laſted. There was no attacking this man in the faſtneſſes, wherein he kept, without great diſadvantage: and the caſtles of *Riegate*, *Guilford*, and *Farnham*, being ſurrendered, *Louis* marched to *Wincheſter*; taking the city on *June* 14, and eleven days after, both the king's and biſhop's caſtles. Thither *Hugh de Neville* came to him, and made his ſubmiſſion; delivering up the caſtle of *Marlborough:* and by the ſurrender of *Odiham* and others, he became maſter of all the country as far as *Corfe-caſtle* in *Dorſetſhire*. He made but an indifferent uſe of this ſucceſs [6], in beſtowing the earldoms of *Wilts* and *Suſſex* on the count of *Nevers*, a *French* nobleman, who oppreſſed the people to ſuch a degree, that he was not only deteſted himſelf, but rendered the name of his maſter odious. The avarice of the count was in other reſpects very prejudicial to *Louis*; for being commander in chief of the forces employed in the ſiege of *Windſor*, when he had reduced the caſtle to the point of ſurrender, he took a ſum of money from the caſtellan, and retired with his army.

The firſt ſucceſſes of *Louis* ſtartled every body that had as yet adhered to *John*; whom they knew to be generally hated, and looked upon his cauſe to be deſperate.

[1] *Annal. Waverl. ib.* [2] *Trivet. Ypod. Neuſtr.* [3] *Rymer*, i. 219, 221, 222. [4] There is an original charter of his preſerved in the *Harleyan Library* 43. *B.* 37. which is dated in *Obſidione Hereford. A. D.* 1216, *Novemb.* 21. [5] *M. Paris.* [6] *Chr. Dunſtaple.*

JOHN. A. D. 1216.

This is ſaid to be the reaſon [1], why the earls of *Warenne*, *Saliſbury*, *Arundel*, *Albemarle*, and *Oxford* deſerted him, and ſubmitted to *Louis*; who was ſo much encouraged by the promiſing aſpect of his affairs, that he had, on [2] *June* 14, ſummoned all the prelates and nobility of *England* to come to *London*, and do him homage. Among others ſo ſummoned was *Alexander* king of *Scotland*; and this prince, purſuant to his orders [3], raiſing a body of forces, advanced to *Carliſle*, on *Auguſt* 8; taking the city, but not the caſtle: and marching through the middle of *England*, came to *London*, and did the uſual homage, upon *Louis*, and the *Engliſh* barons ſwearing, that they would not make peace with *John* without his concurrence. Theſe were fair appearances, but yet attended by ſome diſaſters, which put a ſtop to his current of ſucceſs. The northern barons raiſed a ſmall army, and inveſted *York*; but unable to take it, were glad to compound for a ſum of money to raiſe the ſiege; and attacking afterwards *Barnard's caſtle* in the palatinate of *Durham* [4], *Euſtace de Veſcy* was there ſlain, to the utter diſcouragement of their party, and ruin of their forces, which diſperſed upon that accident. *W. Mareſchal* the younger had got *Worceſter* to declare for *Louis* [5]: but it was, on *July* 17, recovered by his father the earl of *Pembroke*, the earl of *Cheſter*, and *Fulk de Breant*, who ſoon after recovered and fortified the *Iſle of Ely*. The *Cinque ports* fitting out a fleet for *John's* ſervice [6], intercepted a great ſupply of men, armes, and proviſions, coming from *France* for the ſervice of *Louis:* and whilſt they interrupted the communication with *London* by ſea, *Hubert de Burgh* infeſted all the neighbourhood of *Dover* by continual excurſions. The caſtle of this place was, at this time, reputed the key of *England:* and *Louis*, after he had taken *Winchеſter*, putting a ſtop to his conqueſts in the weſt, had marched back with his army, and inveſted it on *July* 22; but found it a more difficult work than he imagined. *Hubert de Burgh*, the governor, was a vigilant, brave, and experienced officer; and having a garriſon of an hundred and forty knights, beſides a large body of gentlemen, and other reſolute warriors, repulſed the *French* in all their aſſaults with ſuch ſlaughter, that *Louis* [7], in a rage, ſwore he would not raiſe the ſiege, till he had taken the place, and hanged all the garriſon. It was a raſh vow; he lay before it fifteen weeks, till after the deceaſe of his competitor, and was forced at laſt, after loſing all that time before it, which he might have employed infinitely more to his advantage, in ſubduing the middle and north parts of the kingdom, to quit the enterprize. But what did him ſtill more diſſervice [8], was his excluding the *Engliſh* from his councils and confidence; conſulting only with the *French*, and putting them at the head of all affairs, and into the government of all fortreſſes: which raiſed their vanity to ſuch a height, that they were imprudent enough to upbraid the others, with being traitors. *Louis* himſelf ſeemed to treat them as ſuch, ſince he did not reſtore them their lands: and when he had recovered their caſtles, kept them to himſelf. This ill uſage was the reaſon, why the earl of *Saliſbury*, *W. Mareſchal* the younger, *Walter Beauchamp*, and a great many other noblemen deſerted him: and their defection increaſing his jealouſy of the reſt, might perhaps contribute to the reſolution [9] (which the viſcount of *Melun* declared with his dying words) *Louis* had taken, to puniſh all that had adhered to him againſt *John* as traitors to their lord, to baniſh them for ever, and to root all their families out of the nation.

John's death and character.

LXXXIV. THE author of the *Chronicle of Melroſs* is of opinion, that the earl of *Saliſbury*, whoſe earldom *Louis* gave to the count of *Nevers*, went to him at firſt,

[1] *Chron. Joh. Abb. Petriburg.* [2] *M. Paris.* [3] *Chron. Mailroſ.* [4] *Chron. Dunſtaple.* [5] *Annal. Eccl. Wigorn. in Angl. Sacr.* i. 483. [6] *Chron. Dunſtaple. Rad. Niger.* [7] *M. Paris.* [8] *Chron. Dunſtaple.* [9] *M. Paris.*

not

JOHN. A. D. 1216.

not so much to do him service, as to obstruct his measures, and discover his councils and correspondences. But however this was, the earl, after he had returned to *John*, was very active for this prince's interests: and raised the siege laid to *Exeter* [1], by some of the barons; whom he put to flight, and took several of them prisoners. Whilst *Louis* was losing his time before *Dover Castle*, the barons about *London* raising an army [2], took the castles of *Berkhamsted*, *Hertford*, *Cambridge*, *Norwich*, *Oxford*, and others; making themselves masters of the greatest part of the country of the *East-Angles*. *John* had been employed most of this time in the [3] marches of *South-Wales*, taking the castles of *Reginald de Braouse* (who, with *Llewellyn*, prince of *North-Wales*, whose daughter he had lately married, had taken the part of the barons) and in raising there and in the west an *English* army, on which he could depend. When he had got a considerable body of forces together, he marched from thence into *Norfolk*, to stop the progress of the barons: and having wasted their lands in that country, advanced to the relief of the castle of *Lincoln*, besieged by *Gilbert de Gand*, whom *Louis* had made earl of that county. *Gilbert* raised the siege upon his approach: and *John* having gained his point, and wasted the *Isle of Axholme*, belonging to the *Mowbrays*, who had taken part with *Louis*, returned into *Norfolk*. After passing a few days at *Lynne*, which he seems to have made the rendezvous of his forces in those [4] parts, he resolved to return and assemble all his forces in the middle of *England* [5], in order to venture a battle with his adversaries: and leaving *Lynne* about *October* 12, marched the shortest way into *Lincolnshire*. This lay over [6] the washes between that shire and *Norfolk*, a dangerous passage by reason of the flowing in of the tide, which covers them at high water: and not timing it well, he lost all his carriages, treasure, portable chapel, *regalia*, and baggage. This being a very great loss, affected him exceedingly; and the more so, because he was indisposed; though he continued his journey [7] by *Sleford*, till he came, on *October* 16, to the castle of *Newark*, [8] where he died, on the 19th of that month, of a dysentery; his bowels being buried in the abbey of *Croxton*, and his corpse in the cathedral of *Worcester*, between those of *S. Oswald* and *S. Wulstan*.

[9] GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS, speaking of *John* in his younger years before he came to the crown, represents him to be of a stature somewhat above the middle size, and handsome enough in his person: but of a light, trifling, variable mind; fond of ease, averse to fatigues; indulging his appetites, and prone to corruption; led easily into ill ways; harsh to all that attempted to reclaim him; effeminate; given to pleasure, and much fitter for the wars of *Venus*, than those of *Bellona*. *M. Paris*, and the monkish writers that follow him, provoked at *John's* exactions on the church, exaggerate matters to his prejudice in many cases, particularly in their charge of irreligion, and the legend of his applying to the *Miramomolin* of *Morocco* for protection, after he had submitted in all things to the Pope, and placed all his confidence in the protection and support he was to derive from *Innocent*; and in forwarding *Ascension day* a week, purely to get a pretence for representing *Peter* of *Pontefract*, as a true prophet, after he had been hanged for his false predictions, and the dangerous seditious reports he and his son had spread about the nation. But this prince's sloth, indolence, inactivity, and cowardice appear too remarkably in the general tenour of his conduct, particularly in the loss of *Normandie*, to admit of any doubt: and it was perhaps to cover the last of these defects, that he affected to bluster, talk big, and threaten furiously on many occasions, though never more than in the midst of his disgraces. Such airs are certainly very ridiculous,

[1] *Chron. Dunstaple.* [2] *M. Paris.* [3] *Chron. Dunstaple.* [4] *Pat.* 18 *Joh.* m. 18. n. 65. [5] *Ypod. Neust.* p. 462. *Rob. Glouc.* [6] *M. Paris. Rad. Niger.* [7] *Brady's Hist. of Engl.* vol. ii. p. 516. [8] *Ibid. Trivet. Chron. Joh. Petriburg. Annal. Eccl. Wigorn.* [9] *Topog. Hibern. Dist.* iii. c. 50.

when

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when a man's affairs are evidently in a ruinous condition: and when he dares not ſtir a ſtep to ſave them, to be then bragging of what great things he will do in futurity, is a ſure mark of a wretched underſtanding, and an arrogant imperious nature, which were undoubtedly a conſiderable part of *John's* character. He knew not how to treat any body well: and the haughtineſs of his carriage to the nobility was inſupportable. He certainly followed his own nature, though perhaps the conſciouſneſs of his uſurpation, making him deſpair of being ſerved out of principle and conſcience, might diſpoſe him likewiſe to it, when he laid it down for the rule of his government, to do every thing with an high hand, and to govern purely by terror. It is a way indeed that uſurpers generally take, perhaps by the neceſſity of their affairs, becauſe they have no right either to the obedience or love of thoſe that chance to be their ſubjects: but it is an unnatural one, and muſt ſooner or later end in ruin, according to the circumſtances of times, and the capacity of the perſon that governs. *John* had very mean natural parts; and though he had ſome craft, the eſſence whereof lies in falſhood, he had no judgment: and acting the tyrant in all ſhapes, he ſoon involved himſelf in difficulties that were to him inſuperable; the opinion which every one entertained of his being faithleſs in his promiſes, and implacable in his revenge, hindering the nobility, that had joined *Louis*, from returning to his obedience, when they came to know the miſchiefs ready to fall upon them by the *French* meaſures. The pride of his heart would not ſuffer him to correct the ill meaſures he had taken, and rendered him incapable of advice; his uſurpation ſhewed the rapaciouſneſs of his temper: and his ſubjects had little reaſon to expect he would be more tender of their rights and properties, than he had been of his nephew *Arthur's*. They accordingly, and more eſpecially the clergy, ſuffered under him oppreſſions and exactions they had never known before; and the nobility, who had found great eaſe under his father's reign, by commuting for perſonal ſervice by very moderate ſcutages, felt under his theſe ſcutages vaſtly enhanced, and (what was ſtill worſe) had their eſtates[t] ſeized in many caſes for want of immediate payment.

It appears from the *Pipe-rolls* of his reign, that in the firſt eight years of it, there were ſeven ſcutages collected; the firſt, third, fourth, and ſixth aſſeſſed at two marks, the ſecond at three marks, the fifth at two marks and an half, and the ſeventh at twenty ſhillings a knight's fee; beſides one in his twelfth year at three marks for the expedition to *Ireland*; two others in his thirteenth for *Wales* and *Scotland*, the former at two marks, the latter at twenty ſhillings, and another in his ſixteenth year at three marks for the ſervice of *Poitou*. There are taillages, ſome on his own demeſnes, others laid alſo on thoſe of his barons, in eight different years of his reign; but only the groſs ſums laid on towns or manors are mentioned in the *Pipe-rolls*. As to the rates, *Hoveden* ſays, that in *A. D.* 1200 was aſſeſſed at three ſhillings a ploughland, and in *A. D.* 1207, *M. Paris* ſays, he took a thirteenth part of all the moveables, as well of the clergy as laity. This laſt writer informs us, that in *A. D.* 1205, he levied an infinite ſum of money upon the nobility that would not follow him beyond ſea: and in *A. D.* 1210, extorted an hundred and forty thouſand pounds from the clergy. It is obſervable in the *Pope-rolls*, that the fines which he took from thoſe that did not go on the expeditions to which they were ſummoned, but ſtaid at home without leave, exceeded the rate of the ſcutages, and were both paid together. The compoſitions he forced religious houſes to make from time to time, ſeem to have been accounted for by particular commiſſioners, and not by the ſheriffs: and his other illegal exactions, mentioned by hiſtorians, probably were levied in the ſame manner. This renders it impracticable to make any computation thereof; though we may reaſonably ſuppoſe them to have been

[t] *Rot. Pip. 7 Joh. Norf. & Suff. Henr. de Criketot, &c.*

full as exorbitant as they are repreſented, or he could never have been ſo univerſally deteſted, as he appears to have been by all orders of men throughout the nation.

John was firſt married to *Iſabel*, the youngeſt daughter of *William* earl of *Glouceſter*: but having no children by her, was divorced from her; and ſhe was married afterwards to *Geffrey Fitz Piers*, the ſecond earl of *Eſſex* of that name, and upon his death to *Hubert de Burgh* earl of *Kent*. His ſecond wife was *Iſabel*, daughter of *Aymar* count of *Engouleſme*, whoſe conduct gave him no little pain, and afforded him continual occaſions of jealouſy. He had by her two ſons, *viz.* *Henry*, born *October* 1, *A. D.* 1207, who ſucceeded him in the throne; and *Richard*, born *January* 6, *A. D.* 1209, who was afterwards earl of *Cornwall*, and king of the *Romans*; and three daughters. Theſe were, 1. *Jane*, born *July* 22, *A. D.* 1210, and granted at firſt to *Hugh de Luſignan*, eldeſt ſon of *Hugh* count *de la Marche*, but married on *June* 25, *A. D.* 1221, to *Alexander* king of *Scotland*, by whom ſhe had no children; dying on *March* 4, *A. D.* 1238, without iſſue. 2. *Eleanor*, married, *A. D.* 1224, to *William Mareſchal* the younger, earl of *Pembroke*, who dying *A. D.* 1231, ſhe thereupon made a vow of chaſtity: but afterwards, againſt her brother's inclinations, married *Simon Montfort* earl of *Leiceſter*; and upon the death of her ſecond huſband, *A. D.* 1265, retired into *France* with her children. 3. *Iſabel*, born *A. D.* 1214, and married to the emperor *Frederic* II, on *July* 20, *A. D.* 1235, at *Wormes*; ſhe died *December* 1, *A. D.* 1241, in childbed.

His natural iſſue were, 1. *Richard*, begotten on a daughter of the earl of *Warenne*, and called *Richard de Warenne*[1]; who married *Roheſia*, daughter and heir of *Fulbert de Dover*, and had by her two daughters, *viz.* *Lora* married to *William Marmyon* of *Poleſworth* in *Warwickſhire*; and *Iſabel* wife of *David de Strabolgy* earl of *Athole*. 2. *Geoffrey Fitz Roy*, who died *A. D.* 1205, in an expedition to *Poitou*. 3. *John*[2], a clergyman and prebendary of *Shireburn*. 4. *Henry*[3], who had a grant of *Robert Fitz Walter's* eſtate in *Cornwall*, and to whom his brother *Henry* III gave the manor of *Waltham*. 5. *Oſbert Giffard*[4], who had a grant of part of the eſtate of *Thomas de Arderne* in *Oxfordſhire*. 6. *Oliver*[5], begotten of one *Avice* (who ſeems to be of the family of *Tracy*) and called *Oliver de Durdent*; he had grants of the manors of *Frome* and *Tonge*, and is ſaid to be buried at *Weſtminſter*. 7. *Joane*[6], begotten on *Agatha*, a daughter of *Robert* earl of *Ferrers*, and married to *Llewellyn* prince of *North-Wales*. *Robert* of *Glouceſter* makes *John de Courcy*, the famous conqueror of *Ulſter*, to be one of this prince's natural ſons; but this is evidently a miſtake. There is however mention made of others, as, [7] *Reginald*, [8] *Swynulf*, and [9] *Eudo*; though none of them gave riſe to any noble family, whoſe great actions could put it on an equal foot with thoſe, which had been diſhonoured by the luſt of their father.

[1] *Clauſ.* 7 *H.* iii. m. 26. *Robert de Glouceſter.*
[2] *Rot. Pat.* 16 *Joh.* p. 2. *Fin.* 9 *Joh.* m. 10.
[3] *Clauſ.* 18 *Joh.* m. 7. & 1 *H.* iii. m. 13. & 6 *H.* iii. m. 5, 10. & 10 *H.* iii. & *Clauſ.* 16 *Joh.* m. 2.
[4] *Cl.* 18 *Joh.* m. 8. *Pat.* 17 *Joh.* m. 6. & 18 *Joh.* m. 8. *Cl.* 17 *Joh.* p. 2. m. 16.
[5] *Cl.* 18 *Joh.* m. 7. & 17 *Joh.* p. 1. m. 17. & 1 *H.* iii. m. 6, 13, 15. *Pat.* 16 *Joh.* p. 1. d. & 1 *H.* iii. m. 3. *M. Paris*, p. 292.
[6] *Vincent*, p. 204. *Cart.* 6 *Joh.* n. 32. *Rymer*, i. 151. *Cl.* 2 *H.* iii. m. 2. & 4 *H.* iii. m. 8. d. *Pat.* 13 *H.* iii. m. 4. *Fin.* 13 *H.* iii. m. 3, 4.
[7] *Clauſ.* 15 *Joh.* m. 4. [8] *Pat.* 3 *H.* ii. m. 2.
[9] *Pat.* 21 *H.* iii. n. 13.

The End of the First Volume.

AN INDEX

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